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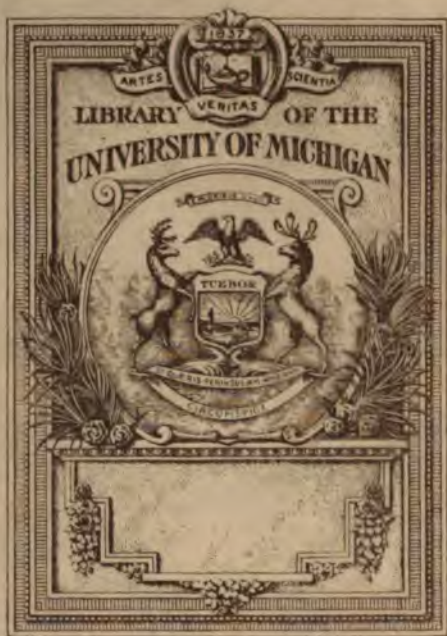
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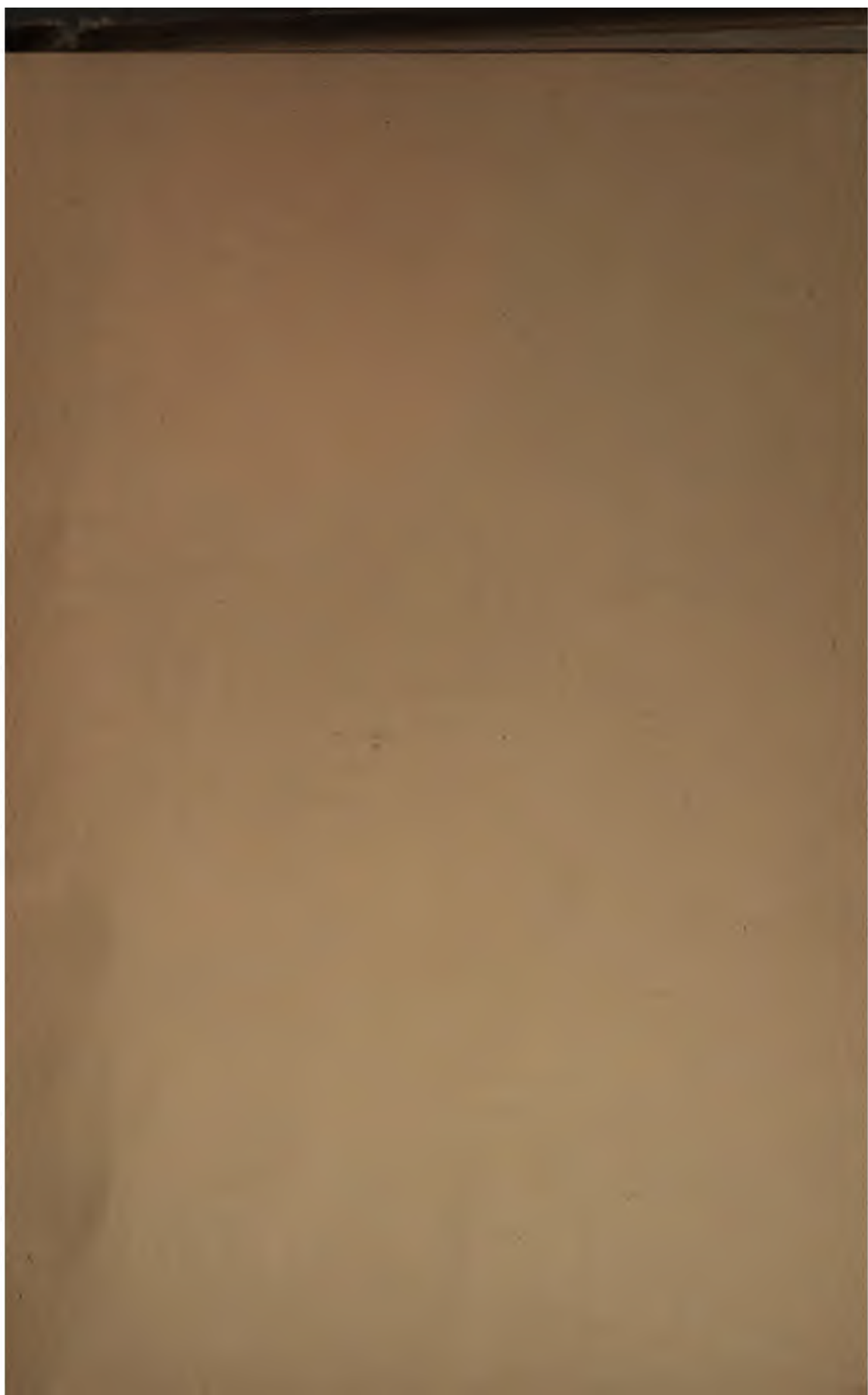
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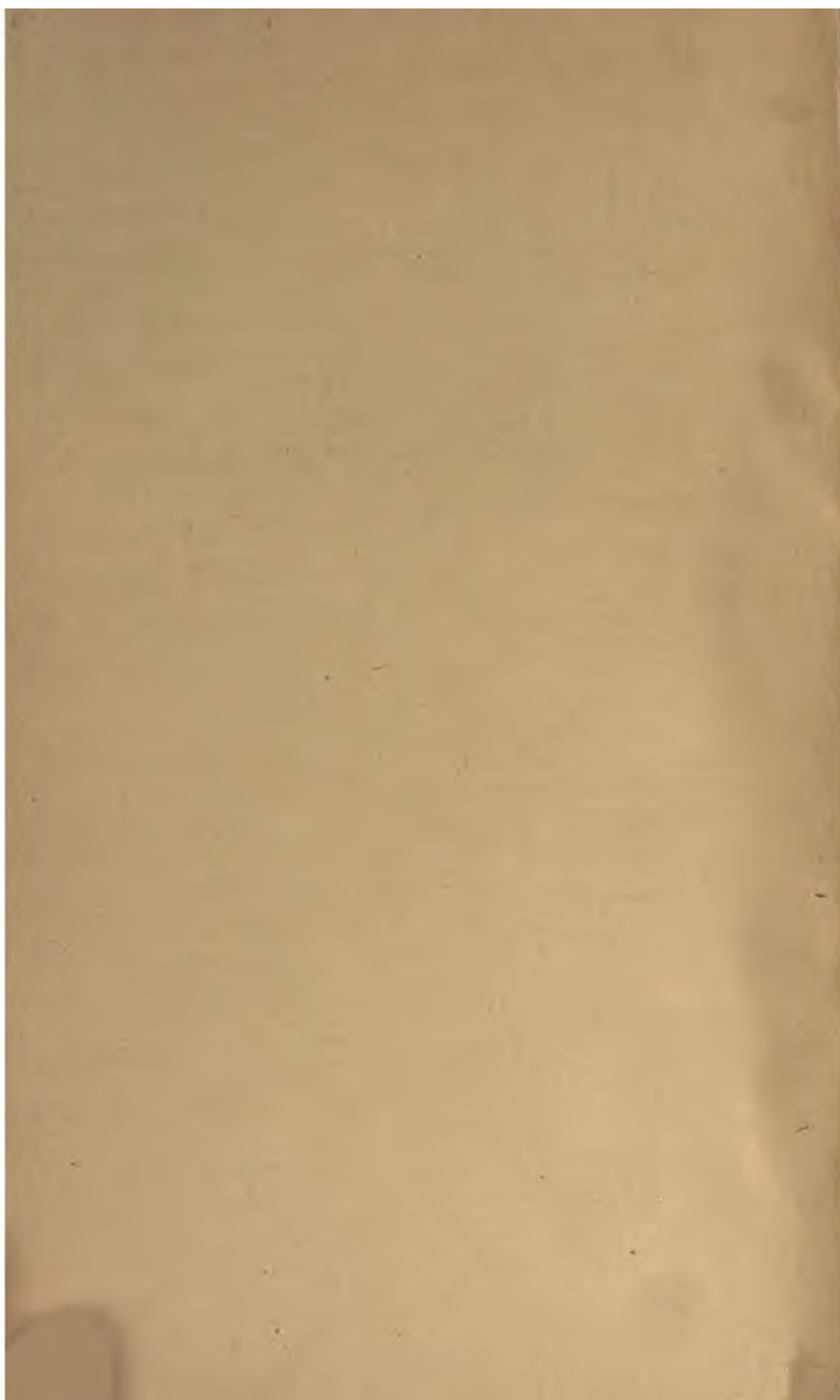
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HIATUS IN GREEK MELIC POETRY

BY

EDWARD B. CLAPP

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It is the prevailing usage of older Greek poetry to elide most short vowels, and to shorten most long vowels or diphthongs<sup>1</sup>, when they occur at the end of words and are followed immediately, in the same verse, by words beginning with a vowel. The neglect to elide or to shorten, under such circumstances, constitutes hiatus. But in defining the scope of the present investigation the term hiatus is loosely used to include all cases where, in the ordinary modern texts, a word ending with a vowel is followed in the same verse by a word beginning with a vowel, no matter what the explanation of the phenomenon may be.

Hiatus in Homer has been made the subject of exhaustive study by Knös,<sup>2</sup> Hartel,<sup>3</sup> and Grulich,<sup>4</sup> and the essential features of Homeric usage are well known to scholars. Hiatus in Pindar has been touched upon by Hermann<sup>5</sup> and Boeckh,<sup>6</sup> and the various editors, and Hartel<sup>7</sup> gives some statistics. The observations of Tycho Mommsen in his Supplement<sup>8</sup> are still worth reading, but the fullest collections for Pindar are found in August Heimer's *Studia Pindarica*,<sup>9</sup> which is specially valuable for its careful study of the digamma in Pindar.<sup>10</sup> Schöne's *De Dialecto Bacchylidea*<sup>11</sup> is useful for Bacchylides, and the traces

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<sup>1</sup> But only α, ε and ο, are elided with complete freedom, and on the other hand αι is often elided, and sometimes even αι. <sup>2</sup> *De Digamma Homeric* 1, 35 ff. <sup>3</sup> *Hom. Stud.* 2 and 3. <sup>4</sup> *De Quodam Hiatus Genere*, Halle 1876. <sup>5</sup> *Opusc.* 1, 247 ff. <sup>6</sup> In his edition 1, 2, 101 ff. <sup>7</sup> *Hom. Stud.* 3, 8 ff. <sup>8</sup> p. 165 ff. <sup>9</sup> Lund, 1884. <sup>10</sup> The present investigation is based on the much improved text of Schroeder, and is independent of Heimer's, though the latter's results, wherever they cover the same ground as mine, have been compared, to insure completeness. In regard to the digamma, in particular, I have been able to add but little, besides a few new references, to what is offered by Heimer. <sup>11</sup> *Leipziger Studien* 19, 181 ff.

of the digamma in Alcman, Alcaeus, and Sappho, have been critically treated by Clemm,<sup>1</sup> and more recently by Solmsen.<sup>2</sup>

In citing the odes and fragments of Pindar I have followed the numbering, and usually the text, of Schroeder. For Bacchylides, including the fragments, I have usually followed the text of Kenyon, for the Melic Fragments that of Hiller-Crusius, and for Timotheus, that of Wilamowitz.

It should be noted, at the outset, that hiatus is far less frequent in Pindar and the other melic poets than in Homer. If we take as a basis of comparison the last six books of the Iliad, which are approximately equal in extent to the surviving odes and fragments of Pindar, we find no less than 2000 instances of real or apparent hiatus in the Homeric books, while in Pindar the number is less than 400. In Attic tragedy, on the other hand, hiatus scarcely exists at all,<sup>3</sup> so that the melic poets occupy a middle ground between the freedom of Homeric poetry and the careful finish of Euripides. Certain facts as to the nature and circumstances of this difference, in detail, will appear in the course of the discussion, but a general view may be obtained from the following table, which shows the progressive disappearance of hiatus, from Homer to the tragedians, on the basis of number of instances which are found, on the average, in 100 consecutive verses.

IN 100 VERSES OF	HOMER <sup>4</sup>	MELIC POETS	TRAGEDY <sup>5</sup>
Effect of obsolete consonant.....	11	2.5	0
After long vowel or diphthong shortened.....	30	5	1
After long vowel or diphthong retained.....	5	1	0
All other instances of hiatus.....	5	0.5	1 [?]
TOTAL.....	51	9	2

It will be seen from the table that hiatus of every kind, apparent, permissible, and illicit, is frequent in Homer, while it is

<sup>1</sup> In Curtius, Studien, 9, 443 ff. <sup>2</sup> Griech. Laut- und Verslehre 137 ff. <sup>3</sup> But see Kühner-Blass, vol. 1, p. 196 f. <sup>4</sup> Based on my own count in T-Ω. <sup>5</sup> The figures for tragedy are only approximate. See on page 14. Most cases of hiatus appear in anapaests or choral passages.

comparatively rare in the melic poets, and practically disappears in tragedy. In discussing hiatus in the melic poets, we shall consider, first, the cases of apparent hiatus, next the cases of hiatus after a long vowel or diphthong, and finally those which occur after a short vowel.

### I.—Apparent Hiatus.

More than one-fifth of all the instances of hiatus in Homer are only "apparent," or due to the influence of an obsolete consonant.<sup>1</sup> Gottfried Hermann denied<sup>2</sup> the existence of this phenomenon in Pindar, but few scholars would now agree with the great master in this opinion. The pronoun *οἱ*, *οἱ*, *ἔ* occurs 58 times in Pindar, and 19 times in the other melic poets. In 75 places out of the 77 the influence of the digamma is the only satisfactory explanation of hiatus, or of the lengthening of a syllable consisting of a short vowel followed by a single consonant at the end of the preceding word. One case proves nothing, either for or against the digamma, and Corinna 3 (*ἀπ' ἐῶς*), the only instance of neglect of the digamma, is probably corrupt.<sup>3</sup> In view of the fact that illicit hiatus is not, in general, of frequent occurrence in these poets, and that, if we admit the influence of the digamma in places where the evidence is fairly conclusive, the residuum of unexplained cases of hiatus becomes almost a vanishing quantity, we can hardly doubt that this consonant was felt by the melic writers.

The following list includes the digammated words in Pindar, with the places in which the influence of the digamma is felt. Most of these are cases of hiatus, but in a few, marked by an asterisk, the consonant helps to make position.

<sup>1</sup> 431 cases in T-Ω, or one in every nine verses.

<sup>2</sup> Opusc., l. 247.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 12. So closely, in fact, is the digamma bound to this pronoun that the latter seems scarcely able to live without it. In Attic, where the digamma is entirely lost, the pronoun itself leads but a precarious existence. On the digamma in this word, see the discussion by Dryoff, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, 32, 87 ff.



## DIGAMMATED WORDS IN PINDAR.

		DIGAMMA FELT	DIGAMMA IGNORED
ἀνάξ, ἀνάσσω	O. 13. 24; P. 4. 89; 9, 44; 11, 62; 12, 3; I. 8. 33.*	6	10
ἀδύς, ἀνδάνω	P. 1. 29; 6. 51; I. 4. 15; 8, 18.	4	15
ἀχώ	O. 14. 19. ( <i>cf.</i> <i>ῥᾶχυσ</i> on a Corinthian amphora, Collitz 3139, and on a Chalcidie vase, Kretschmer 67. n. 10).	1	0
εἴκοσι	N. 6. 58 <sup>b</sup> .	1	0
ἔκατι	O. 14. 18; I. 5. 2.	2	3
ἐλπῖς, ἐλπίζω	O. 1. 109; 13. 83; P. 2. 49; I. 2. 43; Fr. 61. 1.	5	6
ἔπος, εἶπον	O. 6. 16; 8. 46; 13. 71; 13. 98 (emendation); P. 2. 66; 3. 2; N. 5. 14; 6. 27; 6. 65 (emendation)*; 7. 48; I. 4. 41; 6. 55.	12	28
ἔοικα	P. 3. 59.	1	8
ἐρέω	P. 4. 142; Fr. 42. 2.	2	4
ἐργ-, ἔρδω	O. 10. 91; 13. 38; P. 2. 17 <sup>b</sup> ; 4. 104; 7. 20; N. 3. 44; 5. 1; 7. 52; 10. 64; Fr. 155. 1.	10	35
ἐσθάς	P. 4. 253 (emendation)*.	1	1
ἐσπέρα	I. 8. 44.	1	2
ἔτος	O. 2. 93; Fr. 133. 2.	2	1
ἦθος	O. 11. 20. (But see Herw. Lex. Suppl. et Dial.).	1	3
ιδ-, εἰδ-, οἰδ-	O. 1. 104; 2. 86; 8. 19; 9. 62; 14. 14; P. 3. 29; 4. 21; 5. 84; N. 4. 43; Fr. 168. 4.	10	25
ἴδιος	O. 13. 49 ( <i>cf.</i> <i>ῥίδιος</i> often in Boeot. inscriptions, Meister l. 255).	1	0
ιοπλοκ-	O. 6. 30; I. 7. 23 (both emendations of Bergk, but now supported by Bacch. 9. 72).	2	1
ἴσος	N. 7. 5; 10. 86; 11. 41; I. 6. 32 ( <i>cf.</i> <i>ῥίσφος</i> in Leg. Gort. 10. 53).	4	3

DIGAMMATED WORDS IN PINDAR.—*Continued.*

		DIGAMMA FELT	DIGAMMA IGNORED
οὔ, οἶ, εἶ	O. 1. 23; 1. 65; 2. 42*; 6. 20; 6. 65; 7. 89; 7. 91; 9. 15; 9. 67; 10. 87; 13. 29; 13. 37; 13. 65; 13. 71; 13. 76; 13. 91; 14. 20; P. 1. 7; 2. 42; 2. 83; 3. 63; 4. 23; 4. 37; 4. 48; 4. 73; 4. 189; 4. 197; 4. 243; 4. 264; 4. 287; 5. 117; 9. 36; 9. 56; 9. 82; 9. 84; 9. 109; 9. 120; N. 1. 14; 1. 16 <sup>b</sup> ; 1. 58; 1. 61; 3.39; 3. 57; 4. 59; 5. 34; 6. 23; 7. 22; 7. 40; 10. 29; 10 31; 10. 79; I. 4. 64; 5. 62; 6. 12; 6. 49; 8. 57; Fr. 214. 1.	57	0
ἴν	P. 4. 36 (emendation. Cf. <i>ἴν</i> in a Metapontine inser. Collitz 1643, and <i>ἴν</i> ἀστῶ = ἐαντῶ in Leg. Gort. 2. 40).	1	0
ὄς, ἐός	P. 6. 37; I. 4. 36.	2	12
οἶκ-	P. 7. 5; 8. 51; N. 6. 25.	3	28
	TOTAL	129	185

It will be noticed that the cases where the digamma helps to make position are very few in number (4), in comparison with those in which it prevents hiatus (125). The neglect of the digamma, on the other hand, is seen most often in its failure to make position (133 times), less often in its failure to prevent elision (49 times). Twice crasis takes place at the beginning of a digammated word, and once a long vowel is shortened under similar circumstances.

To the words in the above list we may add several others, mostly proper names, which probably had the digamma, but in regard to which the evidence is not entirely conclusive. These are:

1. Ἴωλκος. This occurs twice in Homer, both times with the digamma possible but not required.<sup>1</sup> In Pindar it appears five times:

<sup>1</sup> In λ 256, at verse-end, εἰρυχόρω Ἴωλκῶ. In B 712 ἐνκτιμένην Ἴωλκόν.

P. 4. 77	κλειτᾶς Ἴωλκοῦ	neutral.
P. 4. 188	ἐς δὲ Ἴωλκόν <sup>1</sup>	f required.
N. 3. 34	ὄς καὶ Ἴωλκόν <sup>2</sup> (----)	f required.
N. 4. 54	λατρίαν Ἴωλκόν	neutral.
I. 8. 40	codd. φασὶν ἰωλκοῦ, but ---- is required, and φασὶν (for φαντί) is un-Pindaric. Most edd. adopt the cj. of Bothe φάτις Ἴωλκοῦ (Schroeder Ἴαολκοῦ) which does not admit f. The etymology of the word is uncertain, but Schroeder suggests the root <i>svelk</i> (sulcus).	

2. Ἰόλαος. This word does not appear in Homer. In Pindar it occurs seven times:

O. 9. 98	αὐτῷ Ἰολάου (-----)	f probable.
P. 9. 79	ποτὲ καὶ Ἰόλαον (-----)	f probable.
P. 11. 60	διαφέρει Ἰόλαον (-----)	f probable.
N. 3. 37	Τελαμῶν Ἰόλα	neutral.
I. 1. 16	ἦ Ἰολάου (-----)	f probable.
I. 5. 32	ἰπποσῶας Ἰόλαος	neutral.
I. 7. 9	ἦ ἄμφ' Ἰόλαον	f impossible.

Heimer calls attention to the fact that in a Boeotian name, like this, the digamma would be likely to survive longer than in other dialects. For Corinthian, we may add, the digamma is proved by *φιόλα* Collitz 3133. For the derivation of the word cf. *φιόπλοκος* (see above, p. 4).

3. Ἰσθμός. This word is of uncertain origin. Curtius<sup>3</sup> connected it with -ι- to go. It does not appear in Homer.<sup>4</sup> Ἰσθμός and its compounds occur 27 times in Pindar. In 18 places f is impossible, and six places are neutral. But the admission of f removes hiatus in three places:

I. 1. 9	ἀλιερκία Ἰσθμοῦ.
I. 1. 32	Ποσειδάωνι Ἰσθμῷ (one of the two occurrences in Pindar of hiatus after -ι of the dative singular). <sup>5</sup>
Frag. 122. 10	λεξούντι Ἰσθμοῦ.
	Cf. also,
Bacch. 2. 7	αὐχένι Ἰσθμοῦ.

4. Ἰάλυσος. This word appears once in Homer, in B 656 *Λίνδον Ἰήλυσόν τε* (----), where the digamma is impossible, as is the case, also in Timocreon 1. 7 *ἐς πατρίδ' Ἰάλυσον*.

<sup>1</sup> So Christ. Schroeder δ' Ἴωλκόν. <sup>2</sup> So Christ. Schroeder κίωλκόν. <sup>3</sup> Grundzüge 402. <sup>4</sup> But cf. *Ἰσθμιον* [necklace] at beginning of verse, σ 300. <sup>5</sup> See below (p. 7) on O. 9. 112.

But the marked hiatus in the single occurrence of the word in Pindar

O. 7. 74 τὲ Ἰάλυσον

points strongly in the opposite direction.<sup>1</sup>

5. Ἰδαίος, Ἰδας. There is no evidence in Homer for the digamma in this name, and but one place in Pindar points to *ϕ*:

O. 5. 18 ῥέοντα Ἰδαίων. Here — — — — is called for, so that the quantity, as well as the hiatus, indicates an error in the codd., the first syllable of Ἰδαίων being long. But some codd. read ῥέοντ' Ἰδαίων (so Schroeder), which avoids hiatus, and substitutes — — for — — —, a license which is perhaps admissible.

6. Ἴλας, Ἰλιάδας, Ἴλιον, Ἴλος. In Homer, Ἴλιος has *ϕ*, and Curtius<sup>2</sup> thought that the *ο* in Οἰλείς was due to the same consonant. In Pindar but one passage supports the *ϕ*:

O. 9. 112 δαιτὶ Ἰλιάδα (see on I. 1. 32 above, p. 6).

7. In O. 5. 11 ποταμόν τε Ἦανον (*v.l.* Ἦανιν) we are confronted by an almost unknown proper name, possibly to be connected with the name of an oriental fish-god Ἰάννης, mentioned in a fragment (67) of the historian Apollodorus. Cf. Dagon. The hiatus has caused the digamma to be suspected (*ῥάφανος*, cf. the Cretan city Ἰοάξος,<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* ῥάφαξος). But certainty seems impossible, and the suggestion of Horn, τὸν Ἦανον, is probably the best solution of the difficulty.

8. In N. 5. 32 τοῦ δὲ ὄργαν κνίζον ἀπεινοὶ λόγιοι the digamma is probably to be restored. The word ὄργα does not appear in Homer,<sup>4</sup> but occurs nine times in Pindar. In five places *ϕ* is inadmissible, and once the word is at the beginning of a verse. But in I. 6. 14 (τοίαισιν ὄργαῖς) *ϕ* may be restored by a very slight change (τοίαισι ῥοργαῖς), and in P. 4. 141 θεμισσαμένους ῥοργάς may be read without any change. Beside these nine places there is the corrupt passage P. 6. 50, where the

<sup>1</sup>The quantity of the penult of Ἰάλυσος varies. In B 656 it is long. In Pind. O. 7. 74 it occurs in Doric rhythm where we should expect a long syllable, but where, in each of the other four epodes, a trochee takes the place of a spondee, making this *υ* apparently short. In Timocreon l. 7 it is probably long. Pape cites no poetical use of the word but O. 7. 74. Ovid (Met. 7. 365) scans it as short, and so many Latin and English dictionaries, as well as Harper's Classical Dictionary. <sup>2</sup>Grundzüge 574. <sup>3</sup>Heimer, p. 76, Curtius, Grundzüge 575. <sup>4</sup>Once in Bacchylides, at the beginning of a verse.

best codd. read τίν' τ' Ἐλέλιχθον, ὀργαῖς πάσαις, though - - - - - is required. The verse has consequently been emended in many ways, and yields no evidence as to the digamma. But Curtius<sup>1</sup> connected ὀργά with the root *varg* (to be eager, press forward), and this etymology is accepted by Knös,<sup>2</sup> and by Schroeder, the latter comparing the Homeric Λυκοῦργος = Λυκόφοργος.

We have thus 13 instances of hiatus before the words in the above secondary list, most of which are most satisfactorily explained as due to the influence of the digamma. In several of these, to be sure, the hiatus occurs after a dactylic thesis,<sup>3</sup> a position which, in Homer, is considered by many scholars to justify hiatus. But even if we accept this explanation for the older poet, the evidence is too slight to justify us in extending the application of the principle to Pindar.<sup>4</sup> If, then, we include these 13 places among the instances of apparent hiatus, we have a total of 142 cases to be classed under this head. The number of instances of apparent hiatus in T - Ω is more than 400.

If we examine in detail the usage of Homer in contrast with that of Pindar, we find no difficulty in understanding this great disparity.

1. More than 30 of Homer's digammated words do not occur in Pindar at all. These are ἄδος (ἄδος), ἄλις, ἀραιός, ἀρνός, ἑανός, ἑδανός, ἔθω, εἴκελος, εἴλαρ, εἴλυω, εἴσκω, Ἐκάβη, ἑκυρός, ἔλος, ἐλύω, ἔλωρ, ἔννυμι (but cf. ἐσθάς P. 4. 253), ἔρω, ἔτης, ἐτώσιος, εὔκηλος (but cf. ἔκαλος O. 9. 58), ἦκιστος, ἦνοψ, ἦρα, ἦριον, ἰδρώ, Ἰκάριος, ἰνδάλλομαι, Ἴρις, ἰτέη, ἴτυς, ἰωή, ἰωκή, οὔλος.

2. A number of words which are digammated in Homer appear in Pindar with no trace of an initial consonant. Among these are ἄγνυμι, ἀλίσκομαι, ἄστυ, ἔαρ, ἔδνον, ἔερσα, ἔθειρα, ἔθνος, εἴκω (yield), εἴλέω (εἴλω), εἴργω, ἐκάς, ἔκαστος, ἔλδομαι, ἐλείν, ἐλίσσω, ἔξ, ἐρύω, ἰάχ(έ)ω, ἴεμαι (hasten), ἴς (but with *f* in P. 4. 253 by a cj. of Kayser), ἴφι-, οἶνος, ὄψ.

<sup>1</sup> Grundzüge 185. <sup>2</sup> Op. cit. p. 142. <sup>3</sup> So before Ἰόλαος in O. 9. 98; P. 9. 79; P. 11. 60; I. 1. 16. <sup>4</sup> See below, p. 28.

3. Even in the case of the 30 words or stems which show the influence of the digamma, Pindar's practice is far from uniform. In fact he neglects the digamma in these words more often than he respects it,<sup>1</sup> while in Homer the influence of the digamma is felt almost six times as often as it is neglected.<sup>2</sup> Only in the case of *oi*, mentioned above, is Pindar's usage overwhelmingly in favor of the digamma.<sup>3</sup>

We pass now to the other melic writers, including the following poets of whose works we have considerable portions remaining.

Aleman	250 vv.	Simonides	570 vv.
Alcaeus	160	Bacchylides	1350
Sappho	240	Timotheus	275
Anacreon	250		

If we add to these the fragments of the less-known poets, we obtain an amount of material not much less than the extant poems and fragments of Pindar. These poets differ widely in date and in dialect, from the Laconized Lydian (?) Aleman, of the 7th century, to the Ionian Timotheus, whose *Persians* was written soon after the year 400.<sup>4</sup> Nor are all the fragments included in our examination melic in character, since the fragments, especially of Anacreon and Simonides, include many epigrams and elegiac verses. We shall take this element into consideration whenever any conclusions of importance seem to be affected by it.

The first table shows the instances of the observance of the digamma, arranged according to the words or stems to which that consonant may be ascribed, together with the number of places in which the digamma is neglected in the use of the same words. The second table includes the same instances, arranged according to the poets in which the phenomenon appears.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 5.   <sup>2</sup> See Hartel, *op. cit.* 3. 74.   <sup>3</sup> See above, p. 5.   <sup>4</sup> So Wilamowitz, *Perser* p. 63.

		<i>f</i> OBSERVED	<i>f</i> NEGLECTED
ἄγνωμι	Sapph. 2. 9.	1	0
ἄναξ, ἀνάσσω	Terp. 2; 2 <sup>a</sup> ; Alcæ. 5. 6; 14; 69; Sim. 163. 3.	5	9
ἄδύς, ἀνδάνω	Alcæ. 18. 2; 61. 1.	2	7
αὔτω	Alcæ. 33 (see Dryoff, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift 32, 103.)	1	0
ἔαρ	Alcæ. 49. 3; Sim. 57.	2	2
εἶπον	Alcæ. 19; Sapph. 23. 2; Bacch. 9. 72.	3	11
ἔκατι	Alcæ. 44. 1 <sup>*</sup> ; Bacch. Fr. 1. 7.	2	3
ἐλεῖν [†]	Adesp. 3 <sup>*</sup> (φελένα).	1	7
ἐλίσσω	Ibyc. 6. 1.	1	1
ἐργ-, ἐρδ-	Alcæ. 42 <sup>a</sup> . 1; 56. 7; Bacch. 1. 25; 5. 36; 13. 32; 14. 18; Timoth. Fr. 2. 7.	7	15
εἰδ-, εἰδ-	Alcæ. 5. 58; Sapph. 2. 7 <sup>*</sup> ; Sim. 17. 2; 69. 10; 79. 3; Bacch. 5. 78.	6	15
ἰο- (violet)	Alcæ. 5. 76; Ibyc. 6. 1; Sim. 13. 3; Bacch. 3. 2; 9. 3; 9. 72; Adesp. 16. 1.	7	2
οἶνος	Alcæ. 43. 1.	1	9
οὐ, οἶ, ἔ, ὄς	Alcæ. 35 <sup>*</sup> ; 97; Alcæ. 62 <sup>*</sup> ; Sapph. 87; 103 i <sup>*</sup> ; Stes. 5. 2; Sim. 146. 11; Cor. 11. 1 (but see Dryoff, op. cit. p. 99); Bacch. 1. 17; 11. 110; 17. 18; 17. 37; 17. 115; 18. 46; 20. 9; Bacch. Fr. 1. 10; Adesp. 4. 1; 52. 1.	18	1
ὄψ	Bacch. 17. 129.	1	1
TOTAL		58	83

In this list, again, *f* helps to make position but six times,<sup>1</sup> while it prevents hiatus 52 times. The neglect of *f*, on the other hand, is seen 42 times in its failure to make position, 34 times in its

<sup>1</sup> Marked in the list by an asterisk.

failure to prevent elision, four times in the shortening of a vowel or diphthong at the end of the previous word, and three times in the occurrence of crasis.

	APPROX. DATE	VERSES EXTANT	DIGAMMATED WORDS	F OBSERVED	F NEGLECTED
Terpander of Lesbos	675	8	ἀναξ (2)	2	1
Aleman of Sparta (†)	660	255	ἀναξ (3), ἀδός (2), ἔαρ (1), ἔκατι (1), ἰδεῖν (1), ἰον (1), οὐ (2).	11	2
Alcaeus of Lesbos	595	160	αἶτω (1), εἶπον (1), ἐργ- (2), αἶνος (1), οὐ (1).	6	5
Sappho of Lesbos	595	235	ἀγνυμι (1), εἶπον (1), ἰδεῖν (1), οὐ (2).	5	7
Stesichorus of Himera	590	50	οὐ (1).	1	1
Ibycus of Rhegium	550	50	ἐλίσσω (1), ἰον (1).	2	0
Anacreon of Teos	545	240		0	6
Simonides of Ceos	500	570	ἀναξ (1), ἔαρ (1), ἰδεῖν (3), ἰον (1), οὐ (1).	7	25
Corinna of Thebes	500	25	οὐ (1).	1	2
Pratinas of Athens	490	22		0	1
Diagoras of Melos	460	5		0	1
Bacchylides of Ceos	460	1350	εἶπον (1), ἔκατι (1), ἐργ- (4), ἰδεῖν (1), ἰον (3), οὐ (8), ὄψ (1).	19	21
Melanippides of Melos	440	20		0	3
Philoxenus of Cythera	440	85		0	1
Timotheus of Miletus	400	275	ἐργ- (1).	1	1
Erinna of Lesbos	350[†]	25		0	2
Adespota	†	150	ἐλεῖν (1), ἰον (1), οὐ (2).	4	4
		3525	TOTAL	59	83



If we compare these tables with the results of our observations in Pindar, several facts are at once apparent. The third personal pronoun, in these poets as in Pindar, is the one word in which the digamma is consistently recognized. Even its possessive derivative  $\delta\varsigma$ , in which Pindar more often ignores the initial consonant, shows no exception in the other melic poets. In fact, out of 19 places in which these words appear in the writers under consideration there is but a single instance of the digamma ignored:

Corinna 3  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\nu\ \tau\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\prime\ \acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\nu\ \acute{\omega}\nu\acute{\omicron}\mu\eta\nu\epsilon\nu$ <sup>1</sup>  
 where Meister corrects to  $\acute{\alpha}\phi$ .

But when we remember that  $f$  in this pronoun is invariably observed in Pindar, Alcman, Alcaeus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Simonides, and Bacchylides, and once by Corinna herself, and that there is not, in all our extant melic poetry, a single instance of the digamma ignored except the present one, we can hardly fail to conclude that  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\prime\ \acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$  here points to a corruption of another kind, and calls for an emendation which shall restore  $f$ . Next come the words  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\xi$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\omega$ , and the stems  $\acute{\iota}\delta-$  ( $\acute{\omicron}\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma-$ , ( $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta-$ ),  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi-$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\pi-$ ), and  $\acute{\alpha}\delta-$  ( $\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ), which show 23 instances of  $f$  respected to 58 instances of  $f$  neglected.<sup>2</sup>

A few words appear with  $f$  in Pindar but without  $f$  in the other melic poets, and *vice versa*, as shown in the following table:

	PINDAR		OTHER MELIC POETS	
	$f$ RECOGNIZED	$f$ IGNORED	$f$ RECOGNIZED	$f$ IGNORED
$\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho$	0	2	2 (Alcm., Sim.)	2
$\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota$	1	0	0	3
$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu$	0	10	1 (Adesp.)	7
$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\sigma\omega$	0	4	1 (Ibyc.)	1
$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$	5	6	0	6
$\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$	2	4	0	2
$\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\varsigma$	2	1	0	3
$\xi\theta\omicron\varsigma$	1	3	0	1
$\omicron\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$	0	6	1 (Alcae.)	9

<sup>1</sup> See Dryoff, *op. cit.* p. 98. <sup>2</sup> In Pindar 42 to 113.

The number of instances in the above table is probably too small to allow any important conclusions to be drawn from them.

If we consider, now, the usage of the different poets, separately, as presented in the second table, we find, as might be expected, that the digamma falls more and more into oblivion from century to century. Terpander and Alcman are almost as consistent as Homer in their observance of this consonant, and in the case of Alcman we have a sufficient number of verses to afford a fairly adequate basis for observation. Alcaeus and Sappho show a decided falling off, and ignore the digamma as often as they respect it. The Ionian Anacreon shows no trace of the digamma in hiatus. Simonides, the older contemporary of Pindar, and originator of the epinician ode, is far less inclined than Pindar to remember the digamma, which must be attributed to his Cean birth, and also, perhaps, to the fact that the poems of Simonides which we possess are for the most part epigrams or elegies. It is not unlikely that if we had complete epinician odes of this poet we should find in them many more traces of the digamma. This opinion is supported by what we see of the usage of Bacchylides. The younger poet, though reared in the same dialect as his famous uncle, is much more consistent in his observance of the digamma, and stands in this respect much nearer to his great rival Pindar.<sup>1</sup> It seems difficult to account for this fact in any other way than by attributing it to the different poetical character of the extant poems of Bacchylides, which are epinician odes, with few epigrams or elegies. In the fifth century the digamma practically disappears from melic poetry, so far as our scanty fragments afford us evidence. It is probable, however, that if we possessed extensive remains of Pratinas, Diagoras, Melanippides, Philoxenus, and the others, we should still see sporadic traces of the influence of the almost forgotten consonant. Even at the opening of the fourth century we find, in a fragment of Timotheus, *ἀκλέα φέργα*, though the *Persians* adds nothing to our list. In Attic tragedy itself the ghost of the digamma walks.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For instances of "false digamma" in Bacchylides, see below, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Soph. Trach. 650 *ἀ δέ φοι φίλα δάμαρ*. See also Elec. 196.

The direct effect of dialect upon the use of the digamma by these poets is not so conspicuous as we should expect. This is probably owing to the fact that the language of all of them, notwithstanding their different places of birth or of residence, is more or less modified by poetic tradition. The two Ceans, Simonides and Bacchylides, used the common lyric forms which are familiar to us in Boeotian Pindar, and it is only when we reach Timotheus that we find a language free from Aeolic and Doric influence.<sup>1</sup> Of the older poets in our list, Anacreon writes the purest Ionic, and it is significant that in the 240 verses which we have from his pen there appears to be no instance of hiatus before a digamated stem.

## II.—Hiatus after a diphthong or long vowel.

Hiatus after a diphthong or long vowel, usually with the metrical value of a short syllable, is very frequent in the melic poets as well as in Homer. In Homer, indeed, it occurs on every page, and almost in every verse.<sup>2</sup> Pindar avails himself of this license much more sparingly than Homer, but even in Pindar this is by far the most frequent variety of hiatus, occurring no less than 212 times in the extant odes and fragments, or an average of almost six times to each 100 verses. The following table records the instances in Pindar of hiatus after each diphthong and long vowel, omitting, of course, those cases which have already been noticed under apparent hiatus. For convenience of reference the cases where the natural long quantity is retained are noted in a separate column.

<sup>1</sup> Yet see Wilamowitz, Perser, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> More exactly, about once in four verses.

## DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. a. PINDAR.

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG
<b>-αι</b>		
καί	O. 1. 31; 4. 23; 6. 92; 7. 7; 7. 55; 7. 63; 8. 47; 8. 47; 8. 69; 8. 69; 9. 14; 9. 23; 9. 59; 9. 82; 10. 15; 10. 62; 11. 19; 13. 7; 13. 84; 13. 107; P. 1. 1; 1. 94; 1. 100; 2. 51; 3. 90; 4. 164; 4. 174; 4. 194; 4. 254; 4. 272; 8. 28; 8. 56; 8. 57 <sup>b</sup> ; 9. 22; 9. 37; 9. 40; 9. 63; 9. 64; 9. 88; 9. 113; 10. 17; 10. 22; 10. 69; 11. 9; N. 1. 17; 1. 32; 2. 1; 2. 3; 3. 54; 3. 61; 4. 75; 5. 7; 6. 49; 6. 54; 6. 66; 7. 101; 10. 31; 10. 47; 10. 77; 11. 2; 11. 7; 11. 23; I. 1. 2; 1. 48; 1. 57; 5. 5; 5. 18; 7. 32; 8. 5; 8. 59; Frag. 1. 2; 76. 1; 76. 1; 127. 1; 127. 1; 143. 1; 169. 2; 169. 7; 199. 3.       79	0
-ται (verbs)	O. 8. 53; 13. 99; P. 2. 74; 4. 273; 4. 293; 8. 93; 9. 49; 9. 56; 9. 59; 12. 29; N. 3. 71; 5. 37; 7. 16; 11. 13; I. 4. 68; Frag. 123. 3; 131. 3; 133. 2.                               18	0
-μαι (verbs)	O. 2. 92; 6. 86; 8. 86; P. 2. 4; N. 4. 35; 5. 16; 9. 29; Frag. 107. 19; 123. 7.                       9	0
-νται (verbs)	N. 7. 20.                               1	0
Infjn.	P. 2. 60; 9. 119; 12. 18; N. 4. 79; 5. 1; 10. 58; Frag. 42. 4.                                       7	0
φθέγγαι	N. 5. 52.                               1	0
Nom. pl.	O. 14. 1; N. 2. 18; Frag. 76. 2                                       3	I. 8. 56 1
παί	O. 4. 5.                               1	0
πάλαι	I. 2. 1.                               1	0
	TOTAL -αι       120	1

## DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. a. PINDAR.—Cont'd.

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG
<b>—οι</b>		
Nom. pl.	O. 12. 5; 13. 17; P. 2. 35; 3. 36; 9. 107; N. 1. 67; 4. 38; I. 2. 8; 6. 19; 6. 22; Frag. 74 <sup>b</sup> . 5; 182, 1; 229. 1	13
Dat. sing.	O. 2. 83; 6. 65; 7. 89; 13.76; P. 4. 197; 4. 287; 9. 109; N. 1. 21; 1. 58; 3. 39; 5. 34; 10. 80	12
τοι	P. 4. 148; N. 5. 16; 10. 82	3
Opt.	O. 6. 6	1
	TOTAL —οι	29
<b>—ει</b>		
ἐπί	O. 7. 90; 9. 29; 14. 4; P. 11. 33; 12. 18; N. 10. 14	6
3rd pers. sing.	N. 6. 4	1
	TOTAL —ει	7
<b>—ευ</b>		
κέκλευ	I. 6. 53	1
	TOTAL —ευ	1
<b>—ου</b>		
Gen. sing.	O. 3. 14; 6. 9; 9. 79; P. 2. 39; 2. 58; 4. 5; 4. 33; 4. 64; 9. 81; N. 5. 13; 5. 43; 6. 27; 6. 28; 10. 88; 11. 2; I. 1. 66; 4. 47; 6. 65; 8. 39; 8. 65; Frag. 29. 6; 123. 2; 188.	23
που	P. 4. 87	1
	TOTAL —ου	24
		N. 9. 55; I. 1. 16; Frag. 177. 4 [?]
		3
		0
		3

## DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. a. PINDAR.—Cont'd.

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG
-φ		
Dat. sing.	O. 7. 43; 8. 9; 8. 16; 13. 30; 13. 37; P. 4. 21; N. 4. 46; 4. 94; 6. 26; 8. 23; I. 1. 8; 1. 11; 5. 61; 6. 8	O. 10. 25; N. 6. 22; 10. 15; I. 1. 16; 1. 61
	14	5
	TOTAL -φ 14	5
-α		
Dat. sing.	O. 5. 2; 8. 83; 10. 41; 10. 43; 13. 101; N. 8. 18; 11. 23	O. 3. 30; 6. 82; P. 11. 47
	7	3
	TOTAL -α 7	3
-η		
Subjv.		O. 8. 24
	0	1
	TOTAL -η 0	1
-ᾶ		
Nom. sing.	O. 6. 62	
	1	0
Doric gen.	O. 8. 54; P. 9. 81	
	2	0
	TOTAL -ᾶ 3	0
-ῆ		
ῆ	O. 13. 113; P. 11. 24	I. 7. 8; 7. 9; 7. 10
	2	3
ῆδη	P. 3. 57	
	1	0
	TOTAL -ῆ 3	3
-ω		
οὔπω	O. 7. 55	
	1	0
ἐγώ	I. 1. 14	
	1	0
προσεννέπω	I. 6. 17 (emendation)	
	1	0
ἱκετεύω	Frag. 107. 7	
	1	0
	TOTAL -ω 4	0
	GRAND TOTAL 212	16

The following table shows the usage of Bacchylides and the other melic poets, except Pindar:

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. *δ*. OTHER MELIC POETS.

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG	
<i>-αι</i>			
<i>καί</i>	Bacch. 3. 48; 5. 31; 8. 2; 9. 46; 9. 79; 10. 44; 11. 24; 11. 66; 11. 113; 13. 30; 13. 188; 14. 23; 15. 57; 15. 62; 18. 38; 18. 53; 19. 46; Frag. 60. 1; Eum. 1. 2; Alem. 32. 1; Alcae. 66. 2; 79. 1; Sapph. 27. 1; 105. 3; Stesich. 1. 2; 2. 1; 23. 1; Anac. 90. 3; 96. 1; Simon. 19. 2; 23. 1; 69. 2; 80. 3; 89. 3; 91. 7; 94. 3; 97. 2; 118. 5; 120. 2; 124. 1; 135. 9; 142. 3; Timoc. 3. 5; Prax. 2. 3; 2. 3; Philox. 2. 28; 2. 32; Telest. 1. 7; Erin. 4. 2; 5. 7	50	0
<i>-ται</i> (verbs)	Bacch. 3. 87; 16. 6; 16. 8 [?]; Sapph. 91. 1; Anac. 68. 1; 90. 4; 95. 2; Simon. 17. 1; 119. 5; 144. 2; Timoth. 29. 1; Erin. 3. 1	12	0
<i>-μαι</i> (verbs)	Bacch. 5. 195; Sapph. 2. 16; Simon. 95. 1; Timoth. Pers. 149; Adesp. 56. 1	5	0
<i>-νται</i> (verbs)	Bacch. 10. 33 [?]	1	0
<i>-αι</i> (infin.)	Alcae. 62. 1; Sapph. 103 k; Simon. 154. 8	3	0
<i>-αι</i> (nom. pl.)	Sapph. 26. 1; Timoc. 3. 5	2	0
<i>πάλαι</i>	Sapph. 103 e	1	0
	TOTAL <i>-αι</i>	74	0





DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS. *b. OTHER MELIC POETS.—Cont'd.*

	METRICALLY SHORT	METRICALLY LONG
<b>-α</b>		
Dat. sing.	Sapph. 103 k; Anac. 102. 1; Simon. 126. 3; 149. 1	Simon. 22. 1
	4	1
ῥα'		Alem. 12
	0	1
	TOTAL -α	2
	4	2
<b>-η</b>		
Dat. sing.	Simon. 72. 1; 129. 5	
	2	0
Subjv.	Simon. 41. 6	
	1	0
	TOTAL -η	0
	3	0
<b>-ā</b>		
Nom. sing.	Alem. 92. 1; Alcae. 85. 1; Erin. 5. 7	
	3	0
Doric gen.	Anac. 105. 1; Simon. 79. 1	
	2	0
Voc. sing.	Simon. 80. 1; 96. 2	
	2	0
	TOTAL -ā	0
	7	0
<b>-η</b>		
Voc. sing.	Simon. 145. 1	
	1	0
	TOTAL -η	0
	1	0
<b>-ω</b>		
1st pers. sing.	Sapph. 104. 1; Simon. 109.2	
	2	0
Gen. sing.	Adesp. 8. 1	Alem. 54. 1 [?]
	1	1
ω		Alem. 79. 1; Timoth. 25. 4; Erin. 6. 7
	0	3
	TOTAL -ω	4
	3	4
GRAND TOTAL		12
140		12

For convenience of reference, the following summary is added:

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS, IN PINDAR, BACCHYLIDES,  
AND THE OTHER MELIC POETS.

	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
<b>—αι</b>				
καί	129	0		
—ται (verbs)	30	0		
—μαι (verbs)	14	0		
—νται (verbs)	2	0		
Infm.	10	0		
Impv.	1	0		
Nom. pl.	5	1		
πάλαι	2	0		
παῖ	1	0		
TOTAL —αι			194	1
<b>—οι</b>				
Nom. pl.	22	1		
Dat. sing.	21	1		
τοι	5	0		
Opt.	1	0		
TOTAL —οι			49	2
<b>—ει</b>				
ἐπεί	6	0		
3rd sing.	2	0		
Dat. sing.	3	0		
ιώνει	0	1		
TOTAL —ει			11	1

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS, IN PINDAR, BACCHYLIDES,  
AND THE OTHER MELIC POETS.—*Cont'd.*

	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
—ευ				
κέκλευ	1	0		
TOTAL —ευ			1	0
—ου				
Gen. sing.	33	4		
που	1	0		
ιδού	0	1		
TOTAL —ου			34	5
—φ				
Dat. sing.	28	6		
TOTAL —φ			28	6
—α				
Dat. sing.	11	4		
ῥά	0	1		
TOTAL —α			11	5
—η				
Dat. sing.	2	0		
Subjv.	1	1		
TOTAL —η			3	1

DIPHTHONGS AND LONG VOWELS IN HIATUS, IN PINDAR, BACCHYLIDES,  
AND THE OTHER MELIC POETS.—*Cont'd.*

	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
<b>—ā</b>				
Nom. sing.	4	0		
Doric gen.	4	0		
Voc. sing.	2	0		
<b>TOTAL —ā</b>			10	0
<b>—η</b>				
Voc. sing.	1	0		
ῆ	2	3		
ῆδῆ	1	0		
<b>TOTAL —η</b>			4	3
<b>—ω</b>				
1st pers. sing.	4	0		
έγω	1	0		
οὔπω	1	0		
Gen. sing.	1	1		
ῶ	0	3		
<b>TOTAL —ω</b>			7	4
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>			352	28

On examining the above tables we observe several interesting facts. The diphthong *-αι* appears in hiatus far more frequently than any other, and the single word *καί* furnishes more than half of all the cases. Next follow certain verbal endings, especially *-ται* and *-μαι*, and finally a very few other words.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that *καί* is never elided, and of the verbal endings *-ται* and *-μαι* are elided far less frequently than *-νται* and *-σθαι*. The significance of these facts will be discussed in another paper.

Among the cases of  $-oi$  the nom. pl. and the dat. sing. of pronouns are most frequent. Under  $-ei$  the word  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}$  has the the leading place, as is the case in Homer. The cases of  $-ov$  are practically all genitives singular, while those of  $-o\phi$  are all datives singular, as are all but one of the cases of  $-a$ .

It is clearly the rule that diphthongs and long vowels are shortened in hiatus, the number of exceptions being but 28, or only one-fourteenth of the whole number. This fact is striking, for in Homer diphthongs and long vowels retain their quantity in hiatus about twice as often, proportionately, or in one seventh of the whole number of instances.<sup>1</sup>

If we fix our attention first on the diphthongs, we see that the first five, consisting of a *short* vowel with  $i$  or  $u$ , form a group by themselves. Within this group the correption occurs no less than 289 times, while the natural quantity is retained but nine times. Comparing these five diphthongs with the whole list we see that five-sixths of the cases where the rule is observed, and only one-third of the exceptions, occur within this group. So far as the  $i$  diphthongs are concerned, we find here a strong confirmation of the opinion of Grulich,<sup>2</sup> that both the toleration of hiatus, and the correption, are to be explained by assuming a change of the vowel  $i$  to the corresponding semi-vowel before the initial vowel of the following word.<sup>3</sup> Though *jot* had perished long before Pindar wrote, and probably before the time of any of the poets under consideration, yet its influence could still be felt. Its sound would naturally emerge whenever an  $i$  was spoken immediately before another vowel. This at once obviates the hiatus, and the remaining vowel of the diphthong, being left by itself, shows its natural quantity, which in the cases we are discussing ( $ai$ ,  $oi$ ,  $ei$ ) is short.

In the diphthongs consisting of a short vowel with  $i$  we find in our whole list of melic poets but four exceptions to the law of shortening. These are:

Pind. I. 8. 56  $\acute{\alpha}\omicron\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\nu$  ( - - - - - ).

This has been emended by Hermann ( $\gamma' \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\nu$ ) and Schroeder ( $\tau\iota \lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\nu$ ). The latter emendation should probably be accepted.

<sup>1</sup> See Grulich, *op. cit.* 20. <sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 21. <sup>3</sup> Curtius, *Studien* I. 2, 279 ff., regards the correption of  $-ai$ ,  $-oi$ , as semi-elision.

Bacch. 11. 120 *πρόγονοι ἑσσάμενοι* (— — — — —) is corrupt. Kenyon and Smyth accept the cj. of Palmer *ἔσσαν ἐμοί*, Smyth excusing the hiatus by Pind. O. 6. 82, which is hardly a parallel case.<sup>1</sup> This reading introduces an entirely unwarranted bit of personal history, and the cj. of Blass *προγόνων ἑσσαμενων*, approved by Wilamowitz, is to be preferred.

Sappho 103 b *ψάνην δ' οὐ δοκίει μοι δράνω*, and

Corinna 4. 1 *ιώνει ἡρώων ἀρετὰς χήρωάδων*, are too uncertain,

both in text and rhythm, to afford any basis for discussion.

Grulich extended the application of this same principle to the diphthong *-ου*. But here, as pointed out by F. D. Allen,<sup>2</sup> he was in error, since the *-ου* in question is always the so-called "spurious" *-ου* (usually the ending of the gen. sing.), arising from contraction. It was never a true diphthong, and hence its final vowel could scarcely have been changed to the corresponding semi-vowel. Professor Allen himself suggested that the frequent occurrence of hiatus after this genitive ending must be explained as arising from an earlier habit of eliding the uncontracted ending *-οο*. Hiatus once established after this ending, it would be easy and natural to transfer it to the ending *-ου*, when the older form had passed out of use. This would account for all our instances of hiatus after *-ου* used as short (so *που* in Pind. P. 4. 87), since in each of them we have to do with the genitive ending of the *-ο-* declension.

The five cases of hiatus after *-ου* where the diphthong is treated as long offer little difficulty. In Pind. N. 9. 55 *σκοπού ἄγχιστα* was emended by Ahrens to *σκοποῖ ἄγχιστα*, and in Pind. I. 1. 16 *Ἰολάου ἐναρμόξαι* the same emendation was made by Mommsen. Both these emendations are generally accepted, since Pindar, unlike Homer, does not hesitate to elide the final vowel of *-οιο* (*cf.* O. 13. 35). The same emendation is easily made in Pind. Frag. 177. 4 *αἴνιγμα παρθένου ἐξ ἀγριᾶν γνάθων*, and in Simon. 84. 2 *κνάνεον θανάτου ἀμφεβάλοντο νέφος* (*cf.* Simon. 69. 11 *βιότοι' ὀλίγος*, this, too, in an elegy). The one remaining instance of *-ου* long in hiatus is Pratinas 1. 15 *ἦν*

<sup>1</sup> *γλώσσα ἀκόνας* (— — — —). See below, p. 27. <sup>2</sup> Greek Versification in Inscriptions, Papers of the Am. School at Athens, 4. 121.

*ἰδού ἄδε σοι δεξιά*, where the sense-pause after *ἰδού* makes the hiatus objectionable.

We have thus far considered all those instances of hiatus which occur after a diphthong consisting of a short vowel followed by *ι* or *υ*, and at the same time accounted for the quantity of the syllable. These number 298 out of a total of 380 cases of hiatus after a long vowel or diphthong. To these we may now add the 12 (*α* 5, *η* 1, *φ* 6) occurrences of hiatus after a diphthong consisting of a long vowel followed by *ι*, where the diphthong is treated as long. Here the transformation of *ι* into a semi-vowel obviates the hiatus, and the remaining long vowel retains its natural quantity. Adding these 12 instances, we have in all 310 cases under this head which are satisfactorily accounted for. The 70 which remain are more troublesome.

We shall first take up the instances of hiatus after *-φ* where the diphthong is treated as short. These number 28, and are distributed as follows:

Pindar	14
Bacchylides	2
Sappho	1
Simonides <sup>1</sup>	11
	<hr/>
	28

Here the law of Grulich would account for the hiatus only, but not for the curtailment of the quantity, since after the development of a semi-vowel from the *ι*, a long vowel (*ω*) is left. But even here we are not altogether at loss. As remarked above,<sup>2</sup> these are all cases of the dat. sing. of the *-σ-* declension. Grulich himself suggested<sup>3</sup> that the original locative ending in *-οι* may have had an influence in bringing about the correption of *-φ* in hiatus, and F. D. Allen has pointed out<sup>4</sup> that this locative ending, in certain dialects, did regular duty as a dative. The confusion of the two cases was easy, as we see from the fact that it was the Sanskrit locative ending in *-i*, and not the Sanskrit dative in *-ē*, which became the standard dative ending in Greek. How far this dative (locative) ending *-οι*, which was specially Boeotian, could have affected such poets as Sappho, Simonides, and Bacchylides, may be doubtful, but in the case of Simonides,

<sup>1</sup> Only in epigram or elegy. <sup>2</sup> p. 17. <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 44. <sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 121.

at least, we may take refuge in the fact that the farther he was removed from Pindar's Boeotian, the nearer he stood to Homeric influence, and in Homer he could find precedent enough for the correction of  $-\varphi$ . Pindar, however, rejoiced in declaring his independence of Homer,<sup>1</sup> and in the Pindaric instances we prefer to see the influence of the traditions of the poet's native speech.

Next come 14 occurrences of hiatus after  $-\alpha$  and  $-\eta$ , with correction. These appear as follows:

Pindar	7	(datives only)
Sappho	1	(dative)
Anacreon	1	(dative)
Simonides	5	(4 datives, 1 subjv. 3d sing.)

Here again the Pindaric instances stand in a class by themselves. For the Boeotian dialect an older form in  $-\tilde{\alpha}i$ , of the dative ending of the  $-\alpha$ -declension, is abundantly proved, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the existence of these two dative endings, in  $-\tilde{\alpha}i$  and in  $-\alpha$ , had its influence upon Pindar, and helped to shape his treatment of the dative ending in hiatus, *viz.*, that  $-\alpha$  is treated seven times as short and three times as long.<sup>2</sup>

But the instances in Sappho (1), Anacreon (1), and Simonides (5), cannot be explained by referring them to the peculiarities of the Boeotian dialect. Here we are forced to fall back upon the influence of analogy,—the analogy of Homeric usage, which was pervasive and powerful in all of the early Greek poetry. The following table shows the comparative frequency of  $\varphi$  and

<sup>1</sup> See especially N. 7. 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Since Grulich made no use of the dative in  $-\tilde{\alpha}i$  in explaining hiatus, while he makes much of the dative in  $-\alpha$ , I add a number of references, though the facts are of course familiar to most scholars. See Meister, *Gr. Dial.* 1882, pp. 238 f. 271; Gust. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.* 1886, p. 341; Brugmann's *Vergl. Gram. (Eng. Trans.)* Vol. 3, pp. 147 f. ["In Greek we find  $-\tilde{\alpha}i$  in place of  $-\tilde{\alpha}i$  in the dative, as we find  $-\alpha$ , the locative ending, in place of  $-\omega$ . . . .  $\tilde{\alpha}i$  is certain for Boeotian, and so it was doubtless found in the other dialects which had  $-\alpha$  instead of  $-\omega$ ." Brugmann then speaks of the confusion which arose between the locative and the dative, and adds "After this, both classes of stems moved on side by side in the same direction. In one group of dialects, as in Ionic-Attic,  $\varphi$  and  $\tau$  absorbed  $-\alpha$  and  $-\alpha$  in the declensions, so that these survived only in adverbs and in certain fossil forms (*e.g.*  $\alpha\lambda\kappa\alpha\iota$ ,  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\eta\varsigma$ ) while elsewhere, as in Boeotian,  $-\alpha$  and  $-\alpha$  gained the day."] See also Brugmann's *Gr. Gram* 1900, p. 226, and *cf.* Pindar's  $\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\omega\upsilon$  P. 4. 98. In Kühner-Blass 1, p. 371, the dative in  $-\tilde{\alpha}i$  is given place, though in discussing hiatus, (p. 193 f.) Blass follows Grulich in taking account only of the dative in  $-\alpha$ , and ignoring the dative in  $-\tilde{\alpha}i$ .



$\eta$  ( $\alpha$ ) in hiatus, used as long or as short respectively, in Homer, Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides, and the other melic writers:

	$\varphi$		$\eta$ ( $\alpha$ )	
	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
Homer <sup>1</sup>	340	303	162	177
Pindar	14	5	7	4
Simonides	11	0	5	1
Bacchylides	2	0	0	0
Other melic poets	1	1	2	1

The uniformity with which Simonides shortens these diphthongs is remarkable, when compared with the practice either of Homer or of Pindar.

We have yet to notice the 28 instances of hiatus after a long vowel. Here the tendency to shorten the vowel is very decided, only seven of the 28 cases showing the vowel metrically long. The three cases of  $\eta$  as long may possibly be explained, with Mommsen,<sup>2</sup> as standing for  $\eta\acute{\epsilon}(\eta')$ , or, with Hartel,<sup>3</sup> as due to the natural pause after the disjunctive, but neither of these explanations will help us with the four other cases of long quantity retained, or with the 21 cases of correption in these vowels.

In view of this difficulty, many scholars will feel inclined to abandon the effort to account for hiatus by the character of the vowel or diphthong itself, and to rely on the convenient rule that long vowels are shortened in hiatus, except when metrical ictus gives them sufficient firmness to resist this so-called "semi-elision," especially in a dactylic thesis.<sup>4</sup> It may be well, therefore, to notice the metrical location of the syllables when the long mensuration is retained in the poets in question. We find in logaoedic<sup>5</sup> verse 11 instances, of which five are in the thesis of a dactyl, two in the thesis of a trochee, three are trisemes, and

<sup>1</sup> See Grulich, *op. cit.* 20. <sup>2</sup> Supplement p. 166. <sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* 2. 359. <sup>4</sup> See Christ on Pind. O. 1. 103. <sup>5</sup> I take the liberty of retaining the usual metrical terminology, since the metricians of the new school are not yet fully agreed among themselves.

one (Pind. I. 7. 8) an anacrusis. Ten instances are in dactylo-epitritic verse, of which four are in the thesis of a dactyl, two in the thesis of a spondee, two in the thesis of a trochee, two (Pind. I. 1. 16, Bacch. 11. 120) in anacrusis. Three instances are in dactylic hexameters, of which two are in the thesis of the third foot and one in the thesis of the second foot. Finally, in Pratinas 1. 15, the third syllable of a cretic is long in hiatus. It thus appears that out of 25 instances of the kind we are discussing, only 12 are in the thesis of a dactyl, the remaining cases being found in almost every possible metrical position, even in the unaccented part of a foot, or in anacrusis. The effort at explanation, then, on the basis of metrical position, is not more successful than that which seeks the excuse for hiatus in the nature of the vowels or diphthongs concerned. In either case we must be content to find a residuum of phenomena which can be explained only by analogy, or as instances of poetic license. But in general the present writer inclines to the opinion of Mommsen<sup>1</sup> "*Tota de hiatu quaestio non in numerorum sed in vocabulorum natura vertitur.*" It would not be difficult to show ground for the belief that far too much stress has been laid upon the effort of verse-position in mitigating hiatus even in Homer.

It may be profitable, here, to recapitulate the results of the preceding discussion of hiatus after a diphthong or long vowel:

1. After *ai, oi, ei.*

Short, 254 instances, to be explained as by Grulich and Hartel.

Long, 4 instances, to be emended.

2. After *ev, ov.*

Short, 35 instances, mostly genitives, to be explained as due to the older ending *-oo* elided.

Long, 5 instances, of which 4 are genitives to be amended to *-α'*.

3. After *φ, α, η.*

Short, 42 instances, mostly datives, probably influenced by old dative endings in *-α* and *-ᾶ*.

Long, 12 instances, to be explained as by Grulich.

<sup>1</sup> Supplement p. 167.

4. After  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\omega$ .

Short, 21 instances.

Long, 7 instances.

TOTAL Short, 352.

Long, 28.

It is well known that the dactylic foot is the natural home of correption in hiatus. The following table shows the kind of foot, and place in the foot, in which these shortened syllables appear in the Melic poets:

	DACTYL		TRIBRACH			CRETIC	TROCHEE	TOTAL
	2d	3d	1st	2d	3d			
$\alpha$	68	121			1	2 [Pind. O. 2. 92 P. 11. 9]	2 [Pind. O. 14. 1 Bacch. 10. 33]	194
$\epsilon$		9					2 [Bacch. 10. 43 16. 20]	11
$\omicron$	8	36		1	1	2 [Pind. O. 2. 83 Bacch. 17. 115]	1 [Pind. P. 8. 96]	49
$\epsilon\nu$	1							1
$ou$	4	30						34
$\alpha$		11						11
$\eta$		3						3
$\varphi$	6	21		1				28
$\bar{a}$		10						10
$\eta$	1	2	1					4
$\omega$	3	4						7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>352</b>

The exceptions to the rule that correption in hiatus is confined to dactyls, are so few as scarcely to demand attention. The melic poets evidently received this license as an inheritance from Homer, and employed it almost exclusively in the characteristic Homeric foot, though in logaoedic verse as freely as in dactylo-epitritic.<sup>1</sup> Rapid motion was necessary to justify the curtailment of quantity, and the dactyl is the measure of rapid motion.

<sup>1</sup>This is a fact which the new metricians, who break up the glyconic dactyls into trochees and iambs, will need to reckon with. See the author's paper in the *Classical Review* for July (or October), 1904.



fifth of the strophe (antistrophe), and hence this metrical series occurs in the poem four times.

5. ( . . . ) νωνται ( . . . . . ) ψ  
 15. ὄσσα <νῦν> Νίκας ἑκατι ἄνθεσιν ξαν—  
 33. οἳ τε Π<ελλάν>αν νέμονται, ἀμφί τ' Εὔβοι—  
 43. ποκίλον τόξον τιταίνει· οἳ δ' ἐπ' ἔργα—

In 15 the marked hiatus after ἑκατι, together with the fact that -ατι makes a trochee where we should expect a spondee, subjects the text to well-deserved suspicion. Consequently it is far better, with Blass and Jebb, to alter the division of verses as it appears in the papyrus, and end the verse with ἑκατι. This avoids the hiatus, secures the succession of regular dactylo-epitrites, and at the same time (in 33 and 43) relieves us of two of our cases of correction in a trochaic foot.

Bacch. 16. 20 κόρα τ' ὀβριμοδερκεῖ ἄζυγα

This series of quantities occurs only once elsewhere in the poem, in the mutilated verse 8, which closes -ται ῥόνων. In this case Mr. Kenyon's only reason for making the syllable before the hiatus short is (apparently) the fact that hiatus occurs in both verses. But we have already seen that correction in a trochee is much more unusual than the retention of the long quantity in hiatus. Hence the scansion of Blass ( ~ - - - - - - - - ) is to be preferred.

### III.—Hiatus after a short vowel.

Hiatus after a short vowel is very uncommon in Greek melic poetry. The only instances which appears in modern texts of Pindar have already been noticed<sup>1</sup>, as affording room for at least a suspicion of the digamma. A small number of cases in Bacchylides and the melic fragments, must now be mentioned.

- Bacch. 2. 7 ἀχέει Ἴσθμοῦ  
 For *φισθμός*, see above, p. 6.  
 Bacch. 5. 75 ἐξείλετο ἰόν  
 17. 131 φρένα ἰανθείς

<sup>1</sup> See above pp. 5 ff.

These seem to be instances of "false digamma." We have no evidence that either *ἰός* (arrow), or *λαίνω*, was ever digammated, but both words suggest to the ear the familiar *ἴον* (violet), which has the digamma in Homer, Aleman, Ibycus, Simonides, Pindar, and three times in Bacchylides.<sup>1</sup>

Bacch. 3 64    *μεγαίνητε ἴερον*

This is a difficult case, but is eased somewhat by the fact that the final vowel of *μεγαίνητε* is apparently lengthened by the ictus. Cf. vv. 4, 8, 18, 22, 32, 36, 46, 50, 60, 78, 88, of the same poem, where the corresponding syllable is long. Vv. 74 and 92 are mutilated.

Bacch. 16. 5    *ἀνθεμόεντι Ἐβρω*

Sapph. 103. 2    *οὐκέτι εἶξω*<sup>2</sup>

Sim. 22. 3    *δείματι ἤριπεν*

22. 8    *νυκτὶ ἀλαμπεί*

Philox. 2. 2 .    *μέχρι οὐ*

There are in Homer a few instances of hiatus, not otherwise explained, after the vowel *ι*, and on these has been based a law permitting hiatus after this vowel, though the evidence for such a law is not entirely adequate. In the examples before us, however, the *ι* in most cases occurs in a word, or in a termination, where it is very seldom elided,<sup>3</sup> and hence the hiatus may be justified.<sup>4</sup>

Timoth. Pers. 118    *φερόμεθ α . οὐ . . .*

Here the text is not quite certain, but the marked pause in the sense makes the hiatus unobjectionable.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 10. Did Bacchylides, as a Cean, *learn* his digamma for use in his odes in Pindaric style, and have we here an instance of the *διδασκαλῶσαι* which Pindar is supposed to scorn, as contrasted with his own *φύδι*? Gossiping scholiasts and editors on O. 2. 86 ff., O. 9. 100 ff., N. 3. 41 f., could have made much of this.

<sup>2</sup> Smyth suspects the digamma here.

<sup>3</sup> So especially in the dative singular. See pp. 6 f.

<sup>4</sup> For Bacch. 10. 15 *ἔκατι ἀνθεσιν* see above p. 32.

## CONCLUSION.

In a number of places where hiatus apparently occurs, the two vowels or diphthongs are to be pronounced as one syllable (synizesis). On this point editors differ a good deal, but the following instances seem reasonably certain.

Pind. O.	13.	7	ταμίαι ἀνδράσι (Schr. ταμί')
	13.	99	δὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν
P.	11.	55	ἄται εἰ (cf. Hermann)
Alem.	5.	50	ἦ οὐχ
Sapph.	1.	11	ὠράνω αἴθερος
	1.	17	κῶττι ἔμφ
	69.	1	κείσεται οὐδέποτα
	84.	3	ἐγὼ οὐδέ
Anac.	32.	6	μὴ ἀναβῆναι
	67		φιλέω οὔτε
	90.	1	φιλέω ὄς
Sim.	3.	5	μὴ οὐ
	57.	1	κλιτὰ ἔυρος
Timoer.	1.	12	μὴ ὦραν
Ariphr.	1.	6	ἦ εἰ

Where a vowel has already been elided from the first word, the two words are to a certain degree united into one. This union is not so complete as that effected by crasis, but seems to have been sufficient to prevent hiatus being felt when the elided word still ended in a vowel, as in O. 2. 41 ὄξει' Ἐρινός. These cases, which are not infrequent<sup>1</sup>, require no discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Some 86 in melic poetry, somewhat more frequent in Homer.

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STUDIES IN THE SI-CLAUSE

I.

CONCESSIVE SI-CLAUSES IN PLAUTUS.

II.

SUBJUNCTIVE PROTASIS WITH INDICATIVE APODOSIS IN PLAUTUS.

BY

H. C. NUTTING

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I.—CONCESSIVE SI-CLAUSES IN PLAUTUS.

In general the hypotactic concessive period may be defined as a complex sentence which brings together clauses of such a nature that the assertion in the conclusion might naturally seem to the hearer to be incompatible with the state of affairs referred to in the concessive clause; *e.g.*,

Rud. 1353 ff. ;

Si maxume mihi illum reddiderit vidulum,  
Non ego illic hodie debeo triobolum.

Among the concessive periods of Plautus introduced by *si* and its compounds there is a large and striking class distinguished from the others by the *grade*, so to speak, of the concessive clause. To differentiate this group from what may be styled the simple (or normal) type I suggest the name "intensive." The simple type of concessive clause (as distinguished from the intensive) is characterized by the fact that it goes no further than is demanded by the situation—it simply recognizes a state of affairs (real or supposed) that has in some way been suggested to the mind of the speaker; as, for instance,

Men. 746 ff. ;

Si me derides, at pol illum non potes,  
Patrem meum.

Ps. 290 ff. ;

Egon patri subrupere possim quicquam, tam cauto seni?  
Atque adeo, si facere possim, pietas prohibet.

In neither of these passages does the concessive clause exceed the demands of the situation. In the first case the speaker refers to an obvious fact when she says *Si me derides*; for Menaechmus has been treating her in a manner anything but respectful. In the other the phrase *si facere possim* takes up a supposed possibility.

The intensive concessive clause on the other hand purposely exaggerates the state of affairs suggested to the speaker, *e.g.*,

Asin. 403 ff. ;

LI. Atque herele ipsum adeo contuor: quassanti capite incedit.

Quisque obviam huic ocesserit irato, vapulabit.

ME. Siquidem herele *Aeacidinis minis animisque expletus* cedit,

Si med iratus tetigerit, iratus vapulabit.

In this passage the mercator might have been content to confine himself to the reported fact, thus producing a simple concessive period "Though he comes on in anger, he will get a beating if he touches me." But this is too tame an expression for his emphatic mood, and he flies to the extreme of the improbable or impossible—though Leonida comes on (not merely angry but) *filled with the boldness and courage of Achilles*, he will get a beating. Another case of the same kind is

Tri. 1184 ff. ;

CH. Quamquam tibi suscensui,

Miseria una (*i.e.*, one wife) uni quidem hominist adfatim.

CA. Immo huic parumst.

Nam si pro peccatis *centum* ducat uxoris, parumst.

Here *centum* very obviously caps *una* of the preceding line. It is this gratuitous exaggeration that is the characteristic feature of the intensive type. Concessive periods belonging to this category are generally easily recognized when once the peculiarity of the type has been noted, though of course occasionally sentences are met with which are hard to classify.

The intensive concessive period is interesting from both the stylistic and the syntactical point of view. It is a form of speech common in dialogue, its most distinctive use being in emphatic

rejoinder. With Plautus it is a distinct mannerism; about one-third of all the concessive clauses in his plays introduced by *si* and its compounds belong to this class. The present paper deals particularly with the syntactical aspects of the case. In the pages immediately following, the concessive periods introduced by *si* and each of its compounds are presented separately, the sentences falling within the several groups being examined with reference to the distinction just made of simple and intensive. Some points of minor interest are noted in passing, but the more important questions suggested by the syntactical form of the intensive concessive period are reserved for discussion at the end, after all the material has been presented.

### SI.

It is quite impossible to determine the exact number of concessive *si*-clauses in Plautus. In many cases the nature of a clause depends upon the point of view of the speaker, and there is no objective test by which to settle the question definitely. Excluding the more doubtful examples, I still find 88 *si*-clauses that seem to deserve the name concessive. This exceeds the estimate of Kriege,<sup>1</sup> who puts the number at 66.

#### A.—Simple.

Amph. 908;

Si dixi, nilo magis es neque ego esse arbitrator.

Capt. 12;

Si non ubi sedeas locus est, est ubi ambules.

Cist. 27 ff.;

Si idem istud nos faciamus si idem imitemur, ita tamen vix  
vivimus

Cum invidia summa.

Mil. 631;

Si albicapillus hic videtur, ne utiquam ab ingeniosior senex.

Most. 42 ff.;

Non omnes possunt olere unguenta exotica,

Si tu oles.

Rud. 1400;

Non hercle istoc me intervortes, si aliam praedam perdidisti.

<sup>1</sup> De enuntiatis concessivis apud Plautum et Terentium. Halle, 1884, p. 4.

Tri. 485 ff. ;

Semper tu hoc facito, Lesbonice, cogites,

Id optimum esse tute uti sis optimum.

Si id nequeas, saltem ut optimis sis proximus.

Tri. 507 ff. ;

Sed si haec res graviter cecidit stultitia mea,

Philto, est ager sub urbe hic nobis.

Truc. 854 ff. ;

Blitea et luteast meretrix nisi quae sapit in vino ad rem suam :

Si alia membra vino madeant, cor sit saltem sobrium.

For other cases see Asin. 603 ff., 933, Aul. 254, Bacch. 179, 365, 887, 1013 ff., 1193 ff., Capt. 223 ff., 683 ff., 742 ff., Cas. 298, 314 ff., Cist. 67, 152 ff., Ep. 599, Men. 670, 746, Merc. 636, 819 ff., Mil. 298, 306 ff., 747, Most. 914, Poen. 51, 374, Ps. 290 ff., Rud. 159, 1014, 1075, 1353 ff., St. 43 ff., Tri. 85 ff., 465, 607, Truc. 66 ff., 615, 833, 877. Total, 48.

Some of these simple concessive periods are a mere optional form of expression for a thought that might have been conveyed by two coördinate clauses joined by an adversative conjunction. Such a case is Mil. 631 (quoted above in full) ; there the speaker, had he so elected, might have expressed his thought in the following form :

“He looks gray, but in spirit he is by no means old.”

A more striking, and, at first sight, apparently unwarranted use of the form of a hypothetical concessive period appears in passages like

Truc. 613 ff. ;

STR. Verbum unum adde istoc: iam hercle ego te hic hac offatim offigam.

CV. Tange modo: iam ego te hic agnum faciam et medium distruncabo.

Si tu ad legionem bellator clues, at ego in culina clueo.

In this last line the form of the first clause is easily justified, but the words *at ego in culina clueo*, taken at their face value, do not complete the meaning of a concessive period. There is, it is true, an antithesis between the two clauses ; but a genuine concessive period involves something more than mere antithesis—

there is an incompatibility between the subject matter of the two clauses such that the hearer is surprised at the statement in the conclusion; for the state of affairs here mentioned would naturally seem to be precluded by that referred to in the concessive clause: as in the typical sentence first quoted,

Rud. 1353 ff.;

Si maxume mihi illum reddiderit vidulum,

Non ego illic hodie debeo triobolum.

In the sentence under discussion, as it stands, this element of incompatibility appears to be lacking; whatever the amount of warlike fame possessed by Stratophanes, there is nothing whatever surprising in the claim of Cuamus that he is a famous performer in the kitchen.

If we must take the words *at ego in culina clueo* at their bare face value, the probable explanation of a sentence of this sort is that the line between simple antithesis and antithesis with incompatibility is not always sharply drawn; in this way it might occasionally happen that clauses which were merely antithetical would be strung along in the form of a hypotactic concessive sentence. On the other hand, it is quite possible that in the conclusion of a sentence like Truc. 615 the speaker is not expressing himself fully, and that the underlying thought contains all the elements of a genuine concessive period. For instance, the meaning in this particular case might be "Though you are famed for valor in the army, (you need not try to frighten me, for) I am a famous performer in the kitchen." In the line that precedes the passage quoted, Cumamus has shown that his performances in the kitchen include the handling of knives, thus helping us to fill out what (if this interpretation be correct) he leaves unexpressed in 615. This second explanation is a very attractive one, and is the more justified because such abbreviation in verbal expression as is here assumed is no rarity in language generally.<sup>2</sup> With Truc. 615 may be compared

Bacch. 364 ff.;

Si ero reprehensus, macto ego illum infortunio:

Si illi sunt virgae ruri, at mihi tergum domist.

<sup>2</sup> American Journal of Philology, XXIV, p. 294. Cf. Lindskog, *De enutiatus apud Plautum et Terentium condicionalibus*, Lundae, 1895, p. 103 ff.



Bacch. 885 ff. :

Quid illum morte territas?

Et ego te et ille mactamus infortunio.

Si tibist machaera, at nobis veruinast domi.

Rud. 1014;

Si tu proreta isti navi's, ego gubernator ero.

### B.—Intensive.

The most striking thing about the examples that fall under this heading is that, in more than half of the cases, the intensive force centers around some other word (or phrase) than the verb. As in the following;

Asin. 413 ff. ;

LI. Hic me moratust.

LE. Siquidem hercle nunc *summum Iovem* te dicas detinuisse  
Atque is precator adsiet, malam rem effugies numquam.

Aul. 98 ff. ;

Profecto in aedes meas me absente neminem

Volo intromitti. Atque etiam hoc praedico tibi :

Si *Bona Fortuna* veniat, ne intromiseris.

Aul. 555 ff. ;

Quos si *Argus* servet qui oculus totus fuit,

Quem quondam Ioni Iuno custodem addidit,

Is numquam servet.

Bacch. 128 ;

Qui si *decem* habeas linguas, mutum esse addecet.

Bacch. 697 ;

Quem si orem ut mihi *nil* credat, id non ausit credere.

Men. 751 ;

Idem hercle dicam, si *avom* vis adducere.

Mil. 803 ff. ;

Non potuit reperire, si *ipsi Soli* quaerendas dares

Lepidioris duas ad hanc rem quam ego.

Other similar cases are Amph. 1048 ff., Asin. 318 ff., 405 ff., Bacch. 1045 ff., 1102 ff., Cas. 93 ff., Cist. 3 ff., Curc. 211, Men. 238 ff., Merc. 838 ff., Mil. 188, Most. 115 ff., 912 ff., Rud. 1361, St. 287, Tri. 884 ff., 962, 1185 ff. ; cf. Truc. 527 ff. Total, 25 cases.

In these sentences the fact that the intensive force centers about some other word or words than the verb affords an interesting illustration of the general principle that it is not always the verb that is the essential and characteristic feature of a *si*-clause. As a matter of fact, in some of the above examples all other elements of the concessive clause are so unimportant that, without loss to the sense, they could drop away, leaving the phrase about which the intensive force centers to be incorporated in the conclusion, *e.g.*,

Aul. 100;

Si *Bona Fortuna* veniat, ne intromiseris.

In the lines which precede in this passage the speaker has been giving general directions that no visitor be admitted to the house during his absence. He would therefore have been perfectly well understood had he said simply, Ne *Bonam Fortunam* intromiseris, *i.e.*, "Don't let even *Good Fortune* in."<sup>3</sup>

In this connection, as also showing the importance of the rôle played in the concessive clause by the words about which the intensive force centers, should be mentioned sentences such as

Amph. 1051 ff.;

Neque me *Iuppiter* neque *di omnes* id prohibebunt, si volent, Quin sic faciam uti constitui.

Most. 351;

Nec *Salus* nobis saluti iam esse, si cupiat, potest.

It will be seen at once that each of these sentences contains all the elements that go to make up an intensive concessive period like those under discussion. But the elements are differently arranged here—the *si*-clause comes late in the sentence, leaving the words about which the intensive force centers in a natural emphatic position.<sup>4</sup> As the sentences stand, *si volent* and *si cupiat* are not only not of the intensive type, but it may even be

<sup>3</sup> This matter is more fully discussed in the *American Journal of Philology*, XXI, p. 260 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Other examples may be found at Aul. 311, Capt. 529, Cas. 324. Cf. Asin. 153 ff., 237, 894 ff.

questioned whether they are concessive at all.<sup>5</sup> Yet we have only to rearrange the elements that go to make up (*e.g.*) Most. 351 in such a way that the word about which the intensive force centers shall fall within the *si*-clause, to produce an intensive concessive period exactly like those with which the discussion started—*Si Salus nobis saluti esse cupiat*, etc.<sup>6</sup> It is therefore easy to see how important a factor in the concessive clauses of the type under discussion are the words about the intensive force centers.<sup>7</sup>

The remaining concessive sentences of the intensive type are Amph. 450 ff., Bacch. 1004, Curc. 3 ff., 449 ff., Ep. 610 ff., Men. 1060 ff., Merc. 694 ff., Most. 229 ff., 241, Pers. 40 ff., 282 ff., Ps. 87, 265 ff., 792 ff., Truc. 315 ff.; cf. Merc. 595 ff. Total, 15 cases.

Here the intensive force tends to gravitate toward the verb, but it seldom centers exclusively at that point; more often it is diffused throughout the whole clause; *e.g.*,

Amph. 450 ff.;

ME. Quo te agis? SO. Domum. ME. *Quadrigas si nunc  
inscendas Iovis*

Atque hinc fugias, ita vix poteris effugere infortunium.

Ps. 264 ff.;

PS. Potin ut semel modo, Ballio, huc cum luero respicias?

BA. Respiciam istoc pretio: nam si *sacrificem summo Iovi*  
*Atque in manibus exta teneam ut poriciam*, interea loci  
Si lucri quid detur, potius rem divinam deseram.

This last is a very striking case. Ballio has up to this time declined to parley on the plea of business. But at the magic word *pretium* he is ready not only to forego business, but he would stop even if he were sacrificing—and that too to mighty Jove, and at the very critical point of the sacrifice; each of these specifications contributes to the intensive force.

<sup>5</sup> Kriege (*l.c.*) includes such sentences without comment as concessive. But it may be noted that Plautus never uses the (distinctively concessive) compounds of *si*, *e.g.*, *etiam si* or *tametsi* in such a case, though he does employ these compounds when the sentence is so arranged that the words about which the intensive force centers fall within the limits of the subordinate clause.

<sup>6</sup> Such a case occurs in Ter. Adel. 761 ff.

<sup>7</sup> In this connection it should perhaps be further noted that in a few intensive concessive periods the emphatic words or a substitute appear also in the conclusion; *e.g.*, St. 287; *Si rex obstabit obviam, regem ipsum prius pervortito*.

## ETSI. 26 cases.

## A.—Simple.

In the examples that fall under this heading the nature of the sentence is generally so evident that it will be sufficient to quote only the *etsi*-clauses, omitting the conclusions.

Aul. 421; *etsi taceas.*

Bacch. 1160; *etsi . . . prope scire puto me.*

Bacch. 1191; *etsist dedecori.*

Capt. 543 ff.; *etsi ego domi liber fui, Tu . . . servitutum servisti.*

Capt. 744; *etsi aliter ut dicam meres.*

Capt. 842; *etsi nil scio quod gaudeam.*

Cas. 958; *etsi malum merui.*

Mil. 407; *etsi vidi.*

Mil. 532; *etsi east.*

Most. 666; *etsi procul abest.*<sup>a</sup>

Most. 854; *etsi non metuendast.*

Pers. 272; *etsi properas.*

Pers. 601 ff.; *etsi mihi Dixit . . .*

Pers. 655; *etsi res sunt fractae.*

Poen. 1084; *etsi hic habitabit.*

Ps. 1113; *etsi abest.*

Rud. 1044; *etsi ignotust.*

Rud. 1350; *etsi tu fidem servaveris.*

Tri. 383; *etsi advorsatus tibi fui.*

Tri. 474; *etsi votet.*

Tri. 527; *etsi scelestus est.*

Tri. 593 ff.; *etsi admodum In ambiguost . . .*

Tri. 600; *etsi odi hanc domum.*

Truc. 815; *etsi tu taceas.*

## B.—Intensive.

There remain but two cases to come under this head; both belong to the second type of intensives described, *i.e.*, the verb is the center of intensity or else the intensity is distributed throughout the clause.

<sup>a</sup>In the edition of Goetz and Schoell this line is placed between 609 and 610.

Capt. 854 ff.;

HE. Nee nil hodie nec multo plus tu hic edes, ne frustra sis:  
Proin tu tui cottidiani victi ventrem ad me adferas.

ERG. Quin ita faciam, ut tute cupias facere sumptum, etsi  
ego vetem.

Vid. 106 ff.;

malo hunc adligari ad horiam

Ut semper piscetur, etsi sit tempestas maxima.

In passing, the exceeding brevity of the *etsi*-clause may be noted;  
20 of the 26 clauses do not exceed four words each.

#### TAMETSI. 16 cases.

##### A.—Simple.

For the cases that fall under this heading the material may  
be presented in the same way as for *etsi*.

Amph. 21 ff.; tametsi . . . Scibat.

Amph. 977; tametsi praesens non ades.

Aul. 768; tam etsi<sup>9</sup> fur mihi's.

Capt. 321; tametsi unicus sum.

Cure. 259; tam etsi non novi.

Cure. 504; tam etsi nil fecit.

Mil. 744; tam etsi dominus non invitus patitur.

Pers. 362; tam etsi id futurum non est.

Poen. 342; tam etsi in abstruso sitast.

Poen. 1201; tametsi sumus servae.

Ps. 244; tametsi occupatu's.

Ps. 471; tam etsi tibi suscenseo.

St. 41; tam etsi's maior.

St. 205; tam etsi herele . . . iudico.

##### B.—Intensive.

Men. 92;

Numquam herele effugiet, tam etsi *capital* fecerit.

Tri. 679;

Facilest inventu: datur ignis, tam etsi ab *inimico* petas.

<sup>9</sup> *Tametsi* is here written as one word or two, according to the reading  
of the Goetz-Schoell edition.

Though the number of intensive cases is the same as for *etsi*, the smaller sum total renders the proportion larger. There is also the further difference that these cases are of the type first described—the intensive force centers about some other word or words than the verb. Though not so striking, the brevity of the *tametsi*-clause also deserves notice; 10 of the 16 examples do not exceed four words.

ETIAM SI. 2 cases.<sup>10</sup>

Ep. 518 ff.;

immo etiam si *alterum*

*Tantum* perdundumst, perdam potius quam sinam

Me inpune irrisum esse.

Ps. 626 ff.;

PS. Mihi herele vero, qui res rationesque eri

Ballionis curo, argentum accepto et quoi debet dato.

HA. Si quidem herele etiam *supremi* promptas thensauros  
*Iovis*

Tibi libellam argenti numquam credam.

Both these cases are intensives of the first type—the intensive force centers elsewhere than around the verb. In the second case the resolution *si . . . etiam* is precisely parallel to *ei . . . καὶ* and “If . . . even;” in translating the sentence the last named phrase might be used to advantage. In general, intensives of the first type (however introduced in Latin) can be rendered by “Though . . . even” and “If . . . even;” in this way we have something more than stress of voice to mark the center of intensive force.

In view of the very restricted and clearly defined use of *etiam si*, it is inexact, when dealing with the language of Plautus, to make the phrase *si = etiam si* a substitute for saying that a given *si*-clause is concessive. Sonnenschein makes such a note on

Rud. 1400;

Non herele istoc me intervortes, si aliam praedam perdididi.

The real parallel to this *si*-clause is the *etsi*-clause, as will be at

<sup>10</sup> Cas. 806 also shows the combination *etiam si*, but the passage is manifestly corrupt.

once evident if it be compared with the examples quoted under that heading; the parallelism is complete, even to the number of words in the clause.

**TAMEN SI.**<sup>11</sup> 2 cases.

Cas. 795;

Qui amat, tamen hercle si esurit, nullum esurit.

St. 27 ff.;

Tamen si faciet, minime irasci

Decet: neque id immerito eveniet.

Both of these are simple concessive periods.

**TAMEN ETSI.** 2 cases.<sup>12</sup>

Mil. 1209 ff.;

Postremo tamen

Etsi istuc mihi acerbumst, quia ero te carendumst optumo,

Saltem id volup est quom . . .

Most. 1167;

TH. Verberibus, lutum, caedere pendens. TR. Tamen etsi pudet?

These two cases are also simple concessive periods.

It now remains to consider two general syntactical peculiarities brought to light by a division of concessive clauses according as they are simple or intensive. First as to introductory particle; the usage of Plautus can be conveniently examined in the following summary.

	si	etsi	tametsi	etiam si	tamen si	tamen etsi	Totals
Simple	48	24	14	0	2	2	90
Intensive	40	2	2	2	0	0	46
Totals	88	26	16	2	2	2	136

It will be seen that *si* has been used as the introductory particle in 48 of the 90 simple concessive periods, and in 40 of the 46

<sup>11</sup> Kriege (l. c.) does not recognize this compound.

<sup>12</sup> Kriege (l. c.) makes this number four by including Cas. 958 and Poen. 1084. These cases are here enumerated under *etsi*, *tamen* being assigned to the apodosis.

intensive. The overwhelming preponderance of *si* in sentences of the intensive type presents an interesting problem. Apparently the key to the situation lies in the fact that, from the subjective point of view, concessive clauses in general fall into two distinct categories; by the use of such a clause the speaker may (*a*) concede *that a thing is really true*, or (*b*) concede it *for the sake of argument*, or the like. As in the following examples:

(a)

Cas. 957 ff.;

vapulo hercle ego invitus tamen,

Etsi malum merui.

(b)

Bacch. 1004:

Nam ego non laturus sum, si iubeas maxume.

Bacch. 128;

Qui si decem habeas linguas, mutum esse addecet.

In the first of these passages *etsi malum merui* is scarcely more than a statement of fact; without altering the sense it could be made such by so rearranging the sentence as to give it first place. But in the cases that fall under (*b*) there is a totally different state of affairs; the concessive clause is a mere supposition, and, as such, is closely allied to the pure conditional clause;<sup>13</sup> for in both the speaker is equally lacking in assurance of realization in fact. Therefore if *si*—a word whose distinctive function it is to introduce pure conditional clauses—is also to do duty anywhere as a concessive particle, clearly it is in concessive clauses of this second variety that we should expect to find it most freely used—and such in fact is the case. The overwhelming preponderance of *si* in sentences of the intensive type is but an illustration of the workings of this general principle; for in them the concessive clause by its very nature is a mere supposition—its essential characteristic being that it far exceeds the facts of the case, often flying to the extreme of the improbable or the impossible; *e.g.*,

Asin. 414; Siquidem hercle nunc summum Iovem te dicas  
detinuisse.

Aul. 100; Si Bona Fortuna veniat.

Bacch. 697; Quem si orem ut mihi nil credat.

Men. 751; si avom vis adducere.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. American Journal of Philology, XXIV, p. 279 ff.



Looked at from this point of view, the large use of *si* in sentences of the intensive type ceases to be surprising.

The fact that *si* introduces 48 of the 90 simple concessive periods does not perhaps seem to call so loudly for explanation, but it may be noted in passing that this ratio completes the illustration of the general principle above noted with reference to the use of *si*. A simple concessive period may be of either of the varieties above designated as (*a*) and (*b*). *Si* introduces practically all that are mere suppositions, and has found its way to a considerable extent into clauses that admit a fact, leaving the larger share of these latter however for its more distinctively concessive compounds.

In the following table the concessive clauses are again classified, this time with reference to the mood of the verb. The totals differ slightly from those of the other table because, for the present purpose, it was necessary to exclude doubtful forms, such, for instance, as those in *-am*.

		<i>si</i>	<i>etsi</i>	<i>tametsi</i>	<i>etiam si</i>	<i>tamen si</i>	<i>tamen etsi</i>	Totals
Simple	{ indic.	30	20	14	0	2	2	68
	{ subj.	15	2	0	0	0	0	17—85
Intensive	{ indic.	10	0	0	2	0	0	12
	{ subj.	29	2	1	0	0	0	32—44
Totals		84	24	15	2	2	2	129

It here appears that in sentences of the simple concessive type the proportion of indicative to subjunctive is 68:17, while for the intensive type it is 12:32. The reason for this remarkable variation is doubtless to be found along the line of the distinction just drawn between those concessive clauses that admit a fact and those which are mere suppositions. A concessive clause that admits a fact is closely akin to a statement, and naturally takes the indicative;<sup>14</sup> whereas those which betray a lack of assurance about realization in fact (and are thus closely allied to conditional speaking) use sometimes one mood, sometimes the other—much as so many conditional clauses might do. From this point of view the meaning of the ratio of indicative to subjunctive

(68:17) for the simple concessive periods begin to appear: for, as above noted, we have here to do both with clauses that admit a fact and with those that are mere suppositions. The (very numerous) cases that admit a fact count solidly on the indicative side of the ratio, whereas the mere suppositions contribute a reasonable number to each member of the proportion. Under these circumstances a heavy preponderance of the indicative is just the thing to be expected in the totals.<sup>15</sup>

The ratio of indicative to subjunctive (12:32) in the intensive periods cannot be explained so simply. Of course, we should expect to find both moods fairly well represented, for (as already shown) the intensive concessive clause is by its very nature a mere supposition, and would therefore in general follow the rules for mood in pure conditions. But this is not a full explanation of the ratio 12:32; for in conditional sentences Plautus uses the indicative on the average much more frequently than he does the subjunctive. The intensive concessive clause however is something more than a mere colorless supposition—it is generally a very wild and improbable one. Apparently it is this peculiarity that turns the scale so heavily in favor of the subjunctive.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> I am speaking here only of the language of Plautus, and in particular of the concessive clauses introduced by *si* and its compounds. Such a statement would not of course apply to a developed construction like the subjunctive *cum*-clause in concessive periods of Cicero's time.

<sup>16</sup> In this connection it may be noted that the *etsi*- and *tametsi*-clauses almost always concede a fact. The conventional rule for mood with these particles quite disregards this basis of explanation for the use of the indicative.

<sup>17</sup> This point is further considered in the following paper. See p. 88 ff.

## STUDIES IN THE SI-CLAUSE.

II.—SUBJUNCTIVE PROTASIS WITH INDICATIVE  
APODOSIS IN PLAUTUS.<sup>1</sup>

In this paper the phrase "subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis" is used in the broad sense in which it is commonly understood—that is, as including all sentences whose subordinate clause chances to be introduced by *si*, irrespective of the exact nature of the underlying thought. The argument throughout is based on sentences which employ undoubted forms of the subjunctive and indicative; those containing forms in *-am*, *-ar*, etc., could only bring an element of uncertainty into the discussion, and the material fortunately is abundant without them.<sup>2</sup>

## 1.—PURE CONDITIONAL SENTENCES.

As a preliminary to the detailed study of the sentences of this group, attention may properly be called to the somewhat undeveloped state of the language in the time of Plautus. With regard to this two points are of interest for the present discussion.

In the first place, the uses of the subjunctive and the indicative were not in general so carefully differentiated as at a later period. For example, *ita me di amabunt* and *ita me amabit Iupiter* are used freely alongside of *ita me di ament*. Again, take the deliberative question:

<sup>1</sup> See the Classical Review, Vol. XVII, p. 449 ff., for a critique of the work of Lillie, Lebreton and Lodge and the later theory of Blase on this subject. Blase's earlier view will be found in *De modorum temporumque in enuntiatis condicionalibus Latinis permutatione*, Dissertationes Philologicae Argentoratenses, Vol. X, p. 94 (38) ff. Cf. Langen, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus*, p. 43 ff. The subject is treated indirectly by Lindskog, *De enuntiatis apud Plautum et Terentium condicionalibus*, Lundae 1895, and by O. Brugmann, *Über den Gebrauch des condicionalen Ni in der älteren Latinität*, Leipzig, 1887. There are also many other scattered references. Since this was written I have received Blase's *prog. Studien und Kritiken zur lateinischen Syntax*, I Theil, Mainz, 1904, the latter part of which touches the following discussion at several points.

<sup>2</sup> The following cases also have little value for the present discussion because the subjunctive of the *si*-clause may be due to dependence on an infinitive or the like; *Amph.* 675, *Aul.* 228, 320, *Bacch.* 1193 ff., *Ps.* 1033 ff., and *St.* 112.

Ter. Phor. 736-37:

CH. Quid ago?

SO. qui est eius pater. CH. *Adeo, maneo, dum . . . cognosco?*

Ter. And. 639:

Sed quid agam? *adeamne* ad eum et . . . *expostulem?*<sup>3</sup>

Finally might be cited cases of remarkable variation of mood in conditional sentences; *e.g.*:

Ps. 1070 ff.:

Roga me viginti minas,  
si ille hodie illa *sit potitus* muliere  
sive eam tuo gnato hodie, ut promisit, *dabit*.

Amph. 703 ff.:

Bacchae bacchanti si velis advorsarier,  
ex insana insaniorem *facies, feriet* saepius:  
si obsequare, una *resolvas* plaga.<sup>4</sup>

It is possible that the very considerable middle ground afforded by forms belonging to both the subjunctive and the indicative (*e.g.*, those in *-am, -ar, -eris*, etc.) tended to delay a sharp differentiation between the uses of the two mood systems.

In the second place, in Plautus' day grammatical conceptions were neither so symmetrical nor so clearly defined as at a later time. This is shown in an interesting way in such contrary to fact sentences as the following:

Aul. 523-24:

*Compellarem* ego illum, ni *metuam* ne desinat  
memorare mores mulierum: nunc sic sinam.

Bacch. 635:

PI. Si mihi sit, *pollicear*. MN. Scio, *dares*: novi.

Poen. 1251-52:

primum, si id fieri *possit*,  
ne indigna indignis dei darent, id ego evenire *vellem*.

St. 510-11:

*Vocem* ego te ad me ad cenam, frater tuos nisi *dixisset* mihi

<sup>3</sup> So also *quid ago?* and *quid agam?* in Ter. Phor. 447 and Hec. 715.

<sup>4</sup> With these might be compared Cist. 683 ff. (*si nemo praeteriit, iaceret*) and Rud. 744 (*iam tanta esset, si vivit*).

te apud se cenaturum esse hodie, quom me ad se ad cenam  
vocat.

Truc. 830:

Nam vinum si fabulari *possit*, se *defenderet*.<sup>5</sup>

Such combinations of forms as here occur we can readily understand, for just at this time the contrary to fact idea was discarding the present (and perfect) subjunctive, finding in the imperfect and pluperfect a more distinctive and satisfactory form of expression; but that the two forms should be mingled within the limits of a single sentence betrays a lack of keen appreciation for symmetrical sentence structure.

These two characteristics of early Latin distinctly favored the frequent occurrence of subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis. For the failure to differentiate clearly between the use of subjunctive and indicative forms in general must have affected also the choice of mood in the clauses of conditional sentences—in some cases, so far as meaning is concerned, there was doubtless little to choose between the two moods; and to a writer whose ideas of symmetrical sentence structure were somewhat undeveloped the pairing of different moods in the clauses of a conditional sentence probably did not appear to be such a striking irregularity as it seems when viewed from a later standpoint.<sup>6</sup> The many examples however in which Plautus uses the same mood in both clauses show clearly that he had a fairly strong conception of this procedure as the norm. This fact is by no means lost sight of in the following discussion, but on the other hand it is not there accorded the undue prominence sometimes given it.<sup>7</sup>

So many cases falling under the head of the pure conditional sentence have forms of *posse* in apodosis that I venture to treat

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Capt. 711-12, Cist. 3 ff. and Curc. 226 ff. A somewhat similar lack of symmetry in the matter of sequence of tenses is noted by Brix on Mil. 131; cf. Asin. 589-90 and Capt. 28.

<sup>6</sup> This statement may not be put aside with the remark that the language of Plautus is colloquial. For the colloquial style, as well as others, was profoundly affected by the development of the language up to the time of Cicero; see Lebreton, *Études sur la Langue et la Grammaire de Cicéron*. Introd. p. x ff. espec. xv. Further, some may be surprised to learn from the tables of Lebreton and Blaise that there are more cases of the form *si sit—est (erit)* in Cicero's orations than in his letters; see L. p. 364 and cf. p. 349.

<sup>7</sup> See Langen, l. c. p. 50 fin.

them separately. Being somewhat simpler, they are presented first under A, while the remaining sentences appear later under B.

#### A.—Posse (*Potis*) in Apodosis.

The material falling under this heading may be subdivided on the basis of tense.

##### (a). Sentences of the form *si sit*—*potest*.

This group furnishes examples of three different types.

##### 1. Unconditioned ability.

Curc. 268-69:

*Siquidem incubare velint qui periuraverint,  
locus non praeberi potis est in Capitolio.*

Mil. 763-64:

*Haud centesumam*

*partem dixi atque, otium rei si sit, possim expromere.*

In the first of these examples the inability of the Capitoline to provide accommodation for all perjurers is not in any way dependent on their wish to find a resting place within its limits; and in the second the speaker's fund of information is a fact uninfluenced by the truth or falsity of the condition. This state of affairs makes it possible to provide a very satisfactory explanation of the form of the sentences. For as the speaker comes to the apodosis he may realize that the ability of which he means to speak is not dependent on the fulfillment of the condition, and he is therefore free to state that ability as unconditioned. I say free to do so, because in so doing he is using a form of expression which in a way includes and implies what *could* be done under the supposed circumstances—that is, includes and implies the logically exact apodosis.

Though there is no absolutely certain case, still a survey of the material leaves a strong impression that sometimes Plautus carries this process a step further and ventures to substitute an all inclusive statement of unconditioned ability where the logical apodosis is *would* rather than *could*. Such an example may be

Cist. 308:

*Adhinnire equolam possum ego hanc, si detur sola soli.*

If this be the true explanation of the sentence, a close parallel is afforded by the following case in which, after an indicative condition, the speakers substitute for an assertion of what they *will* do a statement of what they *are wont* to do—the latter in a way including and implying the former:

Poen. 516-17:

Si nec recte dicis nobis dives de summo loco,  
divitem audacter *solemus* mactare infortunio.

## 2. Conditioned ability.

Curc. 246-47:

*Potin* coniecturam facere, si narrem tibi  
haec nocte quod ego somniavi dormiens?

In this case the ability to make a guess seems clearly dependent on being provided with the necessary data, and at the same time the phrasing of the sentence shows that the speaker had the *si*-clause in mind when he uttered the apodosis; for *Potin coniecturam facere* taken alone is manifestly incomplete. Here then it seems that the speaker can have in mind only conditioned ability, and the use of the indicative cannot therefore be justified in the same way as in the sentences treated under the preceding heading. The explanation which suggests itself most readily is the modality of the verb, and if we were dealing with a later writer there would be little more to say on the subject. But since in Plautus (as will soon appear) it is not always a modal verb that is used in the apodosis of sentences like the one under discussion, we ought perhaps to recognize here also a further circumstance which favored the use of the indicative, namely, the somewhat undeveloped state of the language at this time. This undeveloped state, it will be remembered, betrays itself in the tendency to fail to distinguish sharply between the use of subjunctive and indicative forms, and in the tolerance of unsymmetrical sentence structure. Such a state of affairs makes the use of the indicative of the modal verb a still more simple matter. How easy it was for Plautus to use that mood of *posse* we may perhaps judge fairly from the following passages, in which he shifts from one mood to the other:

Asin 878 ff. :

PA. *Possis si forte accubantem tuom virum conspexeris cum corona amplexum amicam, si videas cognoscere?*

ART. *Possum ecastor.*

Merc. 517 ff. :

LY. *Sed quid ais, Pasicompsa?*

*possin tu, si ussus venerit, subtemen tenue nere?*

PA. *Possum.*

### 3. Anacoluthon.

Rud. 566 :

*Vel ego amare utramvis possum—si probe adpotus siem.*

When such a sentence as this is a true index of what is passing in the mind of the speaker, he enunciates the first clause as a complete statement of fact. Then it flashes through his mind that the act or state in question is subject to a condition of which he has not previously thought, and this he adds, rather lamely at times, allowing the hearer to correct the preceding statement of fact just as his own thought has been corrected. Syntactically the effect is the same when, as seems to be the case here, the speaker has his whole sentence planned from the beginning, but purposely deceives the hearer by his enunciation of the first clause that he may raise a laugh by bringing in the second as a surprise. In either case the *si*-clause is really part of another sentence, and uses the mood required by the laws of conditional sentences generally, without reference to the mood of the verb in the clause which precedes.<sup>9</sup>

The remaining examples of the form *si sit—potest* are as follows:

Asin. 164 :

*Solus si ductem, referre gratiam numquam potes.*

Aul. 557 ff. :

*praeterea tibicinam*

*quae mi interbibere sola, si vino scatat,*

*Corinthiensem fontem Pirenam potest.*

<sup>9</sup>In the example under discussion the flexibility of meaning due to the modality of *posse* tends to make the anacoluthon less harsh. But in the next main division (B) where the non-modal verbs appear, cases will be found in which there is no such mitigating circumstance.



Bacch. 479-80:

Nullo pacto res mandata *potest* agi, nisi identidem manus† ferat ad papillas, labra a labris nusquam auferat?

Most. 351:

Nec Salus nobis saluti iam esse, si cupiat, *potest*.

Poen. 351:

Sei sapias, curam hanc facere compendi *potes*.

Poen. 864:

illum ut perdant facere *possum*, si velim.

Tri. 85 ff.:

si id non feceris,

atque id tamen mihi lubeat suspicari.

qui tu id prohibere me *potes* ne suspicer?

All these cases may be brought under the three headings above specified. Different persons however might hold diverse views as to the heading under which a given case should be brought; but this fact has no bearing on the present discussion, my aim being simply to single out the various distinguishable types and to show what explanations of the phenomenon of subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis are suited to the peculiarities of each. I may however say that anacoluthon is a basis of explanation to be sparingly used; for a speaker usually has his whole sentence in mind before the first word is uttered—even when in the course of his thought the condition does not come first.<sup>9</sup> The clearest cases of anacoluthon are deliberately planned surprises like Rud. 566.

(b). Sentences of the form *si sit (esset)*—*potuit*.

Cure. 226 ff.:

Adferre argentum credo. Nam si non ferat,  
tormento non retineri *potuit* ferreo  
quin reciperet se huc esum ad praesepem suam.

Most. 462:

Quo modo pultare *potui*, si non tangerem?

These are both cases of the second type, the (in)ability of the apodosis being clearly felt as dependent on the truth of the protasis. The explanation would therefore be again the modality of the verb and the undeveloped state of the language. In Cure. 226 ff. the disparity between *ferat* and *potuit* is specially striking.

<sup>9</sup> See Classical Review, l. c. p. 452.

## B.—Other Verbs in Apodosis.

(a). Sentences of the form *si sit*—*est*.

## 1. Unconditioned act or state.

Merc. 430:

At ego *si velim*, iam *dantur* septem et viginti minae.

Rud. 1020 ff.:

Numqui minus

*si veniat nunc dominus quouiust*, ego qui inspectavi procul  
te hunc habere, fur *sum* quam tu?

In the first of these examples *dantur* seems to mean "I am offered"<sup>10</sup>—a fact in no way dependent on the willingness to accept the price, and in the second the participation in the guilty secret is real whether the owner of the property appears or not. The process which produces these sentences seems to be the same as that described in the discussion of the corresponding cases with *posse* in apodosis, namely, that the speaker substitutes for the logical apodosis an unconditioned statement which in a way includes and implies that apodosis; thus *dantur* includes "I might have" and *sum?* "would I be considered?" The difference between these two cases and those with *posse* in apodosis is that here the statement of the fact is not so closely parallel to what is included and implied (there the logical apodosis was "could" or "would," and the statement "can"), and hence the usage is a little harsher.

## 2. Conditioned act or state.

Amph. 891-92:

*Faciundumst* mi illud fieri quod illaec postulat,  
*si me illam amantem ad sese studeam recipere.*

Cas. 528-29:

AL. Attatae, caedundus tu homo's: nimias delicias facis.

LY. Quid me amare *refert*, nisi sim doctus ac dicaculus?

In the first of these cases the need for action seems dependent on the truth of the condition; at any rate to bring the example under this heading we must assume that the speaker so felt it as he began the sentence. The second case is clear enough, for

<sup>10</sup> As *datur* in Cic. ad Att. II. 18. 3.

obviously *Quid me amare refert* is meant to apply to the contrary to fact state of affairs supposed. If Amph. 891-92 belongs here it is quite like the corresponding examples with *posse* in apodosis, and the form of the sentence is therefore to be explained in the same way, namely on the ground of the modality of the expression and the undeveloped state of the language. In the second case the first part of this explanation is excluded, and we can only say that the use of the indicative is the result of the crude grammatical feeling of the writer.

### 3. Anacoluthon.

Mil. 685-86:

Nam bona uxor suave ductust—si sit usquam gentium,  
ubi ea possit inveniri.

This example corresponds exactly to the case of anacoluthon noted among the cases with *posse* in apodosis, excepting that the effect is not here softened by the presence of a modal verb. Under this heading there are however some sentences which, if so interpreted, call for a more elaborate analysis; *e.g.*,

Poen. 550:

Omnia istaec *scimus* iam nos, si hi spectatores sciant.

In a simple case of anacoluthon like Mil. 685-86 above, the added *si*-clause corrects the preceding statement of fact, warning the hearer that the state of affairs there mentioned is subject to a condition after all. But if Poen. 550 be regarded as a case of anacoluthon, the statement of fact with which the sentence begins is in no way affected by the addition of the *si*-clause. Rather it is the *inference* which the hearer might draw from that statement, namely "you need not tell us" which is corrected.<sup>11</sup>

Other cases of the form *si sit—est* are as follows:

Amph. 336:

Non edepol nunc ubi terrarum sim *scio*, siquis roget.

Capt. 206:

*scimus* nos nostrum officium quod est, si solutos sinat.

<sup>11</sup> This analysis supplies the link, the failure to find which led Langen (l. c. p. 48) to reject the line.

Capt. 259-60 :

Neque pol tibi nos, quia nos servas, *aequomst* vitio vortere  
neque te nobis, si abeamus hinc, si fuat occasio.

Capt. 850 :

*Scis* bene esse, si sit unde.

Capt. 906 :

Nam si alia memorem quae ad ventris victum conducunt,  
*morast.*

Curc. 299 :

Recte hic *monstrat*, si imperare possit.

Men. 760 :

quas si autumem omnes, nimis longus sermost.

Merc. 497 :

*Meliust*, sanus si sis.

Merc. 692-93 :

Parumne *est* malai rei quod amat Demipho,  
ni sumptuosus insuper etiam siet ?

Mil. 1263 :

Non edepol tu illum magis *amas* quam ego, mea, si per te liceat.

Poen. 921 :

nunc si eadem hic iterum iterem, *inscitiast.*

Ps. 740 :

Quid ? si opus sit ut dulce promat indidem, *ecquid habet ?*

St. 171-72 :

Nunc si ridiculum hominem quaerat quispiam,  
*venalis* ego *sum* cum ornamentis omnibus.

Tri. 557-58 :

Quin hic quidem *cupit* illum ab se abalienarier,  
siquem reperire possit, quoi os sublinat.

Here again, especially when the apodosis precedes, it is difficult to say with certainty under which of the three heads a given example should be classified. However, Ps. 740 and St. 171-72 seem clearly of the first type, *i.e.*, the state of affairs referred to in the apodosis is felt as in no way dependent on the truth of the condition.

(b). Sentences of the form *si sit—erit.*

Asin. 699 :

*Vehes* pol hodie me, si quidem hoc argentum ferre speres.

Aul. 311 :

Famem hercle utendam, si roges, numquam *dabit*.

Curc. 186 :

*Irascere*, si te edentem hic a cibo abigat.

Merc. 650-51 :

Si ibi amare forte occipias atque item eius sit inopia,  
iam inde porro *aufugies?*

Mil. 571 :

Ne tu hercle, si te di ament, linguam *comprimes*.

Most. 56-57 :

Ita te *forabunt* patibulatum per vias  
†stimulis, si huc reveniat senex.

Poen. 729 :

Si pultem, non *recludet*.

Poen. 1085 :

Quin mea quoque iste *habebit*, siquid me fuat.

Tri. 26-27 :

*Concastigabo* pro commerita noxia,  
*invitus*, ni id me invitet ut faciam fides.<sup>12</sup>

For the purposes of the present discussion the last example cited may be ignored because the apodosis is really *invitus* rather than *Concastigabo*. The most striking thing about the group is the prevalence of sentences of the second type, *i.e.*, sentences in which the apodosis refers to a state of affairs felt as conditioned. Curc. 186, Merc. 650-51 and Poen. 729 (as here punctuated<sup>13</sup>) are clear cases. So apparently Asin. 699, Most. 56-57 and Poen. 1085, unless the first be a case of anacoluthon. In the sentences of other forms thus far dealt with the explanations for examples of the second type have been the modality of the verb of the apodosis and the undeveloped state of the language. Here however none of the verbs are modal, and we are again forced back (as in the case of Cas. 528-29) to the other line of explanation. But in this category the easy tolerance of the unsymmetrical sentence structure is much more readily understood. For the verb of the apodosis refers to the future—a time realm in which the bounds of indicative and subjunctive meaning were perhaps least

<sup>12</sup> The manuscript reading would add Bacch. 1172 to this list.

<sup>13</sup> The more difficult punctuation is *si pultem, non recludet?* *i.e.*, "What if I knock and he does not open?"

clearly set in early Latin. Plautus perhaps felt it no harsher to use the futures of ordinary verbs in this way than to so employ the presents of modal verbs. If so, we can readily understand the prevalence of sentences of the second type in this category.

Of the two cases of this form not yet treated, Aul. 311 seems of the first type, the action of the apodosis being independent of the truth of the protasis. The other case (Mil. 571) has no parallel among the sentences thus far treated, the future indicative having something of imperative force. The whole passage is

PE. Ne tu hercle, si te di ament, linguam *comprimes* :  
posthac etiam illud quod sceis nesciveris  
nec videris quod videris. SC. *Bene me mones.*

The line here between indicative and subjunctive was not very clearly defined, as we may see by comparing line 293 of the same play :

Verum etiam tu istam, si te di ament, temere hau *tollas*  
fabulam.

(c.) Sentence of the form *si fuerim*—*erit*.

Cas. 335 ff. :

Sed tandem si tu Iuppiter sis emortuos,  
quom ad deos minoris redierit regnum tuom,  
quis mihi *subveniet* tergo aut capiti aut cruribus?

This also is an example of the second type.

(d.) Sentences of the form *si esset* (*fuisset*)—*fuit*.

Amph. 947-48 :

Ut quae apud legionem vota *vovi*, si domum  
redissem salvos, ea ego exsolvam omnia.

Bacch. 818-19 :

Hunc si ullus deus amaret, plus annis decem,  
plus iam viginti mortuom esse *oportuit*.

Cas. 440-41 :

*Volui* Chalinum, si domi esset, mittere  
tecum obsonatum.

Mil. 475-76 :

Quid propius *fuit*  
quam ut perirem, si elocutus essem ero?

Mil. 1356-57:

et si ita sententia esset, tibi servire *malui*  
multo quam alii libertus esse.

Pers. 594-95:

Vide sis, ego ille doctus leno *paene* in foveam *decidi*,  
ni hic adesses.

Ps. 285:

*Fuit* occasio, si vellet, iam pridem argentum ut daret.

Ps. 1241-42:

At ego iam intus promam viginti minas  
quas *promisi*, si effecisset.

St. 563:

Senex quidem *voluit*, si posset, indipisci de cibo.

Tri. 566:

*Licitumst*, si velles.

Truc. 140:

Si rem servassem, *fuit* ubi negotiosus essem.

Obviously some of these sentences belong to the categories above described. Mil. 1356-57 and Truc. 140 are most clearly of the first type, and Bacch. 818-19 and Mil. 475-76 of the second, with the modal verb *oportere* in the former. The fact that the apodosis precedes in Ps. 285 and Tri. 566 makes exact analysis difficult. The other cases of this group have peculiarities; Cas. 440-41 and St. 563 (with forms of *velle* in apodosis) are hard to deal with because one scarcely knows whether to treat *velle* or its infinitive as the apodosis proper. Amph. 947-48 and Ps. 1241-42 are simply abridged; in the latter case, for instance, *viginti minas quas promisi* means of course "twenty minae which I promised to give," and it is in this idea of giving that the *si*-clause finds its logical apodosis.<sup>14</sup>

The one remaining case (Pers. 594-95) is the most interesting of the whole group. It is one of the rare examples<sup>15</sup> in Plautus of the contrary to fact type of sentence which tells what was on the point of happening but which did not come to pass because of an intervening circumstance. Were it not for *paene* we might perhaps be inclined to count this another example of the second

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Tri. 835 ff., which may be so punctuated as to form a parallel.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ps. 499.

type—*decidi* would then be a mere piece of exaggeration. But *paene* disqualifies its clause for being the apodosis of *ni hic adesses*; for the realization in fact of that condition would have meant actual falling in, not *almost* falling in. The phrase *ego ille doctus leno paene in foveam decidi* is therefore worded without reference to the addition of the *ni*-clause at the end, and as a matter of fact it is in itself a complete and precise statement needing no further qualification. In other words we seem to have to do with a case of anacoluthon, but this is different from any examples of the phenomenon yet taken up. A comparison of the following sentences will make this point clear.

Vel ego amare utramvis possum—si probe adpotus siem.

Omnia istaec scimus iam nos—si hi spectatores sciant.

Ego . . . paene in foveam decidi—ni tu adesses.

In the first of these examples the speaker corrects the opening remark by the use of the *si*-clause, letting the hearer know that the state of affairs there asserted is after all subject to a condition. In the second the *si*-clause is added as a necessary check on the hearer's unconditioned inference from the statement *Omnia istaec scimus iam nos*, namely "you need not enumerate them." In the last example neither of these things is true; *paene in foveam decidi* and the obvious inference to be drawn from it ("I did not fall in") are both facts subject to no condition, and neither therefore needs a corrective *ni*-clause; and such is not the function of *ni hic adesses*. Rather, this contrary to fact phrase is used to imply the reason why the speaker did not fall into the trap. Without making any elaborate analysis it is clear that this implication is the chief function of the clause: for the speaker is obviously using the words to express his obligation to the hearer for his presence (and advice), representing them as the cause of his escape. In other words, *ni hic adesses* does not correct the preceding statement or the unconditioned inference from it ("I did not fall in"), but it further extends the thought of the sentence by assigning the cause for the thing to be inferred.

It is customary to treat sentences of this sort as the result of ellipsis, but the above analysis suggests another possible line of explanation. In Plautus there are many regularly formed con-



trary to fact conditional sentences whose chief function is to assign a reason for an existing or past state of affairs; *e.g.*,

Mil. 1262:

MI. Non video. Ubist? AC. Videres pol, si amares.<sup>16</sup>

In this passage *Videres* takes cognizance of the fact stated in the preceding speech (*Non video*), and the *si*-clause assigns the reason for that fact, *i.e.*, that the first speaker is not really in love. In the sentence under discussion (*paene in foveam decidi, ni hic adesses*), at the end of the first clause the speaker may become conscious that his words take cognizance of the fact that he did not fall in, just as would have been the case had he said *decidissem*, and this perhaps tempted him to use, in acknowledging the cause of his not falling in, the form which is generally employed only when the fact for which a reason is assigned is implied by a contrary to fact subjunctive apodosis, as in Mil. 1262 above.

(e). Sentences of the form *si esset—fuerat* (erat.)

Bacch. 563 ff.:

Quid? tibi non *erat* meretricum aliarum Athenis copia,  
quibuscum haberes rem, nisi cum illa quam ego mandassem  
tibi,  
occiperes tute etiam amare . . . ?

Mil. 52-53:

Quid in Cappadocia, ubi tu quingentos simul,  
ni hebes machaera foret, uno ictu *occideras*?

St. 512-13:

Et magis par *fuerat* me vobis dare cenam advenientibus,  
quam me ad illum promittere, nisi nollem ei advorsarier.

The interesting example of this group is Mil. 52-53, showing as it does the same sort of *ni*-clause as appears in Pers. 594-95, which has just been discussed at length. The explanation here however is much easier, for the *ni*-clause precedes,<sup>17</sup> and the action referred to in the apodosis obviously depends on the coming to pass of the condition that was not realized. This therefore is but another example of the second type, and is to be explained partly

<sup>16</sup> The other cases are enumerated in the American Journal of Philology, Vol. XXII, p. 310 ff.

<sup>17</sup> This precludes treating the sentence as a case of anacoluthon.

in the same way as others of that class, partly on the ground of the spirit of exaggeration that pervades the passage in which the sentence occurs.<sup>18</sup> The other two cases in this group seem also to be examples of the second type; St. 512-13 has a modal verb in apodosis.

In summing up the results of this study with reference to pure conditional sentences, it may be remembered that we began with the assumption that Plautus had a fairly clear conception of the same mood in both clauses as the norm. The problem in hand is therefore to discover the reasons why some sentences do not conform to that norm. Four such reasons have been enumerated.

1. The fact that the state of affairs mentioned in the apodosis is often in no way dependent on the truth of the protasis; the indicative statement includes and implies what *would be* in the supposed case.

2. The modal meaning of certain verbs, notably *posse*.

3. The union of a complete sentence and a part of another by anacoluthon. The form of each member of the expression is determined by the thought it is to convey, irrespective of the form of the other member.

4. The somewhat undeveloped state of the language in Plautus' day, as shown (*a*) in irregular sentence structure and (*b*) in the not very precise use of mood forms. This method of explanation finds its most sweeping application in cases referring to the future; for there the fact that the realms of indicative and subjunctive meanings were not carefully differentiated tended to make the lack of symmetry in sentence structure still less noticeable to Plautus than it would otherwise have been. Aside from sentences referring to the future there are very few

<sup>18</sup> With regard to such sentences as this it should be remembered also that at this time Latin was in the midst of the process of adopting the use of the secondary tenses for the expression of the contrary to fact idea. In Greek it was the *indicative* that was chosen when a similar shift of tense was made in that language, and it is possible that we should recognize in early Latin some sporadic and unorganized impulses to develop in that way rather than toward the use of the subjunctive. Cf. Men. 195 (*si amabas*), Ps. 286 (*si amabas*) and perhaps Rud. 379 (*si amabat*). An interesting variety is also displayed in Cas. 811 (*si equos esses, esses indomabilis*) and Mil. 1111-12 (*tu quidem ad equas fuisti scitus admissarius*). With regard to the case under discussion Brix seems to lay too much stress on the demands of the metre; cf. his note *ibid.* 131.

cases for which this is the only possible line of explanation. Generally it is to be combined with others, as for instance with 2 above. One or two combinations with factors not here enumerated were mentioned in the discussion of individual cases.<sup>19</sup>

## II.—CONCESSIVE SENTENCES.

### (a). Sentences of the form *si sit*—*est*.

Asin. 318-19:

*Si quidem omnes coniurati cruciamenta conferant, habeo opinor familiarem tergum, ne quaeram foris.*

Asin. 933:

*Pol si aliud nil sit, tui me, uxor, pudet.*

Bacch. 128:

*Qui si decem habeas linguas, mutum esse addecet.*

Bacch. 1045-46:

*Si plus perdendum sit, periisse suavius quam illud flagitium volgo dispalescere.*

Cas. 314 ff.:

*Quin si nolis filiusque etiam tuos, vobis invitis atque amborum ingratiis una libella liber possum fieri.*

Cist. 27 ff.:

*Si idem istud nos faciamus, si idem imitemur, ita tamen vix vivimus cum invidia summa.*

Merc. 841:

*Ibi quidem si regnum detur, non cupitast civitas.*

Pers. 40-41:

*Quin si egomet totus veneam, vix recipi potis est quod tu me rogas.*

Ps. 291:

*Atque adeo, si facere possim, pietas prohibet.*

St. 43 ff.:

*Et si illi improbi sint . . . nostrum officium meminisse decet.*

<sup>19</sup> The jussive force of the future indicative (Mil. 571) and the exaggeration which pervades the passage in which Mil. 53 occurs.

Tri. 1186 :

Nam si pro peccatis centum ducat uxoris, *parumst.*

Truc. 877 :

Factum cupio : nam nefacere si velim, non *est* locus.

The sentences of this group well illustrate the tendency of the concessive *si*-clause to precede its conclusion ; here there is not a single variation from the rule. Excepting in Cist. 27 ff. and possibly in Merc. 841 the *si*-clause is a mere supposition, and takes the subjunctive mood for the same reason that that mood is employed in pure conditional sentences of the ideal and contrary to fact types. Having begun his sentences with such a *si*-clause, Plautus nevertheless does not hesitate to complete them with an indicative conclusion, and such a course is not without justification. For in the above examples it will be found that the conclusion refers regularly to a state of affairs actually existing and which would continue to exist despite the coming to pass of what is supposed in the *si*-clause. Both of these things the speaker cannot express at one and the same time, though perhaps in some cases he finds it possible to follow a middle course by using the indicative when the verb chances to be modal. But with other verbs at any rate he must make a choice ; by the use of the indicative he can assert *the existing state of affairs*, allowing the hearer to gather that the same state would continue under the adverse circumstances supposed, and on the other hand by employing the subjunctive he can confine himself to what *would be true* despite those circumstances, leaving it to the hearer to infer the actually existing state of affairs. Either mood is therefore justified by the nature of the situation and the underlying thought. The indicative is the more vigorous and comprehensive form of expression ; whereas the use of the subjunctive appeals to a mind trained to grammatical niceties as producing a more symmetrical sentence structure.

Consequently in Cicero the subjunctive is the normal and regular usage ; *e.g.*,

p. Sulla 13.38 :

Ne si argueret quidem tum denique . . . id mihi criminis *videretur.*

When as here the supposition is contrary to fact, the choice of the secondary tenses of the subjunctive in the conclusion makes the speaker use the form of unreality of something which is as a matter of fact true. Nevertheless in the orations alone there are some seventy cases in which a *si*-clause containing the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive forces its conclusion to agree in mood with itself.<sup>20</sup> Even modal verbs seldom resist the pressure; *e.g.*,

p. Arch. 7.17:

Quodsi ipsi haec neque attingere neque sensu nostro gustare possemus, tamen ea mirari *deberemus*.<sup>21</sup>

A case where, instead of allowing the *si*-clause to force the use of the imperfect subjunctive in the conclusion (as in the two examples just given) Cicero chooses to simply assert the existing state of affairs, is generally counted noteworthy; *e.g.*,

Lael. 27. 104:

Si illis plane orbatus essem, magnum tamen *adfert* mihi aetas ipsa solacium.<sup>22</sup>

Plautus' usage is in sharp contrast to this, as at once appears when we compare those concessive clauses in which he uses the forms *si sit—est* and *si sit—erit* with those in which the form *si sit—sit* appears. Omitting for the time being Cist. 27 ff. and Merc. 841 which (one or both) have a peculiarity which disqualifies for participation in this comparison, there have been cited above ten cases of the form *si sit—est*; below there will be given four of the form *si sit—erit*. Over against these fourteen cases of the indicative in the conclusion, even by including two passages in which the text is corrupt, there are but five examples<sup>23</sup> of the form *si sit—sit*, that is, five examples in which the influence

<sup>20</sup> See Amer. Jour. Phil., Vol. XXI, p. 270 ff.

<sup>21</sup> So also, *oporteret* (in Verr. II, 1, 27, 70; II, 2, 6, 15 and 40, 99; II, 4, 51, 114, de prov. cons. 14, 35); *deberem* (de prov. cons. 20, 47; *deberetis* (p. Tull. 15, 36); *deberent* (in Verr. II, 3, 40, 91); *possem* (in Pis. 33, 81); *posses* (in Caecil. 13, 43 and 19, 62; in Verr. II, 3, 72, 169); *posset* (in Verr. II, 3, 13, 32); *liceret* (p. Mil. 27, 72), etc. The idiomatic imperfect indicative of a modal expression referring to the present occurs de Imp. Pomp. 17, 50.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. p. Sulla 30, 83, and the preceding note fin.

<sup>23</sup> There are three other cases of this form, but they are excluded here because the subjunctive of the conclusion can be otherwise explained—characteristic (Bacch. 179), dependent on *ut* (Tri. 487), jussive (Truc. 855).

of the subjunctive *si*-clause was strong enough to move the speaker to choose the more symmetrical but less vigorous form of conclusion. And whereas in Cicero even modal verbs seldom resist leveling, in these examples just mentioned Plautus nowhere levels a modal verb. Surely if we needed any additional evidence to prove Plautus' freedom from the thrall of hard and fast grammatical conceptions, we have it here.

The five cases in which he uses the form *si sit—sit* are as follows:

Aul. 555 ff.:

Quos *si* Argus servet, qui oculus totus fuit,  
is numquam *servet*.

Bacch. 697:

Quem *si* orem ut mihi nil credat, id non *ausit* credere.

Tri. 885 ff.:

*Si* ante lucem† ire occipias a meo primo nomine,  
concubium *sit* noctis priusquam ad postremum perveneris.

Truc. 315-16:

*Si* ecastor hic homo senapi victitet, non *censeam*  
tam esse tristem posse.

Truc. 527-28:

†*Sih* plane ex medio mari  
savium petere tuom iubeas, petere hau *pigeat*, mel meum.

Few as these cases are, they still suggest one of the ways in which a concessive *si*-clause containing the subjunctive tended to exert a levelling influence on its conclusion. In the first passage cited Euclio is much distressed for fear the cooks will steal something, and the thought he wishes to convey is that though Argus himself should undertake to watch them, still they could not be kept from pilfering. Had the conclusion been phrased in this way the verb would doubtless have been in the indicative, but the emphatic *Argus* of the *si*-clause has tempted Plautus to resume the emphasis in the conclusion with *is*, and he has thereby committed himself to a periphrasis in which anything but the subjunctive is difficult; for how can the clause be made a statement describing the existing state of affairs when Argus is the subject of discourse—a personage who has no connection with that state of affairs, and who is after all only a figment of the imagination?

The only thing left for the speaker to do is to accept the other alternative and state what *would be* despite the selection of so good a guardian, allowing the hearer to infer the existing state of affairs.<sup>24</sup> The second passage above cited is of precisely the same sort, the emphatic *nil* of the *si*-clause being echoed by *id* of the conclusion; having begun with this word the speaker would find it difficult to complete the clause as a statement of fact descriptive of the existing state of affairs. The remaining three cases have no resumptive word in their conclusions; but the *si*-clauses each contain an emphatic word or phrase which would have allowed of resumption (*ante lucem*, Tri. 885, *senapi*, Truc. 315, *ex medio mari*, Truc. 527), and the speaker may have felt something of resumptive force even though he did not definitely express it. At any rate the conclusion in each case is worded so as to fit such a resumptive word or phrase, and not as it probably would have been if the speaker had planned for an indicative clause descriptive of the existing state of affairs.

In cases like these last three where the *si*-clause contains an emphatic element that might be, but as a matter of fact is not, resumed in the conclusion, Plautus' usage probably varies. Thus in Bacch. 128 though the verb is modal he has perhaps chosen to assert in the conclusion the existing state of affairs:

Qui si decem habeas linguas, mutum esse *addecet*.

Had he allowed himself a resumptive phrase, we wonder whether even the modal verb would have resisted the pressure. In English at any rate we have no option—we cannot say "Though you had ten tongues, with the ten it *is* fitting that you be silent," for the ten tongues do not exist. We must say "with ten tongues it *would be* fitting, etc." Cf. Tri. 1186.

Before leaving this group of sentences of the form *si sit—est*, a word should be added with reference to Cist. 27 ff. and Merc.

<sup>24</sup> In terms of the preceding paper such an example is an *intensive* concessive sentence. Euclio is not content with any reasonable concession such as "Though we watch them," but in his desire for emphasis he flies to the most extreme of suppositions, "Though *Argus* should watch them." Such concessive clauses are a mannerism with Plautus. When the element which renders the supposition extreme is something other than the verb (here *Argus*), the periodic nature of the concessive sentence naturally inclines the speaker to resume the emphasis in the conclusion by a pronoun or the like (here *is*), thus introducing into that clause an element which is as little suited as the word resumed to be a factor in a description of the existing state of affairs.

841. These are what might be called *general* concessive sentences,<sup>28</sup> differing from the others in that the *si*-clause neither refers to the future nor is it contrary to fact, but rather (most clearly in Cist. 27 ff.) deals with something which does happen at least occasionally. Such a *si*-clause is quite analogous to a general "condition," where the same use of the subjunctive occurs, notably when the subject of the verb is the indefinite second singular. Such a subjunctive *si*-clause, even in the strictest Latin, exercises little leveling force on its conclusion. It was for this reason that these two cases were excluded in the comparison made to determine the ratio of indicative to subjunctive in the conclusions of concessive clauses of the form *si sit*; their inclusion would have increased a little, and perhaps unfairly, the number of indicative cases.

(b). Sentences of the form *si sit— erit (futurus est)*.

Amph. 450-51:

Quadrigas si nunc incendas Iovis  
atque hinc fugias, ita vix *poteris* effugere infortunium.

Asin. 414-15:

Siquidem hercle nunc summum Iovem te dicas detinuisse  
atque is precator adsiet, malam rem *effugies* numquam.

Bacch. 1004:

Nam ego non *laturus sum*, si iubeas maxume.

Ep. 610-11:

Si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter  
ita non omnes ex cruciatu *poterunt* eximere Epidicum.

In this group the conclusion refers to something that will not take place and would (still) not take place despite the coming to pass of the state of affairs supposed in the *si*-clause. Not being able to express all this definitely in a single clause, the speaker may either assert that the thing in question will not take place or that it would not, (even) in the case supposed. The first of these alternatives seems to be chosen in the second and third examples. In the other two cases, despite the indicative of the conclusion, it appears as though the speaker intended to accept the second alternative, giving expression to what *would* come to

<sup>28</sup> See Amer. Jour. Phil., Vol. XXIV, p. 300 ff.



pass. For in both sentences the emphatic elements of the *si*-clause are echoed by *ita* ("even so"), which seems to restrict the conclusion to the supposed case; and in Ep. 610-11 such restriction is further indicated by the carrying over of the emphatic subject of discourse from the *si*-clause to the conclusion, and the result thus produced on the phrasing there;<sup>26</sup> for otherwise the clause would naturally have taken the form "nevertheless Epicurus cannot be saved," as in the very similar case in

Asin. 414-15:

Si quidem hercle nunc summum Iovem te dicas detinuisse  
atque is precator adsiet, malam rem effugies numquam.

The question is therefore why the indicative is used in the two sentences under discussion (Amph. 450-51 and Ep. 610-11). The answer is to be found partly in the fact that the verb in both cases is *posse*, partly in the reference to the future—the point where indicative and subjunctive are least clearly distinguished.<sup>27</sup>

The only concessive sentences of the form *si sit—sit* with which those of this group may be compared are the five quoted in the discussion of the form *si sit—est*.

(c). Sentence of the form *si sit—fuit*.

Rud. 159:

Si non moneas, nosmet meminimus.

By virtue of its meaning this sentence might have been treated with those of the form *si sit—est*. Its explanation is the same.

(d). Sentences of the form *si esset (fuisset)—fuit*.

Curc. 449 ff.:

Quia enim in cavea si forent  
conclusi itidem ut pulli gallinacei  
ita non *potuere* uno anno circumirier.

Merc. 595-96:

Sed †tamen demsi prodagrosis pedibus esset Eutyclus,  
iam a portu redisse *potuit*.

<sup>26</sup> See the discussion above of concessive sentences of the form *si sit—sit*.

<sup>27</sup> My colleague Prof. Prescott calls attention also to the minatory force of Amph. 450-51.

Merc. 694-95 :

‡Decem si ad cenam vocasset summos viros  
nimium *opsonavit*.

Mil. 803-04 :

Non *potuit* reperire, si ipsi Soli quaerendas dares,  
lepidiores duas ad hanc rem quam ego.

Ps. 792-93 :

Nam ego si iuratus peiorem hominem quaererem  
coquam, non *potui* quam hunc quem duco ducere.<sup>28</sup>

In this group the conclusion refers to a present or past state of affairs which would be (would have been) unchanged despite the coming to pass of the thing supposed. In Merc. 694-95 the speaker seems clearly to choose the alternative of asserting the past state of affairs. The other four cases contain the verb *posse*, and therefore, though in the indicative, may conceivably refer to what would be or would have been; this seems to be the case in Mil. 803-04, for the emphatic *Soli* of the *si*-clause provides a subject of discourse for the conclusion, thus dominating the phrasing of that member of the sentence and restricting it to the supposed case (see the discussion above of Ep. 610-11) : *ita* of Curc. 449 ff. looks in the same direction. The exact meaning of the remaining two cases is not clear.

With the sentences of this group may be compared two of the form *si esset (fuisset)—fuisset*, Men. 238 ff. and Most. 241-42. The first of these is an interesting illustration of the resumption of emphasis and its restricting effect.

(e). Sentence of the form *si fuisset—futurus erat*.

Cist. 152-53 :

quod si tacuisset, tamen  
ego *eram dicturus*.

This case is interesting as being apparently the only example of its kind in Plautus, though of course it is of a type common enough later. As a conclusion of *quod si tacuisset* Plautus' usage elsewhere would lead us to expect either a statement of the fact of the case ("I shall tell") or an announcement that this state of affairs would be undisturbed even under the supposed circum-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the corrupt Capt. 417-18.

stances ("I should have told"). Following his usual procedure he leans toward the first of these alternatives, but substitutes "I was prepared to tell" for "I shall tell." Though rare in concessive sentences, such substitution is very frequent in Plautus generally: everywhere we find expressions of ability, willingness, readiness, habit and the like substituted for assertions that something will be brought to pass.<sup>29</sup> The really noteworthy thing in this case is the tense—which however is a question that belongs to the history of the contrary to fact construction rather than to a discussion of the concessive sentence.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to sum up what has been brought out in the preceding discussion. I may however say again that in concessive sentences of the kind treated in this paper the conclusion regularly refers to a state of affairs actually existent and which would be undisturbed even in the case supposed.<sup>30</sup> The speaker must in general choose which of the two things he will state, the first naturally calling for the indicative and the second for the subjunctive. In the case of modal verbs it is hard at times to determine which course a speaker meant to follow, and it is possible that occasionally in such examples he did not make a conscious choice.

To assert the existing state of affairs is unquestionably the more vigorous and comprehensive form of expression, and it is not strange that it was a favorite with Plautus, though the subjunctive was the rule later, even in the case of modal verbs. The few examples in which Plautus uses the subjunctive would seem to show that he was moved in that direction, at least in part, by the fact that an emphatic element of the *si*-clause echoed in the conclusion tends to commit the speaker to a turn of phrase unsuited to be a description of the existing state of affairs. After his time doubtless a much more important and sweeping influence

<sup>29</sup> See Poen. 516-17, which has been already discussed, and Amer. Jour. Phil., Vol. XXIV, p. 294.

<sup>30</sup> This is an essential and fundamental characteristic of the concessive periods. Occasionally there appears a pure conditional sentence which has a very similar *accidental* characteristic, namely that the apodosis refers to an action or state of affairs which would occur in the supposed case, but whose happening as a matter of fact is not dependent on the truth of the condition. Such conditional sentences provide examples of the first type discussed, and the explanation of indicative apodosis there is very similar to that of indicative conclusion here.

was exerted by the growing appreciation of grammatical symmetry which demanded a subjunctive conclusion for a subjunctive concessive *si*-clause, on the analogy of pure conditional sentences.

### III.—SI IN OBJECT CLAUSES.

This not altogether satisfactory heading is designed to describe such *si*-clauses as complete the meaning of a statement of fact—a function very different from that of a *si*-clause in a conditional period or concessive sentence. These object clauses are also peculiar in position; for in the conditional period the *si*-clause may either precede or follow, in the concessive sentence it almost always precedes, but here it regularly follows.

#### (a). Sentences of the form *si sit*—*est*.

##### A.—Dependent on Verbs of Expectation and Waiting.

Cas. 540:

Quae iam dudum, si arcessatur, ornata *expectat* domi.

Cas. 542:

Intus illa te, si se arcessas, *manet*.

Poen. 12:

Iam dudum *expecto*, si tuom officium scias.

Tri. 98:

*Expecto*, siquid dicas.

Tri. 148:

*Ausculto*, siquid dicas.

In the first two of these sentences the *si*-clause tells the thing expected or waited for, and the meaning of *si* is conditional, approaching somewhat that of *dum*, but conveying less assurance that the thing in question will ultimately happen. The third example is obviously different. There the speaker is of course not waiting for the other to know his business, and we are tempted to render "I have long been waiting (to see) *whether* you know your business," making *expectare* the point of support for an indirect question; as for instance in

Cic. in Verr. II. 1. 59. 154:

*expectemus* quid dicant ex Sicilia testes?

It is true that E. Becker<sup>31</sup> is probably right in denying that *si* ever has full interrogative force in the writings of Plautus. But the passage in question is from a prologue probably of later date, and therefore in our analysis we are not restricted by the Plautine rule. In the two remaining cases (Tri. 98 and 148) it is difficult to say whether to the original speaker *si* was purely conditional, or whether there was some admixture of interrogative shading. This latter we perhaps are too prone to feel.

### B.—Dependent on Verbs of Action and Effort.

Capt. 100-01:

Homines captivos *commercatur*, si queat  
aliquem invenire suum qui mutet filium.

Cist. 183-84:

*Iubet* illum eundem *persequi*, si qua queat  
reperire quae sustulerit.

Cist. 184 ff.:

ei rei nunc suam  
*operam* usque assiduo servos *dat*, si possiet  
meretricem illam invenire.

Tri. 531-32:

Em istuc *oportet operari* mores malos  
si in operendo possint interfieri.

It is noteworthy that in this group the verb of the *si*-clause is always *quire* or *posse*. The thought of these clauses is akin to the purpose idea, but with a large admixture of doubt as to the attainment of the goal. A purpose clause with a parenthetical "if possible" or the like would in most cases provide a fair rendering for the thought; e.g. (Capt. 100-01), "He is buying up prisoners, that if possible he may light on one who can be exchanged for his son." In Cist. 184 ff. the *si*-clause appears to be an expansion of *ei rei*.

Though the interpretation of such sentences is not difficult, it is hard to determine in a given case the precise shading of *si*. We can readily feel something of conditional force, as though the word were chosen to convey uncertainty with regard to the attainment of the purpose. At the same time the English mind

<sup>31</sup> Studemund's *Studia*, Vol. I, p. 195.

is not slow here too to find the suggestion of interrogative meaning. For, in colloquial speech, with just such a virtual purpose idea to express we freely use the interrogative; *e.g.*, "I am going to the city (to see) if I can secure some tickets," *i.e.*, "to secure some tickets if I can." The interrogative shading is most obtrusive when the action of the main clause is a suggested experiment as in Tri. 531-32; there we may assume that other means of suppressing vicious practices have been tried, and the speaker now jocosely suggests that it would be well to make the experiment of planting them in that fatal field (to see?) if they too, as well as other things, will be killed off.

(b). Sentences of other forms.

The remaining cases of object *si*-clauses containing the subjunctive and dependent on indicative forms are so few and scattering that they can be best presented under this general head.

A.—Dependent on Verbs of Expectation and Waiting.

Asin. 528-29:

An te id *expectare oportet*, siquis promittat tibi  
te facturum divitem, si moriatur mater sua?

Poen. 1391-92:

Iam pridem equidem istas scivi esse liberas  
et *expectabam* siqui eas assereret manu.

Ps. 1148:

Iamdudum, si des, *porrexi manum*.

Vid. 68:

Hic *astabo* atque *observabo*, siquem amicum conspicer.<sup>32</sup>

These sentences are manifestly like those cited of the form *si sit—est*.

B.—Dependent on Verbs of Action and Effort.

Capt. 27-28:

*Coepit* captivos *commercari* hic Aleos,  
siquem reperire posset, qui mutet suum (sc. filium).

<sup>32</sup> Another example is probably to be found in Truc. 692-93, but it contains the ambiguous form *opperiar*.

Merc. 622 ff.:

Quin *percontatu's* hominis quae facies foret  
qui illam emisset: eo si pacto posset indagarier  
mulier?

Mil. 1207-08:

Nam si possem ullo modo  
impetrare, ut abiret nec te abduceret, *operam dedi*.

Tri. 119-20:

ei rei *operam dare te fuerat* aliquanto *aequius*  
siqui probiorem facere posses.

Vid. 56-57:

*Ibo et quaeram*, siquem possim sociorum nanciscier  
seu quem norim qui advocatus adsiet.

Cf. Most. 837-38:

At tu isto ad vos *optuere*, quoniam cornicem nequis  
conspicari, si volutrios forte possis contui.

Amph. 880-81:

Mercurium *iussi* me continuo *consequi*,  
siquid vellem imperare.

Mil. 1158:

PA. Date modo operam. AC. Id nos ad te, siquid velles,  
*venimus*.

In this group there is the same virtual purpose idea underlying the *si*-clause that was found in sentences of the form *si sit—est*; and, as there, the verb of the *si*-clause is regularly *posse* (*quire*), the exceptions being the last two cases cited, which contain forms of *velle*.<sup>33</sup> Here too it is impossible to decide to what extent *si* is interrogative. In Mil. 1207-08 however the unusual order (*si*-clause precedes) makes it difficult to feel any interrogative force in *si*.<sup>34</sup> In Tri. 119-20 *ei rei* again anticipates the *si*-clause.

Before attempting to solve the problem of subjunctive “pro-tasis” with indicative “apodosis” for sentences containing subjunctive object clauses, it will be necessary to consider also those

<sup>33</sup> There would be further exceptions if we should include Aul. 620-21 (*perscrutabor, si inveniam*) and Pers. 44 (*quaeram, siquis credat*); these are excluded because of the presence of forms in *-am*. Cf. also Merc. 941, St. 151-52, the corrupt Cas. 806 and doubtful Amph. 621.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Blase de mod. temp. permut. p. 22 (78). Lindskog (l. c. p. 73), without advancing any satisfactory evidence, is very decided in his disapproval of Blase's position.

cases in which an indicative object clause is used. The subjunctive examples were subdivided according to the nature of the verb of the main clause; (*A*) depending on verbs of expectation and waiting, (*B*) depending on verbs of action and effort. A similar plan will be followed here; but *A* is lacking, and it is necessary to add (*C*)—depending on verbs of seeing and knowing. We therefore begin with

### B.—Dependent on Verbs of Action and Effort.

Just as in the case of the subjunctive the verb of the *si*-clause is here also regularly *posse*.

Bacch. 1151:

Ego ad hunc iratum *adgrediar*, si possumus nos hosce intro inlicere huc.

Cist. 651-52:

*Ibo*, *persequar* iam illum intro, ut haec ex me sciat eadem, si possum tranquillum facere ex irato mihi.

Cure. 701:

*Animum advortite* hoc, si possum hoc inter vos componere.

Men. 417-18:

*adsentabor*, quicquid dicet, mulieri, si possum hospitium nancisci.

Men. 1048-49:

Nunc *ibo* intro ad hanc meretricem, quamquam suscenset mihi, sei possum exorare ut pallam reddat.

Rud. 890-91:

Verum tamen *ibo*, ei advocatus ut siem, siqua mea opera citius—addici potest.

Tri. 921:

Quod ad exemplumst? coniectura si reperire possumus.

Tri. 958-59:

Enim vero ego nunc sycophantae huic *sycophantari volo*, si hunc possum illo mille nummum Philippum circumducere.<sup>35</sup>

In this group belong also a few conventionalized *si vis* clauses which find a parallel in two subjunctive examples already cited

<sup>35</sup> Rud. 329 is doubtful in text and meaning. Cf. also Poen. 1063-64 and St. 740-41, which should perhaps come under this heading.



(*si vellem*, Amph. 880-81, and *si velles*, Mil. 1158). All the cases here given perhaps do not contain object clauses, but the list is made complete so there may be no chance of excluding what should be included.

Aul. 209: *Redeo* ad te, Megadore, siquid me vis.

Capt. 618: *Do tibi operam*, Aristophontes, siquid est quod me velis.

Men. 566: Em hic abiit, si vis persequi vestigiis.

Pers. 611: *Adduco* hanc, siquid vis ex hac percontarier.

Poen. 207-08: Em amores tuos, si vis spectare.

Poen. 1047-48: Si itast, tesseram conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam *attuli*.

Tri. 516-17: ST. Philto, te volo. PH. Siquid vis, Stasime.

As the sentences of this group are compared with the corresponding examples with subjunctive *si*-clause, it must be confessed that one looks in vain for a difference of meaning. It may be noted however that if a past tense is to be used in the *si*-clause the subjunctive is the mood chosen;<sup>38</sup> for all the indicative cases just cited employ the present tense.

### C.—Dependent on Verbs of Seeing and Knowing.

Bacch. 529:

ibo ut *visam* huc ad eum, si fortet domi.

Cas. 591:

*Viso* huc, amator si a foro rediit domum.

Men. 142:

Iam *sciam*, siquid titubatamst, ubi reliquias videro.

Mer. 155-56:

Quin iam priusquam sum eloqutus *scis*, si mentiri volo.

Pers. 825:

*Vide* vero, si tibi satis placet.

<sup>38</sup> Lindskog (l. c. p. 69) makes this distinction. Further he adds (especially with reference to *posse* and *quire*) that when there is a reference to the future, a verb in the first person takes the indicative and in other persons the subjunctive. So Lindsay, Capt. 28 note. But Lindskog himself notices one exception to the latter part of the rule (namely Rud. 890-91), explaining it away by saying that *mea opera addici potest* is equal to *possum facere, ut addicatur*. This is not altogether satisfying, especially as there is an exception to the other part of the rule which he does not notice, namely Vid. 56-57, where the first person subjunctive *possim* is used.

Tri. 748:

*Vide si hoc utibile magis atque in rem deputas.*

Tri. 763:

*Sed vide consilium si placet.*<sup>37</sup>

In this group the nature of the verb of the main clause suggests most strongly interrogative force for *si*. Becker however (l.c. p. 195) holds that even here the word is not fully interrogative. For, he says, an undoubtedly interrogative word in some of the above cases would demand the subjunctive, according to Plautus' usage; here only the indicative is found.

Treating only those cases which contain undoubted indicative and subjunctive forms, Plautus' usage in object clauses may be thus presented in tabular form.

1. After verbs of expectation and waiting the subjunctive is used.

2. After verbs of action and effort the mood varies.

(a) In the present tenses both moods of *posse* are used; *quire* stands in the subjunctive, *velle* in the indicative.

(b) In past tenses the subjunctive of *posse* and *velle* is employed.

3. After verbs of seeing and knowing the indicative is used.

With the help of this outline it is possible by a process of exclusion to arrive at the probable cause of the use of the subjunctive in object clauses. For it may be remembered that in such clauses it was generally found to be true that the force of *si* was wavering between conditional and interrogative. The table just given shows that the use of the subjunctive must be due to the *conditional* force of the word—i.e., that this mood was chosen in accordance with the rule that called for it in regular conditional sentences. For in group 3 (after verbs of seeing and knowing), where the interrogative shading is most pronounced, the mood of the *si*-clause is always indicative. The weaker interrogative coloring of *si* in groups 1 and 2 cannot therefore have been the factor that caused the frequent use of the subjunctive there.

<sup>37</sup> Cist. 682 is doubtful in meaning.

## IV.—THE INDEFINITE SECOND SINGULAR.

Bacch. 440-41:

At nunc priusquam septuennis est, si *attingas* eum manu,  
extemplo puer paedagogo tabula dirumpit caput.

Capt. 202:

In re mala animo si bono *utare*, adiuvat.

Capt. 221:

Nam doli non doli sunt, nisi astu *colas*.

Cas. 721:

Quia quod tetigere, ilico rapiunt: si *eas* ereptum, ilico  
scindunt.

Ep. 674:

Quaque tangit, omne amburit. Si *astes*, aestu calefacit.

Men. 103:

Standumst in lecto, siquid de summo *petas*.

Mil. 673:

Nam in mala uxore atque inimico siquid *sumas*, sumptus est.

Pers. 449-50:

Siquam rem *accures* sobrie aut frugaliter  
solet illa recte sum manus succedere.

Poen. 635-36:

Malo siquid bene *facias*, id beneficium interit.

Bono siquid male *facias*, aetatem expetit.

Poen. 812-13:

Siquid bene *facias*, levior plumast gratia.

Siquid peccatumst, plumbeas iras gerunt.

Tri. 349:

De magnis divitiis siquid *demas*, plus fit an minus?

Tri. 414-15:

Non tibi illud apparere, si *sumas*, potest,  
nisi tu immortale rere esse argentum tibi.

Tri. 1053:

Si mage exigere *occipias*, duarum rerum exoritur optio.

Truc. 461-62:

Nullam rem oportet dolose adgredi  
nisi astute adcurateque *exsequare*.

To these sentences of the form *si sit—est* apparently should be added one of the form *si sit—erit*:

Amph. 703 ff.:

Bacchae bacchanti si *velis* advorsarier,  
ex insana insaniorem facies, feriet saepius.  
Si *obsequare*, una resolvas plaga.

Though forms in *-eris* are strictly speaking of uncertain mood, the two following cases may be at least enumerated in this connection:

Poen. 212-13:

Nam nullae magis res duae plus negoti  
habent, forte si *occeperis* exornare.

Tri. 1051:

Siquoi mutuom quid *dederis*, fit pro proprio perditum.<sup>38</sup>

A full and final explanation of the form of these sentences would naturally start with the subjunctive of the *si*-clause. But unfortunately the nature of this subjunctive is still a matter of uncertainty, and the material at hand is far too scanty to form the basis of any adequate conclusion on that point. To reach such a conclusion it may be necessary to compass the wide field in which the phenomenon of the concomitant relation between indefinite second singular and subjunctive mood manifests itself. However, that there is a cause and effect relation involved cannot I think be for a moment doubted, the upholders of the other view notwithstanding. For so sweeping is the tendency of a verb whose subject is the indefinite second singular to go into the subjunctive that Plautus offers but a single example of the form *si est—est* to compare with the fourteen above of the form *si sit—est*:

Asin. 241-42:

Portitorum simillumae sunt ianuae lenoniae:  
si *adfers*, tum patent; si non est quod des, aedes non patent.

Again a comparison of Poen. 812-13 and 635-36 (given above in full) is suggestive; in the second of these passages an alternative is afforded by *siquid bene facias* and *siquid male facias*, while in the other exactly the same thought finds expression in the clauses *siquid bene facias* and *siquid peccatumst*. If the indefinite second singular has nothing to do with the use of the subjunctive

<sup>38</sup> Tri. 347-48 has a hortatory subjunctive in apodosis; cf. Aul. 380-81.

it is hard to account for the choice of moods here. Though not in *si*-clauses, the variation in mood is quite as striking in the two following cases:

Mil. 947:

Volup est, quod *agas* si id procedit lepide atque ex sententia.

Poen. 1192:

Ut volup est homini, mea soror, si quod *agit* cluet victoria.<sup>39</sup>

Accepting as a fact not yet satisfactorily explained the subjunctive of the *si*-clause when the subject is the indefinite second singular, the problem of subjunctive "protasis" with indicative "apodosis" for the sentences under discussion is to determine why the subjunctive *si*-clause does not level its conclusion. One looks in vain for a clear case of such levelling in Plautus. There are it is true sentences like the following:

Cist. 33:

Eas si adeas, abitum quam aditum *malis*.<sup>40</sup>

But the subject of the verb of the conclusion seems always to be as here the indefinite second singular, and the cases therefore give no proof of the workings of a levelling force; for such a conclusion may take the subjunctive on its own merits, as is shown by examples in which an indicative *si*-clause precedes:

Bacch. 913 ff.:

Lippi illic oculi servos est simillimus:

si non est, *nolis* esse neque *desideres*;

si est, abstinere quin attingas non *queas*.

Capt. 116 ff.:

Liber captivos avis ferae consimilis est:

semel fugiendi si datast occasio,

satis est—numquam postilla *possis* prendere.

The reason why the subjunctive *si*-clause in the sentences under discussion does not level its conclusion is to be found in the nature of the underlying thought. The *si*-clause refers to an action which the speaker assumes does happen, at least occasionally, and *si* is therefore practically a synonym of *ubi* or *cum*.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The shift in mood in the long passage Bacch. 426 ff. and in Tri. 414-15 may have been caused by passing from the definite to the indefinite second singular and vice versa.

<sup>40</sup> Other cases are: Amph. 705 and Tri. 1053-54. Asin. 120-21 is similar but has hortatory force.

<sup>41</sup> See again Amer. Jour. Phil., Vol. XXIV, p. 300 ff.

The conclusion has to do with a second act or state which is brought about by that referred to in the *si*-clause. This second act or state is accordingly also one that does actually occur at times, and the indicative of the conclusion is simply a recognition of that fact. The *si*-clause serves to define the circumstances of the occurrence, just as an *ubi*- or *cum*-clause might do, and the mood of its verb seems to exercise about as little influence on that of the conclusion as would that of a subjunctive *ubi*- or *cum*-clause.

In conclusion may be mentioned two sentences of the form *si sit—est* in which the subject of the verb of the *si*-clause is a class name:

Bacch. 447-48:

Hocine hic pacto potest  
inhibere imperium magister, si ipse primus *vapulet?*

Truc. 234:

Nugae sunt, nisi modo quom dederit, dare iam *lubeat* denuo.

If the context of these passages be examined it will be found that in the first example *magister* is a class name "the master," and in the second the subject of discourse is *amator* "the lover." These sentences, especially the latter, suggest the query whether the indefiniteness that lurks in a class name is not akin to the indefiniteness of the general second person. If so, the modal peculiarity of occasional<sup>42</sup> cases like these might be explained on that analogy.

## V.—LOOSELY ATTACHED CLAUSES.

(a). The *si scias* type.

Merc. 298-99:

Immo *si scias*,  
oculeis quoque etiam plus iam video quam prius.

Merc. 445:

Multo herele ille magis senex, *si tu scias*.

I venture to bring these two sentences under a special heading because the *si*-clause is an idiomatic phrase which is capable of functioning alone; *e.g.*,

<sup>42</sup> The indicative is more common. See Aul. 247, Curc. 142, Men. 576 and Merc. 744.

Cas. 668 :

Immo *si scias* dicta quae dixit hodie.

Cure. 321 :

Immo *si scias* reliquiae quae sint.

Ps. 749 :

PS. Probus homost, ut praedicare te audio. CH. Immo *si scias*.

Cf. Bacch. 698 :

Immo *si audias* quae dicta dixit me advorsum tibi.<sup>43</sup>

(b). The *si modo* type.

Ps. 997 :

Id ago, *si taceas modo*.

Tri. 1187 :

Dicis, *si facias modo*.<sup>44</sup>

These sentences likewise have been set apart because the *si modo* clause containing the subjunctive is a half independent sentence element, almost an expression of wish; cf. :

Capt. 996 :

Quod male feci, erucior: *modo si infectum fieri possiet*.

Cas. 742-43 :

LY. Quid nunc? quam mox recreas me?

OL. Cena *modo si sit cocta*.

Ps. 976 :

Nam illa mea sunt cognomenta: nomen *si memoret modo*.<sup>45</sup>

## VI.—MIRARI (MIRUM) IN APODOSIS.

Cure. 265 :

Nil *est mirandum*, melius si nil sit tibi.

Ps. 433 ff. :

Sed si sint ea vera, ut nunc mos est, maxime,  
quid *mirum* fecit? quid *novom*, adulescens homo  
si amat, si amicam liberat?

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Asin. 744. The use of these and similar phrases in regular conditional sentences (Bacch. 678, Ep. 451-52, Mil. 1429, Tri. 538) may perhaps throw some light on the two sentences above in which they are loosely attached.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Rud. 680, and possibly 552.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Cist. 734.

The number of cases in this category is too small to justify here a complete exposition of Plautus' usage. He regularly employs the indicative in the *si*-clause, and these are but two scattering cases that have strayed across the line.<sup>46</sup> I am therefore content to have merely quoted them here; they would be naturally treated in a general discussion of the idiom *mirari si* rather than in one of "subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis."

With regard to this paper in general I perhaps need hardly say that I do not share the hope which seems to characterize most of the later work on this subject that some sweeping explanation may be found which is valid for all cases of "subjunctive protasis with indicative apodosis." Only on the assumption that Plautus felt this form as a linguistic unity could we rightly hope to find any such general explanation; and that he did so feel it is, in view of the wide variation of the underlying thought, at least very improbable. The division into conditional sentences, concessive sentences, etc., seems to me fundamental, and I have therefore in each of these groups based the explanation of the form on the nature of the thought to be conveyed.

I would here take up one more topic which has been postponed to the end of the discussion in order that it might not distract attention from more important matters if inserted in its logical place. I refer to the old problem of the difference in meaning of suppositions of the forms *si sit* and *si erit*. This question is raised especially by what was said of the pure conditional sentence, namely that Plautus' failure to differentiate sharply between the uses of the two mood systems in general would be most likely to betray itself in the somewhat interchangeable value of these two forms in particular, the time realm of both being the future. That he did differentiate to a certain extent between the use of *si sit* and *si erit* is unquestionable, and I would suggest that the differentiation was partly on an objective, partly on a subjective basis, *i.e.*, that Plautus *tends* to use the subjunctive in the two following cases:

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<sup>46</sup> Lindskog (l. c. p. 65) seems not to recognize Ps. 433 ff. as belonging to this category, thus leaving Curc. 265 as the only example of the use of the subjunctive. To remove this exception to the rule he suggests that with B we read *fit* for *sit*.



- (a) When there is *actually* less likelihood of fulfillment.  
 (b) When the speaker aims to *give an impression* of less likelihood of fulfillment.

The first of these cases is most strikingly illustrated by concessive sentences of the form *si sit—erit*. In at least three of the four examples found in Plautus the supposition of the *si*-clause is extremely improbable.

Amph. 450: *Quadrigas si nunc incendas Iovis.*

Asin. 414: *Siquidem hercle nunc summum Iovem te dicas detinuisse.*

Bacch. 1004: *si iubeas maxime.*

Ep. 610: *Si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter.*

The peculiarity of these subjunctive cases may be brought out into relief by contrasting the corresponding indicative examples. Counting as concessive one sentence in which the function of the *si*-clause is somewhat complicated, Plautus uses the form *si erit—erit* twice:

Amph. 1048 ff.:

Ubi quemque hominem aspexero  
*si ancillam, seu servom, sive uxorem, sive adulterum,*  
*seu patrem, sive avom videbo, obtruncabo in aedibus.*

Capt. 683-84:

*Si ego hic peribo, ast ille ut dixit non redit,*  
*at erit mi hoc factum mortuo memorabile.*

In view of the fact that *si est* is a form that often has future force, there are doubtless some concessive sentences of the form *si est—erit* which should be added to the two of the form *si erit—erit* before making a comparison with the subjunctive cases first cited. I give the complete list, leaving it to the reader to choose those sentences in which the form *si est* seems to him to have future meaning. Whatever the sentences chosen it will still be clear that the subjunctive *tends* to be used when the supposition is extremely improbable, which is the point I am trying to illustrate.

Asin. 405-06:

*Siquidem hercle Aeacidinis minis animisque expletus cedit,*  
*si med iratus tetigerit, iratus vapulabit.*

Men. 1060-61 :

Si *voltis* per oculos *iurare*, nilo hercle ea causa magis  
facietis ut ego hinc hodie abstulerim pallam.

Most 229-30 :

Siquidem hercle *vendundust* pater, venibit multo potius  
quam te . . . sinam egere.

Rud. 1014 :

Sei tu proreta isti navi's, ego gubernator ero.

An illustration of Plautus' tendency to use the subjunctive when the speaker chooses to give an impression of unlikelihood of fulfillment is afforded by phrases of the form *Quid si . . . sit?* Not including the corrupt Cas. 806, there are nineteen questions of this sort in Plautus. For the present purpose they may be subdivided according to person and number.

(a). First person plural.

Cas. 357-58 :

Quid si propius *attollamus* signa *eamusque* obviam ?  
Sequere.

Cure. 303 :

Quid si *adeamus?* heus, Curculio, te volo.

Cure. 351 :

Quid si *abeamus, decumbamus?* inquit. Consilium placet.

Most. 393 :

DEL. Quid si igitur *abeamus* hinc nos? TR. Non hoc longe,  
Delphium.

Poen. 330 :

AG. Quid si *adeamus?* MI. Adeas.

Poen. 707 ff. :

Quid si *evocemus* huc foras Agorastoclem  
Ut ipse testis sit sibi certissimus?  
Heus tu, qui furem captas, egredere ocus.

Poen. 1162-63 :

Quid si *eamus* illis obviam? AG. At ne inter vias  
praeterbitamus metuo.

Poen. 1249 :

HAN. Quid si *eloquamur?* AG. Censeo, hercle, patruē.

These questions correspond in general to our "Suppose we do thus and so"—a form which leaves with the hearer the impression that his wish or judgment is being consulted, and that the coming to pass of the thing suggested is, from the speaker's point of view, anything but assured. But while in some of the above cases the hearer shows by his expression of approval or disapproval that he feels himself consulted, in others (Cas. 357-58, Curc. 303, and Poen. 707 ff.) the speaker really does not defer to his wish or judgment at all, but without a pause proceeds to do the thing suggested. That is, in certain cases the speaker even though he fully expects a thing to be done, still uses in a somewhat perfunctory way a subjunctive phrase which appears to consult the wish or judgment of the hearer.

## (b). First person singular.

Capt. 612:

HE. Quid ais? quid si *adeam* hunc insanum? TYN. Nugas: ludificabitur.

Cist. 321:

Quid si *adeam* atque *appellem*? Mali damnique inlecebra, salve.

Curc. 145:

PH. Quid si *adeam* ad fores atque *occentem*? PA. Si lubet, neque veto neque iubeo.

Ep. 543:

Quid si *adeam*?

Pers. 724:

TO. Quid si *admoneam*? VI. Tempus est.

Poen. 728:

AG. Quid si recenti re aedis *pultem*? ADV. Censeo.

Rud. 535:

CH. Quid si aliquo ad ludos me pro manduco *locem*?

LA. Quapropter?

Truc. 6:

Quid si de vostro quippiam *orem*?—abnuont.

With these may very properly be enumerated the single case in which the perfect subjunctive is used:

Capt. 599:

HEG. †Hercle quid si hunc comprehendi *iusserim?* TYN.  
Sapias magis.

In several of these cases the answer shows that the hearer feels that he is consulted with regard to the speaker's action. Therefore the question in this number also is properly a form of deferential address. That however in some of the cases the speaker did not really mean to defer to the hearer's judgment is rendered probable by such an example as Cist. 321, where the question is spoken in soliloquy and is practically an announcement of the speaker's intention—at any rate he at once proceeds to do the thing mentioned. Whenever this is true it provides another illustration of the use of the subjunctive to give the appearance of deferring to the hearer's judgment.

Three cases remain which must be added to make the statement complete:

(c). Third person singular.

Bacch. 731-32:

MN. Quid scribam? CH. Salutem tuo patri verbis tuis.

PI. Quid si potius morbum, mortem *scribat?* id erit rectius.

Merc. 419:

Quid si igitur *reddatur* illi unde emptast?

Truc. 766:

Sed quid ego hic elamo? quid si me *iubeat* intro mittier?

In the first of these sentences *scribat* is clearly analogous to the first person use—the action proposed is put forward as a mere suggestion, here not by the actor himself but by another for him as it were. In the second case the verb is passive and the action devolves upon the first person; in meaning the sentence would properly be classed with those in which the subject of the verb is the first person. The third example is unique, and it seems to have nothing to do with the idiom under discussion aside from its likeness of form; its force is akin to that of indicative questions of similar structure.<sup>47</sup>

This completes the discussion of the difference of meaning of the forms *si sit* and *si erit*, and the paper might be closed at

<sup>47</sup> I omit from the enumeration Ps. 740 because it seems to have no exact parallel either among the subjunctive or the indicative cases. I have accepted the punctuation *Quid? si opus sit ut dulce promat indidem, equid habet?* and have treated the case as a pure conditional sentence.

this point. But having given the material in full for questions of the form *Quid si . . . sit?* I ought perhaps to add for the sake of comparison those of the form *Quid si . . . est (erit)?* Because of strongly idiomatic use such a comparison throws very little direct light on the question last under discussion (the difference in general between the meaning of *si sit* and *si erit*), but it is interesting in and for itself, and the matter seems to be nowhere fully treated.<sup>48</sup> The characteristic force of the indicative is seen most clearly in the following examples:

Asin. 536-38:

CL. Non voto ted amare qui dant, quonia amentur gratia.

PH. Quid si hic animus *occupatust*, mater? quid faciam?

Merc. 890:

EV. Potin ut animo sis tranquillo? CHA. Quid si mi animus  
*fluctuat?*

Pers. 612-13:

DO. Enim volo te adesse. TO. Hau possum, quin huic operam  
dem hospiti

quoi erus iussit. Quid si hic non *volt* me una adesse?

Poen. 721-22:

AG. Quid nunc mihi auctores estis? ADV. Ut frugi sis.

AG. Quid si animus esse non *sinit?*

Rud. 1085-86:

TR. Nil peto nisi cistulam  
et crepundia. GR. Quid si ea *sunt* aurea?

Rud. 1138-39:

Quid si ista aut superstitiosa aut hariolast atque omnia  
quidquid inerit vera *dicet?*

Tri. 1059-60:

CH. Te volo.

ST. Quid si ego me te velle *nolo?*

Questions like these are not polite and deferential phrases. On the contrary they verge toward a protest against the expressed

<sup>48</sup> Lindskog (l. c. p. 106 ff.) gives incomplete lists. Of the subjunctive cases he omits Mer. 419, Poen. 1249, and Truc. 766; of the indicative cases, Amph. 701, Bacch. 35, Ps. 286, Rud. 1086 and 1138 (two of these employ the perfect tense which he does not treat at all); of cases of ambiguous form (-am), Rud. 1274 and 1312. Regarding the subjunctive he says (p. 109) "Rei natura fit, ut semper praesens coniunctivi usurpetur;" but Capt. 599 has *iusserim*. O. Brugmann (l. c. p. 27) touches on this subject, but with very incomplete material. Cf. Brix on Capt. 613 and Sonnenschein on Rud. 472.

desire or advice of the person addressed. In translation we instinctively recognize this fact by beginning with an adversative particle “*But what if . . . ?*” The tone of the question may be even insolent, as in the last case cited.<sup>49</sup>

Other examples of a similar nature but with the speaker’s feeling of protest or hesitation perhaps not so clearly marked are:

Amph. 391-92:

SO. Tuae fidei credo? ME. Meae.

SO. Quid si *falles?*

Asin. 193 ff.:

Si mihi dantur duo talenta argenti numerata in manum,  
hanc tibi noctem honoris causa gratiis dono dabo.

AR. Quid si non *est?*

Bacch. 1184-85:

NI. Quem quidem ego ut non *†*excruciem, alterum tantum  
auri non meream.

BA. Quid tandem si dimidium auri *redditur?*

Cas. 269 ff.:

CLE. Quid si ego *impetro* atque *exoro* a vilico, causa mea  
ut eam illi permittat? LY. Quid si ego autem ab armigero  
*impetro*

ut eam illi permittat?

Merc. 907-08:

CHA. Opta ergo ob istunc nuntium quidvis tibi.

EV. Quid si *optabo?*

Most. 580 ff.:

TR. Reddet: nunc abi.

DA. Quid ego huc recursem aut operam sumam aut conteram?  
Quid si hic *manebo* potius ad meridiem?<sup>50</sup>

In these cases the characteristic force of the indicative question is least clear in Bacch. 1184-85, which shades off toward the

<sup>49</sup> Lindskog’s definition (p. 107) seems to me far too vague “*indicativus usurpatur, cum quis quaerit, quid futurum sit, si quod in protasi contineatur evenit.*”

<sup>50</sup> Here belongs probably also the somewhat complicated Amph. 849 ff. Some would include Ep. 599; but the *si*-clause seems here to be concessive, and if so the sentence should be punctuated *Quid? si servo aliter visumst, non poteras novisse, obsecro?* Aul. 776 has been emended to provide still another case.

meaning of the subjunctive sentences. Most. 580 ff. is complicated by the interjection of the words *Quid . . . conteram?* At a first reading the exact force of *Cas. 269 ff.* may not be evident. But it will be noticed that the verbs of line 269 are *impetrare* and *exorare* (not *peto* or the like); this assumption of success in the appeal inclines one to believe that the question was spoken in a taunting and exasperating tone. *Lysidamus* has betrayed all too clearly his intention with reference to the marriage of *Casina*, and his wife retorts, "But what if I succeed in inducing the steward to give her up?" So interpreted the indicative has the normal and characteristic meaning above described.

There still remain two cases of the form *Quid si—est?*

*Bacch. 35:*

BA. *Quid si hoc potis est ut tu taceas, ego eloqar?* SO. *Lepide: licet.*

*Men. 844:*

MA. *Quid est? Quid agimus? SE. Quid si ego huc servos cito?*

The meaning of the second of these examples seems precisely like that of the subjunctive cases. *Bacch. 35*, coming just after a lacuna, is partially devoid of context; but the meaning here too seems to approach closely that of the subjunctive question.<sup>51</sup>

It will be remembered that all the subjunctive cases excepting *Capt. 599 (iussim)* use the present tense. I have therefore compared them with indicative cases of the forms *Quid si . . . est?* and *Quid si . . . crit?* as these have to do with a like time realm. There are also a few indicative cases which employ other tenses; they are *Amph. 701*, *Asin. 720*, *Ps. 286, 514*, and *Rud. 721*.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Landskog* (l. c. p. 111), having omitted from his enumeration *Bacch. 35*, naturally finds the only exception to the rule in *Men. 844*. To avoid the exception he suggests that *cito* is adverb rather than verb. The line between the use of the indicative and subjunctive was doubtless not absolutely hard and fast. It may be remembered that of the subjunctive cases *Truc. 766* approaches close to indicative meaning; this case also was omitted by *L.*

<sup>52</sup> The text of *Asin. 105* is doubtful. Aside from these there are six examples which contain ambiguous forms in *-um*, namely *Amph. 313*, *Merc. 364, 378*, *Most. 1093*, *Rud. 1274*, and *1311 ff.*; all excepting the last have subjunctive force. Two cases have verbs terminating in *-crit* (*Cas. 345* and *Rud. 472 ff.*) and one with the form *faris* (*Mil. 1417*); these three have indicative force.

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THE WHENCE AND WHITHER OF THE  
MODERN SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE

BY  
BENJ. IDE WHEELER

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THE WHENCE AND WHITHER OF THE  
MODERN SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE.<sup>1</sup>

BY

BENJ. IDE WHEELER.

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It cannot be the purpose of this brief paper to present even in outline a history of the science of language in the century past; it can undertake only to set forth the chief motives and directions of its development.

A hundred years ago this year Friedrich von Schlegel was in Paris studying Persian and the mysterious, new-found Sanskrit; Franz Bopp was a thirteen-year old student in the gymnasium at Aschaffenburg; Jacob Grimm was studying law in the University of Marburg. And yet these three were to be the men who should find the paths by which the study of human speech might escape from its age-long wanderings in a wilderness without track or cairn or clue, and issue forth upon oriented highways as a veritable science.

Schlegel the Romanticist, who had peered into Sanskrit literature in the interest of the fantastic humanism modish in his day, happened to demonstrate in *Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder*, 1808, beyond cavil the existence of a genetic relationship between the chief members of what we now know as the Indo-European family of languages. Bopp<sup>2</sup> found a way to utilize this demonstrated fact in a quest which, though now recognized as mostly vain, incidentally set in operation the mechanism of comparative grammar. Grimm,<sup>2</sup> under the promptings of a national enthusiasm, sought after the sources of the German

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<sup>1</sup>Address delivered at the St. Louis Congress of Arts and Sciences, October, 1904.

<sup>2</sup>First work: *Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache*, 1816.

<sup>3</sup>*Deutsche Grammatik*, Vol. 1 (1819).

national life, and, finding in language as in lore the roots of the present deep planted in the past, laid the foundations and set forth the method of historical grammar. The grafting of comparative grammar upon the stock of historical grammar gave it wider range and yielded the scientific grammar of the nineteenth century. The method of comparative grammar is merely auxiliary to historical grammar; it establishes determinations of fact far behind the point of earliest record and enables historical grammar to push its lines of descent in the form of 'dotted lines' far back into the unwritten past.

It was the discovery of Sanskrit to the attention and use of European scholars at the close of the eighteenth century that gave occasion to an effective use of the comparative method and a consequent establishment of a veritable comparative grammar. But in two other distinct ways it exercised a notable influence upon the study of language. First, it offered to observation a language whose structure yielded itself readily to analysis in terms of the adaptation of its formal mechanism to the expression of modifications of thought, and thus gave an encouragement to a dissection of words in the interest of tracing the principles of their formation. Second, the Hindoo national grammar itself presented to Western scholars an illustration of accuracy and completeness in collecting, codifying, and reporting the facts of a language, especially such as related to phonology, inflexion, and word-formation, that involved the necessity of a complete revolution in the whole attitude of grammatical procedure. The discovery of Pāṇini and the Prātiçākhyas meant far more to the science of language than the discovery of the Vedas. The grammar of the Greeks had marked a path so clear and established a tradition so strong, guaranteed in a prestige so high, that the linguistics of the West through all the generations faithfully abode in the way. The grammatical categories once taught and established became the irrefragable moulds of grammatical thought, and constituted a system so complete in its enslaving power that if any man ever suspected himself in bondage he was yet unable to identify his bonds.

The Greeks had addressed themselves to linguistic reflexion in connection with their study of the content and the forms of

thought; grammar arose as the handmaiden of philosophy. They assumed, without consciously and expressly formulating it as a doctrine, that language is the inseparable shadow of thought, and therefore proceeded without more ado to find in its structure and parts replicas of the substances and moulds of thought. They sought among the facts of language for illustrations of theories; it did not occur to them to collect the facts and organize them to yield their own doctrine. Two distinct practical uses finally brought the chief materials of rules and principles to formulation in the guise of a system of descriptive grammar; first, the interpretation of Homer and the establishment of a correct text; second, the teaching of Greek to aliens, and the establishment of a standard by which to teach. These practical uses came in however rather as fortunate opportunities for practical application of an established discipline than as the motives to its creation. With the Hindoos it was the direct reverse. They had a sacred language and sacred texts rescued from earlier days by means of oral tradition. The meaning of the texts had grown hazy, but the word was holy, and even though it remained but an empty shell to human understanding, it was pleasing to the gods and had served its purpose through the generations to bring gods and men into accord, and must be preserved; likewise the language of ritual and comment thereon, which, as the possession of a limited class, required not only to be protected from overwhelming beneath the floods of the vernacular but demanded to be extended to the use of wider circles in the dominant castes. Sanskrit had already become a moribund or semi-artificial language, before grammar laid hold upon it to continue and extend it. But from the outstart the Hindoo grammarian sat humbly at the feet of language to learn of it, and never assumed to be its master or its guide. Inasmuch as the language had existed and been perpetuated primarily as a thing of the living voice and not of ink and paper, and had been used to reach the ears rather than the eyes of the divine, it followed in a measure remotely true of no other grammatical endeavor that the Hindoo grammar was compelled to devote itself to the most exactly accurate report upon the sounds of the language. The niceties of phonetic discrimination represented in the alpha-

bet itself, the refinements of observation involved in the reports on accent and the phenomenon of *pluti*; the formulation of the principles of sentence phonetics in the rules of *sandhi*; the observations on the physiology of speech scattered through the *Prātiçākhyas* are all brilliant illustrations of the Hindoo's direct approach to the real substance of living speech. None of the national systems of grammar, the Chinese, the Egyptian, the Assyrian, the Greek, or the Arabic had anything to show remotely comparable to this; and up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, despite all the long endeavors expended on Greek and Hebrew and Latin, nothing remotely like it had been known to the Western world. The Greek grammarians had really never stormed the barriers of written language; they were mostly concerned with establishing and teaching literary forms of the language. Even when they dealt with the dialects, they had the standardized literary types thereof before their eyes rather than the spoken forms ringing in their ears. When the grammars of Colebrooke (1805), of Carey (1806), and of Wilkins (1808) opened the knowledge of Sanskrit to European scholars, it involved nothing short of a grammatical revelation, and prepared the way for an ultimate remodeling of language-study nothing short of a revolution. Though these Hindoo lessons in accurate phonetics as the basis of sure knowledge and safe procedure had their immediate and unmistakable influence upon the scientific work of the first half-century, their<sup>1</sup> full acceptance tarried until the second half was well on its way. Even Jakob Grimm, whose service in promoting the historical study of phonology must be rated with the highest, was still so blind to the necessity of phonetics as to express the view that historical grammar could be excused from much attention to the "bunte wirrwar mundartlicher lautverhältnisse," and though von Raumer in his *Die Aspiration und die Lautverschiebung* (1837) had not only set forth in all clearness the theoretical necessity of a phonetic basis, but given practical illustration thereof in the material with which he was dealing, it still was possible as late as 1868 for Scherer in his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* justly to deplore that "only rarely is a philologist found who is willing to enter upon phonetic

<sup>1</sup>Cf. H. Oertel, *Lectures on the Study of Language*, pp. 30 ff (1901).

discussion." The phonetic treatises of Brücke<sup>1</sup> (1849 and 1866) and of Merkel (1856 and 1866)<sup>2</sup> failed, though excellent of their kind, to bring the subject within the range of philological interest, and it remained for Eduard Sievers in his *Gründzüge der Lautphysiologie* (1876) and *Gründzüge der Phonetik* (1881) by stating phonetics more in terms of phonology to bridge the gap and establish phonetics as a constituent and fundamental portion of the science of language. The radical change of character assumed by the science in the last quarter of the century is due as much to the consummation of this union as to any one influence.

But it was not phonetics alone that the Indian grammarians were able to teach to the West; they had developed in their processes of identifying the roots of words a scientific phonology that was all but an historical phonology. In some of its applications it was that already, for in explaining the relations to each other of various forms of a given root as employed in different words, even though the explanation was intended to serve the purposes of word analysis and not of sound-theory, the grammarians virtually formulated in repeated instances what we now know as "phonetic laws." The recognition of *guna* and *vrddhi*, which antedates Pāṇini, must rank as one of the most brilliant inductive discoveries in the history of linguistic science. The theory involved became the basis of the treatment of the Indo-European vocalism. The first thorough-going formulation, that of Schleicher in his *Compendium* (1861), was conceived entirely in the Hindoo sense, and it was to the opportunity which this formulation offered of overseeing the material and the problems involved that we owe the brilliant series of investigations by Georg Curtius (*Spaltung des a-Lautes*, 1864), Amelung<sup>3</sup> (1871, 1873, 1875), Osthoff (*N-Declination*, 1876), Brugmann (*Nasalis sonans*,

<sup>1</sup>E. Brücke, *Untersuchungen über die Lautbildung und das natürliche System der Sprachlaute* (1849); *Gründzüge der Physiologie und Systematik der Sprachlaute* (1856).

<sup>2</sup>C. L. Merkel, *Anatomie und Physiologie des menschlichen Stimm- und Sprachorgans* (1856); *Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache* (1866).

<sup>3</sup>A. Amelung: *Die Bildung der Tempusstämme durch Vocalsteigerung im Deutschen*, Berlin, 1871. *Erwiderung*. KZ. XXII, 361 ff. completed July, 1873, published 1874, after the author's death. *Der Ursprung der deutschen a-Vocale*, Haupt's Zeitschr. XVIII, 161 ff. (1875).



1876; *Geschichte der stammabstufenden Declination*, 1876), Collitz (*Ueber die Annahme mehrerer grundsprachlichen a-Laute*, 1878), Joh. Schmidt (*Zwei arische a-Laute*, 1879), which led up step by step steadily and unerringly to the definite proof that the Indo-European vocalism was to be understood in terms of the Greek rather than the Sanskrit. These articles, written in the period of intensest creative activity the science has known, represent in the cases of four of the scholars mentioned, viz., Curtius, Amelung, Brugmann, Collitz, the masterpieces of the scientific life of each. Though dealing with a single problem, they combined both through the results they achieved and the method and outlook they embodied to give character and direction to the science of the next quarter-century. Karl Verner's famous article, *Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung*, (KZ. XXIII, 97 ff, July, 1875), which proved of great importance among other things in establishing a connection between I. E. ablaut and accent, belongs to this period; and Brugmann's article, *Nasalis sonans*, which served more than any other work to clear the way for the now prevailing view of ablaut, was influenced by Verner's article, which was by a few months its predecessor. Both articles, it is worthy of noting, were distinctly influenced by the new phonetic; Verner's, it would appear, chiefly by Brücke, Brugmann's, through a suggestion of Osthoff's, by Sievers, whose *Lautphysiologie* had just appeared within the same year. The full effect upon Western science of the introduction of the Indian attitude toward language study appears therefore to have been realized only with the last quarter of the century.

More prompt than the response of European science to the teachings of Hindoo phonetics and phonology had been the acceptance of the Hindoo procedure in word analysis, especially with relation to suffixes and inflexional endings. The centuries of study of Greek and Latin had yielded no clue to any classification or assorting of this material according to meaning or function. The medieval explanation of *dominicus* as *domini custos* was as good as any. Besnier in his essay, *La science des Etymologies* (1694), counted it the mark of a sound etymologist that he restrict his attention to the roots of words, for to bother with the other parts would be "useless and ludicrous." And when



Horne Tooke in the *Diversions of Purley*, II, 429 (1786-1805), just before the sunrise, wrote the startling words: "All those common terminations in any language . . . are themselves separate words with distinct meanings," and (II, 454): "Adjectives with such terminations (*i.e.*, *ly*, *ous*, *ful*, *some*, *ish*, etc.) are, in truth, all compound words"; and when he flung out like a challenge the analysis of Latin *ibo*, 'I shall go,' as three letters containing three words, viz. *i*, 'go,' *b* (*βούλομαι*) 'will,' *o* (*ego*) 'I,' no one seems to have been near enough to the need of such instruction to know whether or not he was to be taken seriously; for the words bore no fruit, and only years afterward, when Bopp's doctrine had been recognized, were they disinterred as antiquarian curiosities. Eleven years later, in the full light of the Sanskrit grammar, Bopp published his *Conjugationssystem*, and the clue had been found. To be sure, Bopp was misguided in his belief that he could identify each element of a word-ending with a significant word, and assign to it a distinct meaning, but he had found the key to an analysis having definite historical value and permitting the identification of such entities as mode-sign, tense-sign, personal-endings, etc. The erroneous portion of his doctrine, based upon his conception of the Indo-European as an agglutinative type of speech, dragged itself as an encumbrance through the first half-century of the science, and, though gasping, still lived in the second edition of Curtius' *Verbum* (1877). This, along with many other mechanical monstrosities of its kind, was gradually banished from the linguistic arena by the saner views of the life-habits of language which had their rise from linguistic psychology as a study of the relations of language to the hearing as well as speaking individual and the relations of the individual to the speech community, and which asserted themselves with full power in the seventies.

Bopp had from the beginning devoted himself to language-study, not as an end in itself, but, as we know from his teacher and sponsor Windischmann,<sup>1</sup> as well as infer from the direction and spirit of his work, he hoped to be able "in this way to penetrate into the mysteries of the human mind and learn something

<sup>1</sup>Introduction to Bopp's *Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache*, p. iv, (1816).

of its nature and its laws." He was therefore unmistakably of the school of the Greeks, not of the Hindoos; for the Greek grammarian in facing language asks the question 'why,' grammar being to him philosophy, whereas the Hindoo asks the question 'what,' grammar being to him a science after the manner of what we call the 'natural sciences.' There is indeed but slight reason for the common practice of dating the beginning of the modern science of language with Bopp, aside from the one simple result of his activity, which must in strict logic be treated as merely incidental thereto, namely, that he gave a practical illustration of the possibility of applying the comparative method for widening the scope and enriching the results of historical grammar.

As Bopp had tried to use the comparative method in determining the true and original meanings of the formative elements, so did his later contemporary, August Friedrich Pott<sup>1</sup> (1802-1887) undertake to use it in finding out the original meaning of words. The search for the etymology or real meaning of words had been a favorite and mostly bootless exercise of all European grammarians from the Greek philosophers down, having its original animus and more or less confessedly its continuing power in the broadly human, though barely on occasion half-formulated conviction, that words and their values belong by some mysterious tie naturally to each other. In the instinct to begin his task Pott was still with the traditions of the Greeks and the Greco-Europeans, but in developing it he was guided into new paths by two forces that had arisen since the century opened. Under the guidance of the comparative method, whereby the vocabularies of demonstrably cognate languages now assumed a determinate relation to each other, he came unavoidably to the recognition of certain normal correspondences of sounds between the different tongues. On the other hand, in almost entire independence hereof, Jakob Grimm in the pursuit of his historical method had formulated the regularities of the mutation of consonants in the Teutonic dialects and had set them forth in a second edition of the first volume of his grammar, appearing in 1822. In all this was contained a strong encouragement as well

<sup>1</sup>K. F. Pott: *Etymologische Forschungen*, 2 vols. Lemgo, 1833-36; 2nd edit. 6 vols., 1859-76.

as warning to apply these new definite tests to every etymological postulate, and therewith arose under Pott's hands the beginnings of a scientific etymology. It was a first promise of deliverance from a long wilderness of caprice.

The positivistic attitude which had been gradually infused into language-study under the influence of the Hindoo grammar finally reached its extremest expression in the works of August Schleicher (1821-1868). The science of language he treated under the guise of a natural science. Language became isolated from the speaking individual or the speaking community to an extent unparalleled in any of his predecessors or successors, and was viewed as an organism having a life of its own and laws of growth or decline within itself. Following the analogies of the natural sciences and trusting to the inferred laws of growth, he ventured to reconstruct from the scattered data of the cognate Indo-European languages the visible form of the mother speech. His confidence in the character of language as a natural growth made him the first great systematizer and organizer of the materials of Indo-European comparative grammar (*Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1861); as confidence in the unerring uniformity of the action of the laws of sound made Karl Brugmann the second (*Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1886-1892).

It is not by accident that the first one to voice outright the dogma of the absoluteness (*Ausnahmslosigkeit*) of the laws of sound was a pupil of Schleicher, August Leskien (*Die Declination in Slavisch-litauischen und Germanischen* xxviii, 1876). The use of this dogma as a norm and test in the hands of a signally active and gifted body of scholars who followed the leadership of Leskien and were known under the title of the *Leipziger Schule* or the *Junggrammatiker*, and the adherence to it in practice of many others who did not accept the theory involved, —a use which was undoubtedly greatly stimulated by Verner's discovery (1875) that a great body of supposed exceptions to Grimm's law were in reality obedient to law, gave to the science in the two following decades, along with abundance of results, an objectivity of attitude and procedure and a firmness of structure that may fairly be said to represent the consummation of

that positivist tendency which we have sought to identify with the influence of Hindoo grammar. This movement, however, derived its impulse by no means exclusively through Schleicher. A new stream had meanwhile blended its waters with the current. The psychology of language as a study of the relations of language to the speaking individual, that is, of the conditions under which language is received, retained, and reproduced, and of the relations of the individual to his speech community, had been brought into play preëminently through the labors of Heymann Steinthal, who, though as a psychologist a follower of Herbart, must be felt to represent in general as a linguist the attitude toward language study first established by Wilhelm v. Humboldt. William D. Whitney shows in his writings on general linguistics the influence of Steinthal, as well as good schooling in the grammar of the Hindoos and much good common sense. His lectures on *Language and the Study of Language* (1867) and the *Life and Growth of Language* (1875)<sup>1</sup> helped chase many a goblin from the sky. Scherer's *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache* (1868), combined more than any book of its day the influences of new lines of endeavor, and especially gave hearing to the new work in the psychology as well as the physiology of speech. To this period (1865-1880), under the influence of the combination of the psychological with the physiological point of view, belongs the establishment of scientific common sense in the treatment of language. By virtue of this, as it were, binocular vision, language was thrown up into relief, isolated, and objectivised as it had never been before. Old half-mystical notions, such as the belief in a period of upbuilding in language and a period of decay,—all savoring of Hegel, and the consequent fallacy that ancient languages display a keener speech consciousness than the modern,—speedily faded away. The center of interest transferred itself from ancient and written types of speech to the modern and living. Men came to see that vivisection rather than

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<sup>1</sup>H. Steinthal: *Der Ursprung der Sprache, im Zusammenhang mit den letzten Fragen alles Wissens*, 1851; *Characteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues*, 1860; *Einleitung in die Psychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, 1881; *Gesch. der Sprachen, bei den Griechen und Römern*, 1863, <sup>2</sup>1890-91. Also editor with Lazarus of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, from 1859.

morbid anatomy must supply the method and spirit of linguistic research. The germs of a new idea affecting the conditions under which cognate languages may be supposed to have differentiated out of a mother speech, and conceived in terms of the observed relations of dialects to languages, were infused by Johannes Schmidt's *Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogerman. Sprachen* (1872). The rigid formulas of Schleicher's *Stammbaum* melted away before Schmidt's *Wellentheorie* and its line of successors down to the destructive theories of Kretschmer's *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griech. Sprache* (1896). Herein as in many another movement of the period we trace the results of applying the lessons of living languages to the understanding of the old. A remarkable document thoroughly indicative of what was moving in the spirit of the times was the Introduction to Osthoff and Brugmann's *Morphologische Untersuchungen*, Vol. I (1878). But the gospel of the period, and its theology for that matter, was most effectively set forth in Hermann Paul's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte* (1st edit., 1880), a work that has had more influence upon the science than any since Jakob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik*. Paul was the real successor of Steinthal. He also represented the strictest sect of the positivists in historical grammar. As a consequence of the union in Paul of the two tendencies, his work acquires its high significance. He established the reaction from Schleicher's treatment of language science as a natural science; he showed it to be beyond peradventure one of the social sciences, and set forth the life conditions of language as a socio-historical product.

The work of the period dominated by Paul and the neo-grammarians, as well as the theories of method proclaimed, show, however, that the two factors just referred to had not reached in the scientific thought and practice of the day a perfect blending. A well-known book of Osthoff's bears the title *Das physiologische und psychologische Moment in der sprachlichen Formenbildung* (1879). The title is symptomatic of the times. The physiological and the psychological were treated as two rival interests vying for the control of language. What did not conform to the phonetic laws, in case it were not a phenomenon of mixture, was to be explained if possible as due to analogy. This dualism could

be expected to be but a temporary device like the setting up of Satan over against God, in order to account for the existence of sin. A temporary device it has proved itself to be. The close of the first century of the modern science of language is tending toward a unitary conception of the various forms of historical change in language. The process by which the language of the individual adjusts itself to the community speech differs in kind no whit from that by which dialect yields to the standard language of the larger community. The process by which the products of form-association or analogy establish themselves in language differ in no whit in kind from that by which new pronunciations of words, *i.e.*, new sounds make their way to general acceptance. The process by which loan-elements from an alien tongue adjust themselves to use in a given language differs psychologically and fundamentally no whit from either of the four processes mentioned. In fact they all, all five, are phenomena of 'mixture in language.'<sup>1</sup> The process, furthermore, by which a sound-change in one word tends to spread from word to word and displace the old throughout the entire vocabulary of the language is also a process of 'mixture,'<sup>2</sup> and depends for its momentum in last analysis upon a proportionate analogy after the same essential model as that by which an added sound or a suffix is carried by analogy from word to word. All the movements of historical change in language respond to the social motive; they all represent in some form the absorption of the individual into the community mass. It has therewith become evident that there is nothing physiological in language that is not psychologically conditioned and controlled. So then it appears that the

<sup>1</sup>See O. Bremer, *Deutsche Phonetik*, Vorwort X ff. (1893); B. I. Wheeler, *Causes of Uniformity in Phonetic Change*; *Transac. Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, XXIII, 1 ff. (1901).

<sup>2</sup>A point of view involving the recognition of a more recondite form of speech-mixture is that first suggested by G. I. Ascoli (*Sprachwissenschaftliche Briefe*, pp. 17 ff., 1881-86; trsl. 1887), whereby the initiation of phonetic and syntactical changes in language, and ultimately the differentiation of dialects and even of languages may assume relation to languages of the substratum, as they may be termed, *i.e.*, prior and disused languages of peoples or tribes who have through the fate of conquest or assimilation been absorbed into another speech community. Notably has this point of view been urged by H. Hirt (*Indog. Forschungen*, IV, 36 ff., 1894), and by Wechsler (*Giebt es Lautgesetze*, pp. 99 ff.) With this point of view the science of language will have largely to deal, we are persuaded, in the second century of its existence.

modern science of language has fairly shaken itself free again from the natural sciences and from such influences of their method and analogies as were intruded upon it by Schleicher and his period (1860-80), and after a century of groping and experiment has definitely oriented and found itself as a social science dealing with an institution which represents more intimately and exactly than any other the total life of man in the historically determined society of men.

Within the history of the science of language the beginning of the nineteenth-century establishes beyond doubt a most important frontier. To appreciate how sharp is the contrast between hither and yonder we have only to turn to any part or phase of the work yonder,—the derivation of Latin from Greek, or mayhap, to be most utterly scientific, from the Aeolic dialect of Greek, the sage libration of the claims of Dutch as against Hebrew to be the original language of mankind, the bondage to the forms of Greek and Latin grammar as well as to the traditional point of view of the philosophical grammar of the Greeks, the subordination of grammar to logic, the hopeless etymologies and form analyses culminating in the phantasies of Hemsterhuis and Valckenaer, the lack of any guiding clue for the explanation of how sound or form came to be what it is, and the curse of arid sterility that rested upon every effort. All the ways were blind and all the toil was vain. On the hither side, however, there is everywhere a new leaven working in the mass. What was that leaven? To identify if possible what it was has been the purpose of this review. I think we have seen it was not the influence of the natural sciences, certainly not directly; wherever that influence found direct application it led astray. It was not in itself the discovery of the comparative method, for that proved but an auxiliary to a greater. If a founder must be proclaimed for the modern science of language, that founder was clearly Jakob Grimm, not Franz Bopp.

The leaven in question was comprised of two elements. One was found in the establishment of historical grammar, for this furnished the long-needed clue; the other was found in the discovery of Hindoo grammar, for this disclosed the fruitful attitude for linguistic observation. Historical grammar furnished



the missing clue, because it represented the form of language as created, what it is, not by the thought struggling for expression, but by historical conditions antecedent to it. Hindoo grammar furnished the method of observation because by its fundamental instinct it asked the question *how* in a given language does one say a given thing, rather than *why* does a given form embody the thought it does.

The germinal forces which have made this century of the science of language are not without their parallels in the century of American national life we are met to celebrate today. Jakob Grimm was of the school of the Romanticists and he gained his conception of historical grammar from his ardor to derive the institutions of his people direct from their sources in the national life. The acquaintance of European scholars with the grammar of India arose from a counter-spirit in the world of the day whereby an expansion of intercourse and rule was bringing to the wine-press fruits plucked in many various fields of national life. Thus did the spirit of national particularism reconcile itself, in the experience of a science, with the fruits of national expansion. After like sort has the American nation in its development for the century following upon the typical event of 1803 combined the widening of peaceful interchange and common standards of order with strong insistence upon the right of separate communities in things pertaining separately to them to determine their lives out of the sources thereof. Therein has the nation given fulfillment to the prophetic hope of its great democratic imperialist, Thomas Jefferson,<sup>1</sup> "I am persuaded no constitution was ever before so well calculated as ours for extensive empire and self-government."

The linguistic science of the second century will build upon the plateau leveled by the varied toils and experiences of the first. More than ever those who are to read the lessons of human speech will gain their power through intimate sympathetic acquaintance with the historically conceived material of the individual language. But though the wide rangings of the comparative method have for the time abated somewhat of their interest

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<sup>1</sup>Letter to Mr. Madison, 1809.

and their yield, it will remain that he who would have largest vision must gain perspective by frequent resort to the extra-mural lookouts. Language is an offprint of human life, and to the student of human speech nothing linguistic can be ever foreign.



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ON THE INFLUENCE OF LUCRETIUS  
ON HORACE

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

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ON THE INFLUENCE OF LUCRETIOUS  
ON HORACE

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

The purpose of this inquiry is the examination of Horace for evidence of Lucretian influence. In a general way it has been a commonplace of literary criticism that the one was indebted to the other, and the scholiasts and editors have cited many parallel passages. The editors of Lucretius have also pointed out in Horace similiarity in thought and expression, and the subject has been treated in special monographs by Goebel, Reisacker and Weingärtner. Reisacker's program (Breslau, 1873) I have seen and have found in it little to my purpose. The other two (Goebel: *Horaz und Lukrez*, *Zeitschr. f. d. oesterr. Gymn.* 8 (1857), 421-427; Weingärtner: *De Horatio Lucretii imitatore*, Halle, 1874) I have not been able to procure, but from criticisms of them I fancy there is little in them for this special inquiry.

**Sat. I.** Beginning with the Satires, Horace's earliest work, and examining them in their present order without  
1 regard to the exact dates of their composition, I find in I 1 13 *cetera de genere hoc*, a Lucretian phrase occurring in 3, 481 and elsewhere. Then in 22 *praeterea* occurs as a word of transition that is frequent in Lucretius, and in 25 *ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi | doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima*, a reminiscence of *Lucr.* 1, 936 *sed*

<sup>1</sup> After this paper was written Weingärtner's dissertation was found in *Diss. Phil. Hal.* II, 1 sq. The canons adopted by him for determining influence appear to me to be too lax.



veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes | cum dare conantur prius oras pocula circum | contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore. Plato, *Laws* 659 e, says that the sick are given wholesome food in pleasant meat and drink, but Quintilian<sup>1</sup> quotes and comments on Lucretius; Jerome<sup>2</sup> mentions the honey, and Ausonius<sup>3</sup> the wormwood also; Seneca<sup>4</sup> the Elder mentions the wormwood only, and Pliny<sup>5</sup> the Younger reduces the allusion to unpleasant food urged on with caressing tones. Later, Sir Philip Sidney<sup>6</sup> turns the wormwood into rhubarb and Tasso<sup>7</sup> continues the tradition. Here I think is a genuine case of literary influence from Lucretius down; so far as the evidence shows.—28 vertit arato and *Lucr.* 1, 211, *vertentes vomere* have no connection.—50 *quid referat intra | naturae fines viventi* may be compared with Epicurus' *Κυρίαί Δόξαι* 15 (*Diog. Laert.* X 144) *ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος καὶ ἄρισται καὶ εὐπόριστός ἐστιν ὁ δὲ τῶν κενῶν δοξῶν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκπίπτει.*

Horace was not dependent entirely on Lucretius for his knowledge of Epicureanism.—In 64 *quatenus id facit* — *Lucr.* 3, 424 *quatenus est*, cf. 218 and 2, 927; the fact that Horace and Ovid follow L. in the causal use of *quatenus* shows merely their agreement in a development of the language.—In 68 *Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat | flumina* — L. 3, 981 *nec miser impendens magnum timet aere saxum*, different forms of the myths are used.—70 *saccis | indormis inhians* — L. 1, 36 *inhians in te, dea, visus* is a mere agreement in the use of a word.—98 *ne se penuria victus* — L. 5, 1007 *penuria deinde cibi belongs to every day language.*—117 *fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum | dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita | cedat uti conviva satur* — L. 3, 938 *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva*

<sup>1</sup> 3, 1, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *In. Ruf* I, § 463.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Suas.* 6, 16.

<sup>5</sup> 1, 8, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Defense of Poetry*, p. 23, ed. Cook.

<sup>7</sup> *Ger. Lib.* I, iii.

recedis, and 959 ante | quam satur ac plenus possis, discedere rerum. The conception is traced back to Bion through Teles to Ps-Aristotle, and to Job, and is parodied by Babrius. It occurs in Cicero and Plutarch, and in La Fontaine and Chénier. It is formulated by Epicurus himself. Probably Horace got it from Epicurean sources, perhaps from L. And finally, 121 verbum non amplius addam — L. 3, 941 cur amplius addere quaeris, is a mere coincidence.

- 2 In the second satire, verse 8 praeclaram ingrato stringat malus ingluvie rem — L. 3, 1003 deinde animi ingratham naturam pascere semper merely agree in sentiment.—32 sententia dia Catonis — L. 3, 371 Democriti — sancta sententia ponit may be paralleled from Lucilius, Tacitus and Homer. It is a paraphrase that does not belong to any one in particular.—57 (amator) qui patrium mimae donat fundumque Laremque — L. 4, 1129 et bene parta patrum fiunt anademata, mitrae agree in describing the extravagance of the lover.—104 ante | quam — L. 3, 939 ante | quam may be paralleled from *Aetna* and Manilius and occurs but once in each of them. This may be a case where Lucretius' metrical technique had some influence, for there are undoubted imitations of L. in the *Aetna* and in Manilius.—119 namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque — L. 4, 1071 volvivagaque vagus Venere ante recentia cures is an agreement in a prescription.—133 denique as the third member of a series is a common Lucretian occurrence, but who would say that it is solely Lucretian?

- 3 3, 14 toga, quae defendere frigus | quamvis crassa queat — L. 5, 1429 dum plebeia tamen sit quae defendere possit; here rhythm leads me to believe that there is imitation.—26 cernis acutum. — L. 4, 802 acute | cernere is a chance agreement. From 38 to 52 is the well known passage where Horace describes the blindness of lovers and parents in turning the very defects of their loved ones into virtues. Lucretius has something similar of lovers in 4, 1155-1169. Plato mentions the principle in Rep. 474; Theocritus, Ovid, Martial, Molière allude to it.

Any one who has witnessed the phenomenon can bear testimony to its occurrence, and we shall not be justified in inferring imitation unless the phraseology leads in that direction. Delectant 40 agrees with in deliciis 1156. — 45 male parvus — 1162 parvula; there seems no other verbal agreement. — 56 sincerum vas — 6, 17 vitium vas efficere may possibly be influenced by L. on account of Epist. I 2 54. 66 communi sensu — L. 1, 422 communis sensus is an agreement in sound but not in sense. The sketch of human progress in 98-112 has much in common with L. — 98 utilitas, iusti. prope mater et aequi is Epicurean and does not expressly occur in L. whose account agrees with that of Diodorus I 8. Diodorus says *Xpela*, usus, became man's teacher. — 99 cum prorepererunt primis animalia terris — L. 5, 821 quare etiam atque etiam maternum nomen adepta | terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit | humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit. — 100 mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter — 5, 939 glandiferas inter curabant corpore quercus. — 101 unguibus et pugnibus, deinde fustibus, atque ita porro | pugnabant armis — 5, 1283 arma antiqua manus ungues dentesque fuerunt | et lapides et item silvarum fragmina rami. — 103 donec verba quibus voces sensusque notarent, | nominaque invenere — 5, 1057 si genus humanum, cui vox et lingua vigeret, pro vario sensu varia res voce notaret. — 105 oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges — 5, 1108 condere coeperunt urbis arcemque locare. — 108 ignotis perierunt mortibus illi — 5, 326 cur supera bellum Thebanum etc. — 109 venerem incertam rapientes more ferarum — 5, 962 Venus in silvis iungebat corpora amantum. — 110 viribus editior caedebat — 5, 963 conciliatrix enim vel mutua quamque cupido | vel violenta viri vis atque impensa libido. — 111 iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necessest — 5, 1144 iuraque constituere, 1151 metus maculat poenarum praemia vitae. Fateare necessest is a Lucretian formula and clinches the evidence that Horace was not only familiar with Epicurean doctrine but had read Lucretius' description. — 112 tem-

pora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi — 5, 1276 tempora rerum.

4 4, 76 locus -- conclusus — 4, 458 conclusoque loco is a mere coincidence like *avet* 87, and also the syntax of 105 *insuevit -- hoc me* with *Lucr. 4, 1282 insuescat <te> degere* and that of 106 *vitiorum quaeque* and *Lucr. 4, 1005 quaeque -- seminiorum.* ..

5 In the fifth, line 73 *vaga -- flamma* — L. 6, 152 *flamma vagetur* is a mere chance agreement, but at the close of the satire, 101 *namque deos didici securum agere aevum* — L. 2, 646 *omnis enim per se divom natura necessesit | immortalis aevo summa cum pace fruatur etc.*, and L. 5, 82 *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevom*, is almost a quotation from L. The Lucretian passage occurs again in 6, 58, and Horace 102 *nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id | tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto* correspond in thought to L. 6, 50 *cetera quae fieri in terris caeloque tuentur | mortales: they attribute their ignorance to the gods who, of course, can not be angry, but will bring about a disturbed mental state in man.* Horace here is jesting and is speaking lightly of Epicurean principles.

6 In the sixth satire, line 3 *olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarint* — L. 3, 1028 *magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt*, L. is undoubtedly following Ennius. Horace is, I think, following L. here. 18 *longe longeque remotos* — 3, 69 *longe longeque remosse* is noteworthy. In the

8 eighth, line 10 *commune sepulcrum* corresponds to L. 5, 259 *commune sepulcrum*. The thought variously expressed is a trivial one. In 46 *displosa sonat quantum vesica* — L. 6, 129 *vesicula -- saepe ita dat magnum soni-*

9 *tum* is a chance agreement.— In the ninth satire, 24 *quis membra movere | mollius* — L. 4, 789 *mollia membra movere* is a reference to dancing merely.— 34 *simul atque adoleverit aetas* — L. 3, 449 *adolevit viribus aetas: here is another national idiom.*—In the tenth, 49 *haerenti capiti cum multa laude coronam* — L. 1, 929 *meo capiti petere inde coronam* is a commonplace.

10

**Sat. II.** In the second book of the satires, line 17 of the first satire has Scipiadam — L. 3, 1034 Scipiadas; this usage is conventional in the hexameter.—25 accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis — L. 4, 450 bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis is merely a physiological allusion.—52 dente lupus, cornu taurus petit — 5, 1034 cornua -- illis iratus petit. Here is agreement in a word for "butt."—77 inlidere dentem — 4, 1080 dentis inlidunt calls for no remark.

2 In the second satire 17 cum sale panis | latrantem stomachum bene leniet — 2, 17 nil aliud sibi naturam latrare; the expressive metaphor was known to Homer and Ennius.—28, the hiatus num adest — 3, 1082 dum abest shows metrical license and testifies to a certain agreement of Horace's satirical hexameter with the didactic and undeveloped Lucretian.—83 diem festum rediens advexerit annus — 1, 311 multis solis redeuntibus annis; the metaphor of the returning year is sufficiently trite.—88 tarda senectus — 1, 414 tarda -- senectus; this quality of age calls for little originality.—104 cur improbe carae — 3, 1026 fuit improbe rebus. The convenient dactylic word in the fifth foot is found in Virgil and Persius also, and is without significance. The syntactical agreement in 105 emetiris acervo — 2, 703 eigni corpore belongs to historical syntax.

3 In the third satire occur 49 palantes error certo de tramite pellit — 2, 10 errare atque viam palantis quaerere vitae, and 6, 27 viam monstrant tramite parvo. The way of life, from which the ignorant and the wicked stray, is a conception that arises from primitive theologizing and needs not to be referred to any particular writer. Yet the strange word palantes leads me to think that Horace had Lucretius in mind here.—95 virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris | divitiis parent — 5, 1114 aurum -- quod facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem. This melancholy truth of the supremacy of riches comes home to every one as it did to Horace and Lucretius. I do not know that II. is altogether indebted to

L. for seeing what all must have seen. But the reference to the beauty of riches is, I think, a reminiscence of Lucretius. The monosyllabic use of quoad in 91 may point also to L. who has it in 5, 1213 and elsewhere.—141 splendida bilis — L. 6, 1187 spendidus humor is a common medical allusion.—153 ni cibus atque | ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti — L. 4, 867 cibus ut suffulciat artus is another.—191 reducere — 1, 228 reducat merely shows that re could still be long in this compound.—193 cur Ajax -- putrescit — 3, 871 aut putescat is due to common mortality.—199 tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam etc. has no verbal connection with 1, 84-100. Horace could have learned the story of Iphigenia's sacrifice from other sources, yet from the way it is used by him I think there is a Lucretian reminiscence. Improbe in 200 (L. 3, 1025) adds a little to cumulative evidence.—269 fluitantia sorte laboret — 3, 1052 fluitans errore vagaris is an agreement in a common metaphor.—283 surpate — 2, 314 surpere is an inelegant syncopation which survived from earlier Latin.

4 In 4, 90 memori -- pectore — L. 2, 582 memori mente there is an agreement in the use of a metrical substitute for memoria.—In 94 fontes ut adire remotos | atque haurire queam is a parody on L. 1, 928 integros accedere fontis | atque haurire. This sentiment of L. had many admirers.

6 In 6, 1 modus agri non ita magnus — L. 2, 1172 agri multo modus is a chance agreement.—59 perditur has caused more discussion than L. 2, 831 disperditur. Both are reflections of homely usage.—61 nunc somno et inertibus horis | ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae — 3, 1066 in somnum gravis atque oblivia quaerit there is only a metrical agreement in the use of oblivia. 101 ponit -- vestigia — 3, 4 pono -- vestigia is a common locution.

7 In 7, 28 Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem — 3, 1063 currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter -- properans urbem petit atque revisit may be paralleled from other moralizing. The discontent is human.—49

turgentis verbera caudae — 4, 1034 turgida semine multo is a physiological agreement.— In 81 the metrical imperitas again occurs.— 90 foribusque repulsum | perfundit — 4, 1177 exclusus amator: the thought is trite.— In 105 enim in the third place, as in L. 1, 680, may be paralleled from Cicero also.

- 8 In 8, 51 inulas -- amaras — 2, 430 inulae there is merely a mention of a bitter herb.— 75 tibi di -- commoda dent — 3, 2 commoda vitae: commoda was common in the popular philosophy (Reid on Cic. *Acad.* 2, 231).

Sat.  
in general/

My general conclusion from the Satires is (a) Horace was an Epicurean at that stage of his development; (b) he was familiar with Epicurean principles some of which he had gained from Lucretius<sup>1</sup>; (c) there is direct imitation of Lucretius in his work; (d) there is a metrical influence also from Lucretius; (e) there are so many places where Horace and Lucretius agree in small matters that are also found in other authors, that the cumulative effect on the reader is Lucretian.

Epodes.

I now pass to the Epodes.

- 2 In the second epode line 7 *superba civium | potentiorum limina* — L. 2, 50; 3, 1027 *rerumque potentes* is a chance agreement.— 13 *falce ramos amputans* — 5, 936 *decidere falcibu' ramos* is an agricultural allusion.— 23 *libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice, | modo in tenaci gramine* — L. 2, 29 *prostrati in gramine molli* is a picnic agreement, so to say.— 41 *perusta solibus* — 5, 251 *perusta | solibus* seems idiomatic, as also 46 *distenta siccet ubera* — 1, 259 *uberibus-distentis*.— 4, 14 *et Appiam mannis terit* — 3, 1063 *currit agens mannos*: the word *mannus* is not found before L.; probably these ponies were imported about his time.— 6, 6 *amica vis pastoribus* — 6, 1222 *fida canum vis*: I think that neither Horace nor Lucretius was indebted to Theocritus (5, 106) unless Theocritus first introduced dogs into Italy. The paraphrase with *vis* is very common in L. but not unknown

<sup>1</sup> Usener, *Epicurea*, Index s. v. *Horatius*, shows that Horace had other sources than Lucretius for Epicurean doctrine.

- 9 before and after him.—9, 1 has *repostum*, an agreement with the old epic style that permitted this syncopation.—20 *citae*—4, 576 *voce ciemus* is an agreement in the use of a word in a meaning later uncommon.—11, 2 *amore percussum gravi*—1, 923 *percussit thyrsos--et incussit-- amorem*: this seems idiomatic, as Bentley shows in his note.—13, 14 *Scamandri flumina*—6, 1114 *flumina Nili*: *flumina* is a convenient dactyl for the fifth foot and the use of the plural had become a poetic license that H. thought permissible here as elsewhere in other metres.—14, 13 *non pulchrior ignis | accendit obsessam Ilion*—1, 474 *ignis-- clara accendisset-- certamen belli*: *ignis* of love is common enough.—16, 31 *tigres subsidere cervis*—4, 1198 *equae maribus subsidere possunt*: this use of *subsidere* is very rare; it was probably a veterinary term.—48 *levis crepante lymphæ desilit pede*—5, 272 *liquido pede detulit undas*: this seems a bold reminiscence of L.—54 *aquosus Euræus arva radat imbribus*—5, 256 *imbribus et ripas radentia flumina rodunt*: the proximity of the two passages in both H. and L. leads me to the conclusion that there is also Lucretian influence here.—In 17, 66 the reference to Tantalus is not significant.

**Epodes in general.**

In general, for the Epodes I find in only one of them any real evidence of Lucretian influence, namely in the 16th, one of the earliest written and contemporary with the earliest satires.

**Carmina I.**

- I now pass to the Odes. The first parallel is I, 1, 20  
1 *et praesidium et dulce decus meum*—2, 643 *virtute velint patriam defendere terram* and 3, 897 *non poteris factis florentibus esse, tuisque | praesidium*. Here there is nothing common except the thought which is sufficiently trite, as is 27 *catulis fidelibus*—5, 864 *canum fido cum pectore corda*.—2, 9 the prodigy *piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo*—3, 785 *pisces vivere in arvis* have no connection.  
3 —3, 22 *Oceano dissociabili*—5, 203 *mare quod late terrarum distinet oras*: this notion of the estranging ocean seems Lucretian. The plural *vada* in 24—1, 200 is without significance.—In 30 *nova febrium | terris incubuit*



cohors — 6, 1143 incubit < morbus > tandem populo Pandionis omni, the verb and the metaphor are too common to admit of imitation.—In the fourth ode the mention of Favonius — 1, 11, is unimportant, and in 7 iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente Luna — 5, 737 it ver et Venus, etc., have nothing in common but Venus' coming.—In the seventh ode, line 7 undique decerpam fronti praeponere olivam — 1, 928 novos decerpere flores have little in common; and 15 obscuro deterget nubila caelo — 4, 378 nigrasque sibi abluit umbras is no more significant.—16 parturit imbres — 6, 259 gravidam tempestatem atque procellis have a common metaphor.—In the 8th, line 10 gestat armis | brachia — 3, 1049 geris cassa formidine mentem, the verbs are synonyms of habere, an idiomatic use.—14, lacrimosa Troiae | funera — 5, 326 funera Troiae is trivial. In the 11th, verse 2 nec Babylonios | temptaris numeros — 5, 727 ut Babylonica Chaldaeum doctrina belong to the common consciousness.—5, oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare — 1, 326 vesco saxa peresa and 1, 305 fluctifrago — in litore can have no relation of influence. Line 7 fugerit invida | aetas — 3, 915 iam fuerit is an agreement in the use of a tense.

In the 12th occurs the Latin word for echo — line 3 recinit iocosa | nomen imago — 4, 571 imagine verbi.—In the 13th, line 12, inpressit memorem dente labris notam — 4, 1109 inspirant pressantes dentibus ora may be paralleled from the erotic poets.—In 16, 8 geminant Corybantes aera — 2, 636 pulsarent aeribus aera is merely a reference to the ceremonies in honor of the Magna Mater. In 22, 17 pigris -- campis — 5, 746 pigrumque rigorem, and 21 sub curru nimium propinqui | solis in terra domibus negata — 5, 204 fervidus ardor | assiduusque geli casus mortalibus aufert are mere commonplaces.—In 24, 2 lugubres -- cantus — 4, 548 lugubri voce querelam have no significance.

In 26, 2 protervis -- ventis — 6, 111 petulantibus auris have no connection; and 6 fontibus integris — 1, 927

integros -- fontis is not traced to any source earlier than L. Probably there is Lucretian influence here, and the thought occurs repeatedly in later writers.— In 28, 2 mensorem cohibent — 2, 1031 quaeque in se cohibet: this use of cohibeo is found in Cicero as well as elsewhere in Lucretius and Horace. Line 5 aerias temptasse domos animoque rotundum | percurrisse polum morituro — 174 omne immensum peragravit mente animoque: here is a distinct reminiscence.— 7 occidit et Pelopis genitor — 3, 1027 reges rerumque potentes | occiderunt is probably a reminiscence of L. as well of the stock consolations.— 16 via leti — 2, 918 leti -- vias is noteworthy.— 18 avidum mare — 1, 1031 use of an epitheton otiosum.— 19 densentur funera — 3, 71 caedem caede accumulantes and denseri 1, 656 etc.: a Lucretian word. There is much in this puzzling ode that sets it apart from the others; its date is unknown but it must be one of his earliest poems, hence the agreement with L. is not strange. I have no doubt that there was Lucretian influence on the ode.

31 In 31, 8 mordet -- amnis — 5, 256 flumina rodunt is conventional.— 34 is interesting as a palinode. Verse 2  
34 insanientis dum sapientiae — 5, 10 nunc appellatur sapientia; 5 Diespiter, | igni corusco nubila dividens | plerumque, per purum tonantes | egit equos — 6, 247 nam caelo nulla sereno -- mittuntur < fulmina >, and 6, 400 cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro, also 12 valet ima summis | mutare et insignem attenuat deus, | obscura promens, commonplace though it is, agrees with 5, 1127 fulmine summa vaporant | plerumque. It is natural that in withdrawing from Epicureanism there should be reminiscences from his old authorities for that insaniens sapientia.

**Carm. II.** In the second book of the Odes, in the 17th line of  
1 the first ode-minaci murmure cornuum — 1, 276 minaci murmure ventus is a mere agreement in onomatopoeia; and 30 in pia proelia — 5, 381 pio nequiquam-bello has no  
3 significance.— In the third ode which is Epicurean throughout, in the first line aequam -- mentem corre-

sponds to *aequo animo* 5, 1119; and in 12 the invitation to the picnic is something like 2, 30 sq. In this ode it is remarkable how far Horace differs from Lucretius in describing Epicurean ideals.— In the sixth, line 14 *angulus ridet* — 1, 8 *rident aequora* is a chance agreement in the use of a word; and 21 *beatae postulant arces* — 2, 8 *sapientum templa serena* I should not press.— In 7, 18 *fessum militia latus | depone* — 1, 257 *fessae pecudes pingui -- corpora deponunt* is a commonplace; and 8, 10 *taciturna noctis | signa* — 4, 460 *severa silentia noctis* is another.— In 9, 3 *vexant -- procellae* — 1, 275 *venti vis -- vexat* is idiomatic.— In 10, 9 *saepius ventis agitur ingens | pinus et celsae graviore casu | fulgura montes* — 5, 1127 *quoniam ceu fulmine summa vaporant*, 6, 421 *altaque cur plerumque petit loca*; a commonplace which was proverbial.— Line 18 *tacentem | suscitatur musam* — 2, 413 *musaea mele -- expergefata figurant* may go back to a common source but have no mutual connection.— In 11, 13 *cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac | pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa* — 2, 30 sq. have only the picnic motif in common.— In 13, 13 *quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis | cautum est in horas* — 3, 1085 *posteraque in dubiis fortunam quam vehat aetas* is a commonplace.— In 15, 11 *sive reges | sive inopes erimus coloni* — 3, 1035 *ossa dabit terrae proinde ac famul infimus esset*; 15 *per autumnos nocentem | corporibus metuemus Austrum* — 5, 220 *cur anni tempora morbos apportant*; 18 *Cocytos errans et Danai genus -- Sisyphus* — 3, 992 *Tityos-Sisyphus* etc.; 21 *linquenda tellus et domus et placens | uxor* — 3, 894 *non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor | optima*,— these are all commonplaces.— In 16, 2 *prensus Aegaeo* — 6, 429 *depressa -- navigia* probably belong to the language of the sea.— Line 9 *non enim gazae* — 2, 37 *nil nostro in corpore gazae*, both with reference to dislodging mental terrors, is a reminiscence of Epicurean doctrine.— 13 *vivitur parvo bene*—5, 1118 *divitiae grandes -- sunt vivere parce*; 17 *quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo | multa* — 3, 62 *noctes atque dies niti praestante labore*; 19 *patriae quis exul | se quoque*

fugit—3, 1068 hoc se quisque modo fugitat, quem scilicet, ut fit, | effugere haud potis est; 22 cura nec turmas equitum relinquit—2, 49 nec metuunt sonitus armorum nec fera tela. In this Epicurean ode the agreement with Lucretian doctrine is so striking that a direct influence is probable. The ode is also one of the earliest in time.

18 The beginning of 18-non ebur neque aureum | mea renidet in domo lacunar—2, 27 nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet have no immediate connection; the  
20 thought is a commonplace and renideo is frequent.—In 20, 21 absint inani funere naeniae—3, 955 compesce querelas are mutually interpretative.

**Carm. III.** In the first ode of Book III, line 10 hic generosior  
1 | descendat in Campum petitor—2, 11 contendere nobilitate is a mere reference to the advantage of noble birth; and 41 quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis | nec purpurarum --delenit usus—2, 34 nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres, | textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti  
2 | iacteris is another commonplace, as is 2, 29 saepe Diespiter | neclectus incesto addidit integrum—2, 1104 exanimat indignos inque merentis.—In 3, 49 aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm—5, 1113 adrumque repertum has no  
3 significance.—In 11, 19 spiritus taeter—3, 581 taetro odore, there is doubt about the genuineness of the Horatian passage. In 17, 12 aquae nisi fallit augur | annosa  
17 cornix and 27, 10 imbrum divina avis imminentum—5, 1084 cornicum ut saecla vetusta | corvorumque greges ubi  
27 aquam dicuntur are merely proverbial.—In 28, 4 munitae --sapientiae reminds one of 2, 7 munita --sapientum templa and is probably a reminiscence of that famous prooemium, here jestingly alluded to.

**Carm. I-III in general.** In the first three books of the Odes Horace is in the maturity of his powers as a lyric poet, and has attained to independence of thought and expression, while at the same time he is free from the tradition of the dactylic hexameter; hence it is no surprise to find so little that can be said confidently to betray Lucretian influence. Add

also that he was following Greek models at this time, and it is not to be wondered at that the only odes where one may state with confidence Lucretian influence are for Book I, the 26th, 28th and 34th; for Book II the 16th; and for Book III the 28th. These are all exceptional for one reason or another, and both Epicurean and Lucretian influence at that stage of his development were at their lowest point.

**Epistles I.** Next in time, roughly speaking, comes the first book of the Epistles, and the first one was probably composed last of all.

In the 42d line is *vides, quae maxima credis | esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam, | quanto devites animi capitisque labore—3, 65 turpis enim ferme contemptus et acris egestas-quasi iam leti portas cunctarier ante*; these Roman evils are dwelt upon by Lucretius with such force that undoubtedly Horace has him in mind.—In 52 *vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum—5, 1113 aurumque repertum, quod facile et validis et pulchris dempsit honorem* there is again agreement; and in 65 *isne tibi melius suadet, qui rem facias, rem—5, 1113 posterius res inventast* is also reminiscent.—In 82 *idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes*, with what follows, does not differ in thought from 3, 1058 *quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quaerere semper | commutare locum*, etc. This introductory epistle was composed when Lucretian influence over Horace had revived, and when also his philosophical opinion was returning to its early position; at a time when, in spite of his protestation of liberty in verse 13, he says *nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor*.—

2 In the second epistle, line 31 *ad strepitum citharae—4, 582 quorum (faunorum) -- strepitu* is noticeable, as L. seems to be the first to use *strepitus* of a musical sound; and Horace has it also in C. 4, 3, 18 and Ep. 1, 14, 26.—40 *sapere aude; | incipe—3, 1071 iam rebus quisque relic-tis | naturam primum studeat cognoscere rerum* are the same injunctions practically; and 47 *non aeris acervus et auri | aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres—2, 34 nec*

- calidae citius decedunt corpore febres is similar.—54 sincerum nisi vas quodcumque infundis acescit — 6, 17 intellegit ibi vitium vas efficere ipsum | omniaque illius vitio corrumpier intus. This simile is ultimately Platonic, but had become trite.—56 certum voto pete finem — 6, 25 finem statuit cuppedinis would seem to show reminiscence.—In 3, 19 grex avium — 5, 1085 corvorum greges is not significant.—In 4, 16 cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum is noteworthy as a jesting sign of the poet's return to his earlier philosophy and to Lucretius.
- 6 In 6, 1 nil admirari — 5, 83 si tamen interea mirantur is pure Epicurean.—In 3 hunc solem et stellas, etc., correspond in thought to 5, 1204 nam cum suspicimus magni caelestia mundi, etc.—4, formidine nulla — 5, 1218 formidine divom; 11 improvisa species exteret utrumque — 2, 1040 novitate exterritus ipsa.—24 quidquid sub terra est in apricum proferet aetas — 3, 847 si materiem nostram collegerit aetas agree in the use of aetas, as also 5, 1454 sic unumquicquid paulatim protrahit aetas | in medium.—27 ire tamen restat, Numa quo devenit et Ancus — 3, 1025 lumina sis oculis etiam bonu' Ancus reliquit is proverbial from Ennius. The same thought occurs in C. 4, 7, 14, one of the later odes.
- 7 In 7, 8 opella—1, 1114 opella, the form is quoted only once from Lucretius and Horace; and 24 dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis — 5, 1 quis potis est dignum -- carmen | condere pro rerum maiestate; 76 mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum — 3, 1063 currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitanter; 84 vineta crepat mera — 2, 1170 et crepat are agreements in vocabulary.
- 8 In this epistle is latent Lucretian influence.—In 8, 12 Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Roman is another form of the oft repeated thought of 3, 1060 sq.—In 10, 7 musco circumlita saxa nemusque — 5, 951 saxa, super viridi stillantia musco would not be significant except for the rarity of the word musco.—In 11, 10 Neptunum procul e terra spectare furentem — 2, 1 suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, | e terra magnum alterius

- spectare laborem; the thought may have been familiar to Sophocles and Menander, but Horace probably got it from Lucretius since 21 sq. is Epicurean, particularly 27 caelum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt — 3, 1068 hoc se quisque modo fugitat, quem scilicet, ut fit, | effugere haud potis est, etc., and 29 quod petis, hic est, | est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus — 3, 939, 962, etc., aequo animo.
- 12 . 12, 2 non est ut copia maior -- possit — 5, 979 non erat ut -- posset is an agreement in a Grecism which L. has more than once.— 13 dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox of Democritus — 172 vivida vis animi -- omne inmensum peragravit moenia mundi of Epicurus.— 15 sublimia cures — 1, 127 superis de rebus habenda.— 16 quae mare compescant causae, a matter discussed by L. in 6, 608.
- 14 14, 8 istuc mens animusque fert et amat -- rumpere claustra — 2, 264 prorumpere -- quam mens avet ipsa.— 12 stultus uterque locum inmeritum causatur inique is the oft repeated thought of 3, 1059; and 13 animus, qui se non effugit umquam, of 3, 1068; and 14 tacita prece rura petebas, | nunc urbem-optas, of 3, 1067.— 22 incutiunt -- desiderium — 1, 19 incutiens-amorem; and 26 strepitum, are Lucretian.— 35 cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba — 2, 30 propter aquae rivum, etc., which has been compared before. This epistle was unquestionably written under Epicurean and Lucretian influence.— 18, 9 virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum — 5, 839 interutrasque nec utrum, utrimque remotum seem to have a metrical likeness.— 71 emissum-verbum — 5, 1044 sonitus emitttere linguae seems idiomatic.— 108 quod superest aevi — 3, 904 aevi | quod superest, 5, 206 quod superest arvi: here there may be Lucretian influence as the genitive with quod superest is not common, and the phrase comes later in Ovid and Silius.
- 19 In 19, 21 libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps, | non aliena meo pressa pede — 3, 4 pono vestigia (cf. Sat. 2, 6, 101) — 1, 926 peragro loca nullius ante trita solo. This seems to be an imitation, and 44 poetica

mella — 1, 947 musaeo melle is also probably reminiscent, even if the source is ultimately Greek, as the adjectives imply.

**Epistles I, in general.** In seven of the twenty epistles of Book I there is, then, Lucretian influence, and throughout the book the poet's attitude to Epicureanism is friendly.

**Carm. Saec.** In the Carmen Saeculare there is nothing noteworthy.

**Epist. II.** In the second book of the Epistles, 1, 8 agros adsignant — 5, 1110 agros divisere is without significance.— 11 notaque fatali portenta labore subegit — 5, 37 sunt portenta perempta have Hercules in common merely; and 13 urit enim fulgore suo — 4, 304 (329) splendor -- acer adurit is not remarkable.— 102 hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi — 5, 1230 ventorum pavidus paces animasque secundas is a chance agreement of words.

2 In Ep. 2, 32 clarus ob id — 1, 639 clarus ob obscuram: in spite of Lachmann's dictum that Horace got this from Lucretius I prefer to wait until the *Thesaurus* reaches *ob* before admitting the indebtedness.— In 58 mirantur amantque — 1, 641 admirantur amantque seems unimportant.— 125 Cyclopa movetur — 3, 569 moventur -- motus; 135 rupem et puteum vitare patentem — 4, 509 praecipitesque locos vitare; 138 redit ad sese — 4, 1023 ad se redeunt,—all fail to show any filiation.— 151 proficiente nihil curarier — 2, 39 gazae | proficiunt is an agreement in vocabulary merely.— 159 mancipat usus, 175 perpetuus nulli datur usus — 3, 971 vitaeque mancipio nulli datur omnibus usu are commonplaces.— 207 caret mortis formidine et ira — 3, 1045 indignabere obire: here Horace unquestionably has Epicurean doctrine in mind, yet I doubt if the Lucretian passage influenced him.— 213 vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis — 3, 938 cur non -- ut conviva recedis, 962 † magnis concede: necesses is also Epicurean.

**Epist. II, in general.** In the second book of the Epistles there is strong Epicurean influence and some agreement in expression with Lucretius, yet I do not find any real evidence of Lucretian tradition.



**Carmina IV.** In the fourth book of Odes the 3rd ode has three cases of verbal agreement: 4 clarabit pugilem—3, 36 claranda: 18 strepitum—4, 582 strepitu; and 22 praetereuntium—1, 318 praeterque meantum.—In 4, lines 13, 24, 63—1, 14; 5, 409; 1, 8 seem to be mere verbal agreements.—5, 29 condit quisque diem—3, 1090 condere saecla is idiomatic.—In 7, 9 frigora mitescunt Zephyris. ver proterit aestas, | interitura, simul | pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et nox | bruma recurrit iners—5, 737 it ver et Venus, et Veneris praenuntius ante | pennatus graditur, Zephyri vestigia propter, etc., have a similarity in thought, but not much of expression; as is also the case with 14 nos, ubi decidimus | quo pius Aeneas, quo Tullus dives, et Ancus, | pulvis et umbra sumus—3, 1025 lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit. Probably this ode would have been written in much the same form if there had never been a Lucretius.

9 In 9, 5 si priores Maeonius tenet | sedes Homerus—3, 1037 Homerus | sceptrā potitus, and 25 vixere fortes ante Agamemnona -- carent quia vate sacro—5, 326 cur supera bellum Thebanum et funera Troiae | non--cecinere poetae? This ode is one of the latest and ripest and, although the thought has much in common with Epicureanism and with Lucretius, yet it seems to me that Horace is independent in his treatment.

11 In 11, 6 ridet argento domus—3, 21 aether -- ridet; 11 flammae trepidant rotantes—6, 202 rotantque -- flammam  
13 are both without significance, as is also 13, 20 sur-  
14 puerat—2, 314 surpere, and 14, 6 inlustrant oras—3, 2 inlustrans commoda vitae.—28 minitatur agris—5, 386 amnes-minantur | omnia diluviare are both commonplaces; see Bentley *ad. loc.* for the latter.

**Carmina IV, in general.** In the fourth book of the Odes I find no evidence of Lucretian influence. Horace had attained his majority, and even if all the odes of this book are not his latest productions, yet taken as a whole, the odes of the last book show little indebtedness to any definite predecessor: the 10th (O crudelis adhuc) is of course an exception and is

probably an early study, and I would not except the Melpomene ode, the 3rd.

**Ars Poetica.** Finally there remains the *Ars Poetica*. 49 *indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum*—1, 138 *multa novis verbis-cum sit agendum* is a reminiscence.—61 *prima cadunt*—4, 376 *primaque dispereunt* has no significance.—70 *cecidere cadentque*—3, 969 can not be pressed.—111 *interprete lingua*—6, 1149 *interpres--lingua* is a coincidence, and may be paralleled in thought from Cicero.—173 *laudator temporis acti | se puero*—2, 1167 *laudat fortunas saepe parentis* is a commonplace.—359 *dormitat Homerus*—3, 1037 *Homerus-sopitu'* quietest have no connection.—393 *rabidos leones*—4, 712 *rabidi leones* is an agreement in a standing epithet. Finally 467 *idem facit occidenti*—3, 1038 *eadem aliis--quiete* is a syntactical agreement.

**Ars Poetica, in general.** There seems, then, to be but one conscious reminiscence in the *Ars Poetica*.

**General Conclusions.** The final results of this examination may be summarized as follows: in early life when Horace wrote his *Satires*, Lucretian influence was strong upon him; during his more mature years, as shown by his *Odes*, direct Lucretian influence is for the most part absent. In the first book of the *Epistles* the influence of Lucretius again revives, but afterwards in the second book of the *Epistles*, the fourth book of the *Odes*, and in the *Ars Poetica*, it is practically non-existent.

The parts of Lucretius' poem that were most familiar to Horace were the several proemia, the hymn to Death, 3, 830 sq., and the social epic in 5, 782 sq., that is, the more poetical parts of the work. References to the purely didactic parts are infrequent.

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THE PRIESTS OF ASKLEPIOS

A NEW METHOD OF DATING ATHENIAN ARCHONS

BY

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON

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## PREFACE.

All but a few copies of the first edition of this pamphlet were destroyed in the San Francisco fire. Hence a reprinting has become necessary; and in the course of it I have made such additions and corrections as were possible without altering the pagination. In so doing I have been aided by the kindly reviews of Dr. Kirchner in the *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* for 1906, pages 980 ff., and Professor Capps in *Classical Philology*, I, pages 438 ff. In addition, the article by Dr. Kirchner, referred to on page 146, and the pamphlet by Dr. Sundwall, mentioned on page 165, have been found useful. I have also entered archon names in the opening table in accordance with later conclusions reached by M. Colin and M. Roussel in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* for 1906 pp. 219 f. and 1907 pp. 33 ff., and by me in articles published in *Classical Philology*, II 3 and *Klio* VII 2. Speaking generally, the text has been altered very slightly.

W. S. F.





## THE PRIESTS OF ASKLEPIOS

A NEW METHOD OF DATING ATHENIAN ARCHONS

BY

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON.

## I.

The substance of this investigation can be presented best as a commentary on the following table:

Year B.C.	Tribe of Secretary of the Treasurers of Athena	Tribe of Secretary and of Priest	Deme of Secretary	Priest of Asklepios
353/2		Antiochis	Pallene	
352/1		Erechtheis	Euonymon?	
351/0	Hippothontis	Aigeis		
350/9	Aiantis	Pandionis		Δήμων Δημομέλους Παια- νιεύς
349/8	Antiochis	Leontis	Phrearrhoi	
348/7	Erechtheis	Akamantis		
347/6	Aigeis	Oineis	Acharnai	
346/5	Pandionis	Kekropis	Phlya	Θουγένης
345/4	Leontis	Hippothontis	Oion	Πάτα[ικος] ('Ελευσίνιος)
344/3	Akamantis	Aiantis		Λυσίθεος [Τρ]ικορίσιος
343/2	Oineis	Antiochis	Aigilia	
342/1	Kekropis	Erechtheis		
341/0	Hippothontis	Aigeis	Araphen	Εύνικίδης 'Αλαι(εύς)
340/9	Aiantis	Pandionis	Kytheros	Διοκλῆς Μυρρι(νούσιος)
339/8	Antiochis	Leontis		Πολύξενος (Σουνιεύς)
338/7	Erechtheis	Akamantis		Τεισίας
337/6	Aigeis	Oineis	Acharnai	
336/5	Pandionis	Kekropis	Xypete	[Τε]λεσί[ας] Φλυ(εύς)
335/4	Leontis	Hippothontis	Acherdus	Θεο-
334/3	Akamantis	Aiantis	Phaleron	Εύμηστος
333/2	Oineis	Antiochis	Pallene	Φανόμαχος
332/1	Kekropis	Erechtheis	Anagyrus	Εύδίδακτος (Λαμπτρεύς)

[This investigation was begun as a preliminary study to a work on later Athenian history for the prosecution of which the Carnegie Institution of Washington has generously provided the funds. Its general results were presented to the Philological Club of the University of California on February 26, 1906.]

Year B.C.	Tribe of Secretary of the Treasurers of Athena	Tribe of Secretary and of Priest	Deme of Secretary		Priest of Asklepios
331/0	Hippothontis	Aigeis	Kollytos		Φιλοκτήμων
330/9	Aiantis	Pandionis	Paiania		Διοφείθης
329/8	Antiochis	Leontis	Eupyridai		Φαίδριππος ('Υβάδης)
328/7	Erechtheis	Akamantis	Hagnus?		'Ανδροκλῆς [. . . . . ἐκ Κεραμ]έων
327/6	Aigeis	Oineis	Acharnai		Χαρίνος
326/5	Pandionis	Kekropis			Θρασύβουλος
325/4	Leontis	Hippothontis	Eleusis		'Αρχέστρατος
324/3	Akamantis	Aiantis	Rhamnus		Λυσίας
323/2	Oineis	Antiochis	Alopeke		Πυθόνικος
322/1	Kekropis	Erechtheis	Kephisia		'Επικράτης
Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary	Tribe of Priest	Priest of Asklepios
307/6	Anaxikrates	Diomeia	Aigeis	Erechtheis	
306/5	Koroibos	Rhamnus	Aiantis	Aigeis	
305/4	Euxenippos	Alopeke?	Antiochis	Pandionis	
304/3	Pherekles	Gargettos	Antigonis	Leontis	
303/2	Leostratos	Phegus	Erechtheis	Akamantis	
302/1	Nikokles	Plotheia	Aigeis	Oineis	
301/0	Klearchos	Probalinthos	Pandionis	Kekropis	
300/9	Hegemachos		Leontis	Hippothontis	
299/8	Euktemon	Kephale	Akamantis	Aiantis	
298/7	Mnesidemos		Oineis	Antiochis	
297/6	Antiphates		Kekropis	Antigonis	
296/5	Nikias	Azenia	Hippothontis	Demetrias	
295/4	Nikostratos	Phaleron	Aiantis	Erechtheis	
294/3	Olympiodoros		Antiochis	Aigeis	
293/2	Charinos		Antigonis	Pandionis	
292/1	Philippos		Demetrias	Leontis	
291/0	Kimon I		Erechtheis	Akamantis	
290/9	Diokles	Halai	Aigeis	Oineis	
289/8	Diotimos	Paiania	Pandionis	Kekropis	
288/7	Isaios		Leontis	Hippothontis	Φυλῆς Χαιρίου ['Ελευσ]- νιος
287/6	Euthios	Cholargos	Akamantis	Aiantis	
286/5	Xenophon		Oineis	Antiochis	
285/4	Urios	Aixone	Kekropis	Antigonis	
284/3	Telokles?		Hippothontis	Demetrias	
283/2	Menekles	Trikorynthos	Aiantis	Erechtheis	
282/1	Nikias Otr.	Alopeke	Antiochis	Aigeis	
281/0	Aristonymos	Aithalidai	Antigonis	Pandionis	
280/9	Gorgias		Demetrias	Leontis	
279/8	Anaxikrates		Erechtheis	Akamantis	
278/7	Demokles		Aigeis	Oineis	
277/6	— laios?		Pandionis	Kekropis	
276/5	Eubulos		Leontis	Hippothontis	
275/4	Polyeuktos	Kephale	Akamantis	Aiantis	Ξενόκριτος ['Α]φιδ(ναίος)
274/3	Hieron	Oe	Oineis	Antiochis	[. . . σ]ίδης 'Αλωπ(εκήθεν)

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary	Tribe of Priest	Priest of Asklepios
273/2			Kekropis	Antigonis	[Τι]μοκλή(ς) Ε[ίτρεαίος]?
272/1			Hippothontis	Demetrias	Λυσανία[ς] Με]λι(τεις)
271/0	Pytharatos		Aiantis	Erechtheis	Σμίκυθος 'Αναγ(υράσιος)
270/9			Antiochis	Aigeis	Νικόμαχος??
269/8			Antigonis	Pandionis	Λυκ[ομήδ]ης Κ[ο]νθου- (λήθεν)
268/7	Philokrates	Melite	Demetrias	Leontis	. . . Σουρι(εις)
267/6			Erechtheis	Akamantis	'Αμειν—?'
266/5	Peithidemos		Aigeis	Oineis	'Αρχικλής Λακιδ(ης)
265/4			Pandionis	Kekropis	Λυσικ[λ]ής Συναλήτ- (τεις)
264/3	Diognetos		Leontis	Hippothontis	[Προ]κλής Πειρ[αι(εις)]
263/2			Akamantis	Aiantis	Λυκίας Ραμνο(ύσιος)
262/1	Antipatros		{ Oineis { Oineis	{ Antiochis { Antiochis	{ Φιλίας Είτρεαί(ος) { Καλλιόδης Ατγιλ(εις)
Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary		Tribe of Secretary and of Priest	Priest of Asklepios
261/0	Arrheneides			Antigonis	Θόξενος Περγασ(ήθεν)
260/9				Demetrias	Θεόδωρο(ς) Μελιτ(εις)
259/8				Erechtheis	[. . . ος] Εδωνυ(μεις)
258/7				Aigeis	[Φλι]ππος 'Ιωνί(δης)
257/6				Pandionis	Αύτοκλής 'Οαθε( )
256/5	Kleomachos	Kettos		Leontis	Φιλοκράτης 'Εκαλή(θεν)
255/4				Akamantis	Πραξιτέλης [Τι]μάρχου Είρεσιδης
254/3				Oineis	Κτησωνίδης
253/2				Kekropis	Βοίσκος Φλυ(εις)
252/1	Diogeiton			Hippothontis	
251/0	Olbios			Aiantis	
250/9		Eitea		Antiochis	
249/8				Antigonis	
248/7				Demetrias	— — Ξυπε]τ[α]ιών
247/6	Lysiades			Erechtheis	
246/5	Kallimedes	Plotheia		Aigeis	
245/4	Glaukippos	Myrrhinus		Pandionis	
244/3	Thersilochos	Phrearrhoi		Leontis	
243/2				Akamantis	
242/1				Oineis	
241/0				Kekropis	
240/9				Hippothontis	
239/8	Charikles	Rhamnus		Aiantis	
238/7	Lysias			Antiochis	
237/6	Kimón II			Antigonis	
236/5	Ekphantos	Hippotomadai		Demetrias	
235/4	Lysanias			Erechtheis	
234/3				Aigeis	
233/2				Pandionis	
232/1	Diomedon			Leontis	
231/0	Jason			Akamantis	

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary	Priest of Asklepios
230/9		Epikephisia †	Oineis	
229/8	Heliodoros	Athmonon	Kekropis	
228/7	Leochares		Hippothontis	
227/6	Theophilos		Aiantis	
226/5	Ergochares	Alopeke	Antiochis	
225/4	Niketes		Antigonis	
224/3	Antiphilos		Demetrias	
223/2	Kalli —		Erechtheis	
222/1	Menekrates		Aigeis	
221/0	Thrasymphon	Paiania	Pandionis	
220/9			Leontis	
219/8			Ptolemais	
218/7		Kephale †	Akamantis	
217/6	Chairephon		Oineis	
216/5	Pasiades †		Kekropis	
215/4	Diokles	Keiriadai	Hippothontis	Εὐστρατος Ολιναῖος*
214/3	Euphiletos		Aiantis	
213/2	Herakleitos		Antiochis	
212/1	Archelaos	Kydathenaion	Antigonis	
211/0	Aischron		Demetrias	
210/9		Lamptraí	Erechtheis	
209/8	Philostratos		Aigeis	
208/7	Antimachos	Myrrhinus	Pandionis	
207/6	Phanostratos		Leontis	
206/5	Kallistratos †		Ptolemais	
205/4			Akamantis	
204/3			Oineis	
203/2			Kekropis	
202/1	Phanarchides †		Hippothontis	
201/0			Ptolemais	
200/9			Akamantis	
199/8			Oineis	
198/7			Kekropis	
197/6			Hippothontis	
196/5			Aiantis	
195/4			Antiochis	
194/3			Attalis	
193/2			Erechtheis	
192/1			Aigeis	
191/0			Pandionis	
190/9			Leontis	
189/8			Ptolemais	
188/7	Symmachos	Thorikos	Akamantis	
187/6	Theoxenos		Oineis	
186/5	Zopyros	Aixone	Kekropis	
185/4	Eupolemos	Hamaxanteia	Hippothontis	
184/3			Aiantis	

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary	Priest of Asklepios
183/2	Hermogenes		Antiochis	
182/1	Timesianax	Probalinthos	Attalis	
181/0			Erechtheis	
180/9			Aigeis	
179/8			Pandionis	
178/7	Philon		Leontis	
177/6			Ptolemais	
176/5	Hippakos		Akamantis	
175/4	Sonikos	Perithoidai	Oineis	
174/3			Kekropis	
173/2			Hippothontis	
172/1	Tychandros	Marathon	Aiantis	
171/0	De —		Antiochis	
170/9			Attalis	
169/8	Eunikos	Kephisia	Erechtheis	
168/7	Xenokles	Teithras	Aigeis	
167/6			Pandionis	
166/5	Nikosthenes †		Leontis	
165/4	Pelops	Hekale	Ptolemais	Πρωταγώρας Νικήτου
164/3	Euerg — !		Akamantis	Περγασήθεν*
163/2	Erastos		Oineis	
162/1	Poseidonios		Kekropis	
161/0	Aristolas	Eleusis	Hippothontis	
160/9			Aiantis	
159/8	Aristaichmos		Antiochis	
158/7	Anthesterios		Attalis	
157/6	Kallistratos		Erechtheis	
156/5	Mnesitheos		Aigeis	
155/4			Pandionis	
154/3	Zaleukos †		Leontis	
153/2	Phaidrias		Ptolemais	
152/1	Lysiades		Akamantis	
151/0	Archon		Oineis	
150/9	Epikrates	Sypalettos	Kekropis	
149/8	Theaitetos		Hippothontis	
148/7	Aristophon		Aiantis	
147/6			Antiochis	
146/5			Attalis	
145/4			Erechtheis	
144/3	Meton		Aigeis	
143/2			Pandionis	
142/1			Leontis	
141/0	Dionysios		Ptolemais	
140/9	Hagnotheos	Thorikos	Akamantis	
139/8			Oineis	
138/7	Timarchos		Kekropis	[Ζωίλος] Νικόκ[ράτου] Φλυεΐς*

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Secretary and Priest of Serapis	Deme of Priest of Serapis	Priest of Asklepios
137/6	Herakleitos	Anakais	Hippothontis	Eleusis	
136/5			Aiantis	Trikorynthos	
135/4	Nikomachos		Antiochis	Anaphlystos	
134/3			Attalis	Sunion	
133/2	Metrophanes	Lamptraï	Erechtheis	Lamptraï	
132/1	Ergokles		Aigeis	Philaïdai	
131/0	Epikles		Pandionis	Paiania	
130/9	Demostratos		Leontis	Leukonoe	
129/8	Lykiskos		Ptolemais	Phlya	
128/7	Dionysios		Akamantis	Kerameikos	
127/6	Theodorides		Oineis	Archarnai	
126/5	Diotimos		Kekropis	Melite	Θεόδωρος Ἐσ[τι]αίθων*
125/4	Jason	Eleusis	Hippothontis		
124/3	Nikias and Isigenes		Aiantis	Marathon	
123/2	Demetrios		Antiochis	Alopeke	
122/1	Nikodemos	Oinoe	Attalis	Tyrmeidai	
121/0	Xenon		Erechtheis	Pergase	
120/9	Eumachos		Aigeis	{ Myrrhinutta Otryne	
119/8	Hipparchos		Pandionis	Paiania	
118/7	Lenaios	Skambonidai	Leontis	Kolone	
117/6	Menoites		Ptolemais	Phlya	
116/5	Sarapion	Iphistiadai	Akamantis	{ Thorikos Sphetos	
115/4	Nausias		Oineis	Acharnai	
114/3			Kekropis	Melite	
113/2	Paramonos		Hippothontis	{ Peiraieus Eroiadai	
112/1	Dionysios	Rhamnus	Aiantis	Rhamnus	
111/0	Sosikrates		Antiochis	Anaphlystos	
110/9	Polykleitos		Attalis	Oinoe	
109/8	Jason	Lamptraï	Erechtheis	Kephisia	
108/7	Herakleides		Aigeis	Ioniflai	
107/6	Aristarchos	Paiania	Pandionis	Kydathenaion?	
106/5	Agathokles	Aithalidai	Leontis	Kropidai?	
105/4			Ptolemais		
104/3			Akamantis		
Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary		Deme of Priest of Serapis	Priest of Asklepios
103/2					
102/1	Theokles				
101/0	Echekrates				
100/9	Medeios	Eleusis*		Acharnai*	
99/8	Theodosios				
98/7	Prokles	Kothokidai*			
97/6	Argeios				

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Deme of Priest of Serapis	Priest of Asklepios
96/5	Argeios			
95/4	Herakleitos		Eitea*	
94/3	Democharēs	Ankyle*		
93/2				
92/1	Diokles?			
91/0	Medeios			
90/9	Medeios			
89/8	Medeios			
88/7	Ἀραρχία			

Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Priest of Asklepios	Priest of Asklepios
87/6	Philanthes		Erechtheis	
86/5	—ophantes		Aigeis	
85/4			Pandionis	
84/3			Leontis	
83/2			Ptolemais	
82/1			Akamantis	
81/0			Oineis	
80/9			Kekropis	
79/8			Hippothontis	
78/7			Aiantis	
77/6			Antiochis	
76/5			Attalis	
75/4			Erechtheis	
74/3			Aigeis	
73/2			Pandionis	
72/1			Leontis	
71/0			Ptolemais	
70/9			Akamantis	
69/8			Oineis	
68/7			Kekropis	
67/6			Hippothontis	
66/5			Aiantis	
65/4			Antiochis	
64/3			Attalis	
63/2			Erechtheis	Σωκράτης Σαραπίωνος Κηφισίης
62/1	Aristaios		Aigeis	Θεόδωρος Χαριδήμου ἐν Μυρρινούττης
61/0	Theophemos		Pandionis	
60/9	Herodes		Leontis	
59/8	Leukios		Ptolemais	
58/7	Kalliphon		Akamantis	
57/6	Diokles		Oineis	
56/5	Koïntos		Kekropis	
55/4	Aristos		Hippothontis	
54/3	Zenon		Aiantis	



Year B.C.	Archon	Deme of Secretary	Tribe of Priest of Asklepios	Priest of Asklepios
53/2	Diodoros		Antiochis	
52/1	Lysandros	Halai*	Attalis	
51/0	Lysiades		Erechtheis	Διοκλῆς Διοκλέους Κηφισίεύς
50/9	Demetrios		Aigeis	
49/8	Demochares	Apollonieis*	Pandionis	
48/7	— a — —		Leontis	
47/6			Ptolemais	
46/5			Akamantis	
45/4			Oineis	
44/3			Kekropis	
43/2			Hippothontis	
42/1			Aiantis	
41/0			Antiochis	
40/9			Attalis	

## II.

1. Let us take I G II 836 as our starting point. From it we obtain the names, demes, and sequence of fourteen priests of Asklepios. They need only to be listed for the observation to obtrude itself that they follow one another in the official order of their tribes.<sup>1</sup> One exception alone occurs. Φιλίας Είτειαίος and Καλλιάδης Αίγυλιεύς, the fourth and fifth in the list, belong to the tribe Antiochis.

I G II Add. Nov. 373 b next demands our attention. The priest of Asklepios for the year preceding that of the archon Ly[si]a[de]s was — Ξυπε]τ[α]ιών, from the tribe Demetrias.

Then we consider I G II 5 178 b, from which it is clear that the priest of Asklepios and the prytany-secretary for 328/7 B.C. both belonged to the tribe Akamantis. In the same way I G II 766, when properly construed, shows that the priests of Asklepios for 341/0 B.C. and 336/5 B.C. were taken, like the secretaries for these years, from Aigeis and Kekropis respectively. Hence we conclude that the tribes of the priests and the tribes of the secretaries normally concurred in each year. The same conclusion is

<sup>1</sup> Kirchner's timely demonstration (*Rhein. Mus.* 59, 1904, pp. 294 ff.) that Pergase was transferred to Antigonis between 307 and 201 B.C. removes the difficulty which Θεόξενος Περγασήθεν—the sixth in the list—would otherwise have presented.

urged upon us by the fact that, when, in the second half of the second century B.C., the priests of *Serapis* and the secretaries both followed the official order, in this case too the same tribe was called upon each year for the two officials.

The dating of the priests of Asklepios of I G II 836 need not now detain us long. The tribe Pandionis is fixed for the secretaryship in 221/0 B.C. by the coincidence of the archon Thrasyphon and the Olympiad 139, 4.<sup>2</sup> Working back and forward from this point, we must construct, as Kirchner saw,<sup>3</sup> the scheme of tribal rotation for the third century. It then appears that there are only two possibilities—one to ascribe the list of fourteen priests to 253/2—241/0, the other to date it in 265/4—253/2 B.C. The choice is not difficult. For by locating the list in 265/4—253/2 it results that the two priests from Antiochis fall in 262/1 B.C. That they belong to the same year may be taken for granted. It is analogous to what we find upon considering the reconstructions made in the board of Amphictyons in 377/6 ff.,<sup>4</sup> and is in accord with the practice repeatedly attested for the election of *suffecti* to the priests of Serapis.<sup>5</sup> Twice—in 319/8<sup>6</sup> and in 296/5<sup>7</sup>—a similar substitution of magistrates took place in the middle of the year. On each occasion the archon-eponymos was reelected. The same was done with one at least of the generals in 296/5, Phaidros of Sphettos being *strategos* twice in Nikias' archonship.<sup>8</sup> We have long since concluded,<sup>9</sup> from evidence which until recently was perhaps inadequate,<sup>10</sup> that in the year which ended the Chremonidean War, Antigonos Gonatas, like the revolutionists in 319/8 and 296/5 B.C., substituted for the old magistrates a new set congenial to himself. Moreover, we have lately learned that this war was ended in 262/1 B.C.; for

<sup>2</sup> DITTENBERGER: *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 256, ll. 12 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, pp. 433 ff.

<sup>4</sup> DITTENBERGER: *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 86; cf. *Classical Review*, XV, 1901, pp. 38 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> For Apollodoros *δέσποτος* see I G II Add. 299 b; cf. II 5 299 c.

<sup>7</sup> For Nikias *στρατηγός* I G II 299; I G II 5 299 c.

<sup>8</sup> I G II 331, l. 21.

<sup>9</sup> DROYSSEN: *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, III, 1<sup>2</sup>, p. 246; BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.*, III, 2, section 172.

<sup>10</sup> Hegeandros in Athenaeus, IV, 167 f.; cf. below, p. 154.

Athens surrendered in Antipatros' archonship; Antipatros was the immediate predecessor of Arrheneides, and Arrheneides followed Klearchos (301/0) by an interval of 39 years and three months. By *exclusive* reckoning Arrheneides thus falls into 261/0.<sup>11</sup>

For these reasons we must date the list of fourteen priests in 265/4—253/2 B.C.

The dating of I G II Add. 373 b is not so easy. The limits are 253/2 and 230/29, and, since the priest is from Kekropis, it is possible for Lysiades to occupy either 247/6 or 235/4. His rival for either of these positions is Lysanias, the successor of Ekphantos. One is tempted to regard these two archons as the same, since I G II Add. Nov. 373 b gives us only Ly[si]a[de]s—a very easy misreading for Ly[sa]n[ia]s. But the temptation to identify them must be resisted; for the secretaries are different, one being Ἀριστόμαχος Ἀριστο —, the other Εὔμηλος Ἐμπεδίωνος Εὐωνυμείας. Hence a place must be found for both Lysiades and Lysanias. The decision comes from considering the predecessor of Lysanias. His name occupies eight spaces<sup>12</sup>—precisely the number required for the archon of 236/5 B.C. Lysiades therefore belongs to 247/6 and the priest from Xypete to 248/7. Since Θεόδωρος Μελιτεύς would occupy this year, if the list of fourteen were assigned to 253/2 ff., its location in 265/4 ff. is thus made doubly sure.

Now we can proceed farther. But first let us remark that the official order of the priests was not broken by the Chremonidean War, and that by a curious coincidence a priest from Antigonis—the tribe established by the Athenians in honor of Antigonos Gonatas' grandfather and namesake—was due for 261/0. Our next stopping place is I G II Add. Nov. 567 b. This precious stone yields us a priest of Asklepios from the tribe Hippothontis, and the archon Isaïos. The official order of the priests of Asklepios locates this priest, Φυλεὺς Χαιρίου [Ἐλευσ]ίνιος,<sup>13</sup> in 288/7, and thus settles a much debated problem in favor of the

<sup>11</sup> See below, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>12</sup> KOLBE: *Festschrift f. Otto Hirschfeld*, p. 317, has settled this point. [An additional reason for dating the archon in question, Ekphantos, in 236/5 is given in *Klio*, VII, pp. 213 ff.]

<sup>13</sup> The restoration is undoubtedly right. The decree is one of the tribe Hippothontis.

view originally proposed by me and rashly (so they said) accepted by Kirchner.<sup>14</sup> The usefulness of the official order of the secretaries' tribes as a canon in dating the archons of the first third of the third century B.C. depended upon the maintenance of the archon Isaios in 288/7 B.C. And since 288/7 is demanded for Isaios by the official order of the priests' tribes, when we work backward from 262/1 and by the official order of the secretaries' tribes, when we work forward from 303/2—293/2, there is no longer any room for discussion as to the location of this archon, and very little for difference of opinion upon the archon-list between 293/2 and 271/0 B.C.

Finally we observe that upon the reestablishment of democratic government in 307/6 B.C. the tribe from which the priest of Asklepios was chosen was Erechtheis—the first in the official order prior to the creation in that year of Antigonis and Demetrias.<sup>15</sup>

2. Let us leave the priests of Asklepios at this point and turn to the prytany-secretaries. Here too the official order, which had continued without an interruption from 353/2 B.C., was thrown aside with the establishment of the aristocratic government in 322/1, but, unlike that of the priests, was not reestablished till three years after 307/6, in 304/3. In the summer of this year Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the command of his father, Antigonos, abandoned the siege of Rhodes in order a second time to rescue Athens from Kassander, and it was doubtless to commemorate his victorious entry into the city that his father's tribe, Antigonis—the first in the official order—was given the privilege of possessing the secretaryship for the year then commencing. In the year 303/2, however, his own tribe, Demetrias, was passed by and the secretaryship was given to Erechtheis. The reason for this is not hard to find. It was seemingly in the early part of the year 303, while Poliorcetes was absent in the Peloponnesus,<sup>16</sup> that the Stra-

<sup>14</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, pp. 436 ff.; *Prosopographia Attica*, II, p. 636.

<sup>15</sup> The election of the priest took place some nine weeks prior to the beginning of the official year (I G II Add. 489b)—as did that of the archon and the other ordinary magistrates (II 416). Antigonis and Demetrias began to exist presumably on the first day of the official year. Cf. BATES: *Cornell Studies*, VIII, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Beitr. alt. Gesch.*, V, p. 174, n. 3.

tokles-Demetrius government was overthrown at Athens, on the issue of subservience to the Macedonian prince, and Demochares and the democratic opponents of Demetrius took affairs into their own hands.<sup>17</sup> To be sure, the deposed government was soon reinstated and Demochares was forced into exile, but the elections and the beginning of the official year, we may assume, came in the interval and Stratokles did not think it worth while to take the secretaryship from the person whom the lot had designated to hold it.

A dislocation of the two systems thus occurred. And I take this opportunity to remark that there was probably a small group of annual single officers lined up with both the priests and the secretaries. The dislocation was such that when Antigonos Gonatas came to reconstruct the state in 262/1 Oineis had the secretaryship and Antiochis the priestship. The displacement was no doubt awkward and senseless. It was not perpetuated, and in 261/0 we find Antigonis, the first in the official order, and at the same time the tribe of which the conqueror was, as it were, the living eponymos, in possession of both the offices.

Thus is explained the first break in the official order of the secretaries' tribes—a break which has been used by many scholars to reject all archon-lists constructed with it as the guiding principle. The second break concerns us next; for between the last years of the third century and 188/7 B.C. a breach occurred by which some seven tribes were omitted. This I believe can now be explained also. The disturbing event in this interval is, as has all along been affirmed, the abrogation of the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias and the introduction of a new tribe, Attalis. We have abundance of literary evidence that Attalis was established in 200 B.C. Moreover, V. von Schoeffer has recently shown us that, between the disappearance of Antigonis and Demetrias and the creation of Attalis, a short period intervened during which there were but eleven tribes in Athens.<sup>18</sup> Antigonis and Demetrias

<sup>17</sup> PLUTARCH: *Demetrius*, XXIV. In this way the omission of Demetrias can be explained, whether the official order began, for some unknown reason, with Aiantis in 306/5, or, as assumed above, with Antigonis in 304/3. Demochares was doubtless opposed to the creation of the two new tribes and in 303/2 they had not yet become securely established.

<sup>18</sup> See PAULY-WISSOWA: V, 1, p. 32 and pp. 38 ff. [*Cf.* also Tod (*Annual of British School at Athens*, 1902-3, pp. 173 ff.), who has reached the same conclusion independently of v. Schoeffer.]

were therefore abolished in 201—in all likelihood. The important occurrences in Athenian history during this year were the Acarnanian-Macedonian raid into Attica, the outbreak of hostilities between Athens and Philip, and, what has been insufficiently emphasized in this connection, the assurances of aid given to Athens by Ptolemy of Egypt—with whose court the city had been on the most friendly terms for over twenty years.<sup>19</sup>

The official order of the secretaries' tribes is amply demonstrated for the greater part of the second century. We work back, according to Kirchner's method, from the fixed points to the uncertain period at its start. The system is attached to the Roman consul-lists or the Olympiads in 110/9, 112/1, 125/4, 140/39, 168/7, and, when continued to 201/0, the interesting fact is revealed that in this year the tribe in the secretaryship was Ptolemais. Everything is now clear. The outbreak of indignation which caused the Athenians to throw aside Antigonis and Demetrias<sup>20</sup> took place in 201. The machinery for tribal distribution of offices was thereby thrown out of working, and in starting anew in 201/0<sup>21</sup> the Athenians acted as they did in 261/0 and gave the honor of leading off the tribal procession to Ptolemais, of which too the living eponymos was the ruling king of Egypt, the benefactor from whom at that moment the Athenians confidently expected aid against Macedon. For less than a year there were eleven tribes in Athens. Then came the visit of Attalos in

<sup>19</sup> LIVY: XXXI, 9, 1; cf. NIESE: *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, II, p. 580 and pp. 589 f. [Niese doubtless dates the collapse of Egyptian power at the battle of Paneion two years too early. It came in 198 B.C.]

<sup>20</sup> LIVY (XXXI, 44; cf. DION CHRYS: XXXVII, 41) relates how in the year 200, after the creation of Attalis (XXXI, 15; cf. POLYBIUS: XVI, 25) the Athenians cut from the stones all memorials of the Macedonian rulers and otherwise indulged their indignation against Philip. Either this occurrence is misplaced by Livy, or the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias were not among the Macedonian institutions at that time cast aside. It is quite possible that upon the first violation of Athens' neutrality by the Macedonians and Acarnanians (LIVY: XXXI, 14) the Athenians discarded these two tribes. Polybius says nothing of their abrogation where he describes in detail the circumstances under which Attalis was created. Besides, I G II 991 shows that Antigonis and Demetrias were non-existent for some time before the creation of Attalis.

<sup>21</sup> Of course the disbanding of Antigonis and Demetrias may have taken place in the course of the year 201/0. In that case the secretary and other single annual officials for the latter part of 201/0 only were taken from the tribe Ptolemais.

200, and the creation of the new tribe Attalis. The official order, which thus started afresh in 201/0, continued without interruption till the constitutional changes of 103/2 B.C.<sup>22</sup> It was then abandoned, apparently forever.

3. We must now revert to our priests of Asklepios. There are many of them belonging to the period from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D. to whom no year can be assigned with any certainty. It will be sufficient to append a list of these.<sup>23</sup> The priests who are dated exactly between 229 and 88 B.C. are four in number. They fall in 215/4, 165/4, 138/7, and 126/5 B.C., and came from the demes Oinoe, Pergase, Phlya, and Hestiaia. These demes belonged at this time to Ptolemais, Erechtheis, Ptolemais, and Aigeis respectively. Since the maintenance of the official order for the priests concurrent with that for the secretaries demands for these years priests from Hippothontis, Ptolemais, Kekropis, and Kekropis, it is clear that the two systems were not kept together at this time. Nor do the intervals between the priests allow us to insert these officials either as a whole or in pairs upon any orderly scheme of tribal sequences. In other words, the official order was disregarded in the selection of the priests of Asklepios during the time when it was maintained most rigidly for the prytany-secretaries, and for this reason our loss, for chronological purposes, is not a very great one.

Proceeding down into the first century B.C., we have evidence from the years 63/2, 62/1, and 51/0 that the priests of Asklepios were again succeeding one another in the official order of their tribes. There can be no doubt as to these dates, or as to the maintenance of the sequence at this time; for the arrangement of the whole group of archons between 62/1 and 47/6 is demonstrated by the combination of I G III 1015 and 1014, and one of the group, Herodes, is fixed in 60/59 by his synchronism with Ol. 180, 1.<sup>24</sup> In order to determine the point at which the regular

<sup>22</sup> *Beitr. alt. Gesch.*, IV, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>23</sup> See below, pp. 172 ff.

<sup>24</sup> DIODORUS I, 4, says: *τούτου δ' (Julius Caesar) αἱ πρῶται πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ἐπ' ἀρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν Ἡρώδου.* It is confirmatory that Theophemos, the predecessor of Herodes, is assigned by Kastor (in Eusebius I, p. 183, 8, p. 295, 33 Schoene) to 61/0 B.C.; cf. KIRCHNER: P.A. 7092.

succession was resumed we have again to work backward from 63/2 as a fixed point, and this time we have not far to go. It is obvious that what happened before in 262/1 and 201/0 B.C. happened again at this time. In 88 B.C. the Athenian democrats looking for the coming of Mithradates the Great, overturned the pro-Roman aristocratic government which had existed from 103/2 B.C. on. They put themselves into the hands of two military leaders—so-called tyrants,—and offered a desperate resistance to Sulla in 87/6. When the Roman pro-consul captured the city the aristocrats were restored,<sup>25</sup> the preceding year was marked on the list of the *eponymi* as *ἀναρχία*, and the offices were reassigned. The priest of Asklepios for 87/6 was taken, as in 307/6 and 261/0, from the first tribe in the official order—Erechtheis. At what time the scheme of sequences, begun in 87/6, ceased to exist, I cannot at present determine.<sup>26</sup>

### III.

We must now return and take up a number of points in detail.

1. The list of secretaries to the treasury-board of Athena is given to bring out the fact that their official order does not concur with that of the prytany-secretaries and priests. At what times the three sets began cannot be determined.

2. Πάταικος (P.A. 11677) was priest shortly before 343/2 (archon Pythodotos). The name being rare, it is perhaps admissible to identify him with Πάταικος Ἐλευσίνιος I G II 834 b, col. I, 50 (329/8, P.A. 11679).

Λυσίθεος Τρικορύσιος (P.A. 9407) appears in I G II 767 l. 19, and 1459. He must have been priest in 334/3, if this fragment—a list of donations to Asklepios—followed I G II 766; but that is impossible, for the list for 334/3 is extant in 766 itself, and 767 certainly formed no part of 766. Hence 767 must precede 766, in which case it should probably be joined with Add. Nov. 766 b. Lysitheos is therefore assigned to 344/3 B.C.

<sup>25</sup> *Bcit. alt. Gesch.*, IV, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> A hurried survey of the data for the first two centuries A.D. revealed nothing conclusive on this point.



[For *Θουγένης*, see Sundwall, *Klio: Beiheft IV* p. 75 and Kirchner, *Rhein. Mus. LXI* p. 349.]

*Εὐνικίδης Ἀλαιεύς* appears in the Asklepios-list for 341/0 in the following connection: *Μυννίον Γ· ταύτας ἔφη ὁ ἱερε(ὺς) Εὐνικίδης Ἀλαι(εὺς) παλαιὰς εἶναι* I G II 766 ll. 7 f.; cf. l. 3: *Μνησαρέτη Δ, ἐλλείπει | - | -, ταύτας δέι[ν] ἔφη ἀποδοῦναι Διοκλέα Μυρρι(νούσιον)*. Such an affirmation could have been made by no one except the priest in charge for the year.

*Πολύξενος*, priest in 339/8, seems to be missing in the *Proso-graphia*.<sup>27</sup> He is possibly to be identified with *Πολύξενος Πολυκρά(τους) Σουნიεύς* I G II 864 (P.A. 12066).

For *Τεισίας*, priest in 338/7 cf. *Τεισίας Κεφαλήθεν* (P.A. 13478).

*Τελεσίας Φλυ(εὺς)* (P. A. 13520) is mentioned as priest in the list of donations I G II 766 ll. 66 and 67. No priest appears elsewhere in this or the similar lists except the priest of Asklepios. If the donations arrived with about the same frequency in 338/7 (ll. 29 ff.) and 337/6 as in 340/39 and 339/8 (ll. 8 ff.), we should expect the priest for 336/5 to appear anywhere in the neighborhood of l. 66.

3. *Φιλοχάρης Ὅαθεν* and *Ὀνήτωρ Μελιτεὺς* are mentioned in the catalogue of donations published in I G II 835. This list follows that of which part—for the years 341/0—336/5 ff.—is extant in I G II 766. Since lines 8 ff. of 766 belong to 340/39, and lines 66 and 67 deal with dedications in 336/5, it is clear that line 119, with which the catalogue ended, reached to about 332/0. We can therefore place the beginning of II 835 at about that time. Consequently the seventeen priests mentioned in it belong in the main after 330 B.C. Hence I G II 835 cannot have been published before 313/2 B.C. It undoubtedly was set up much later. [The dating of Onetor and Philochares and of the other fifteen priests in this group has been carefully investigated by Kirchner in an article entitled *Beiträge zur attischen Epigraphik*.<sup>28</sup> The conclusion reached is that the two named above held office in 321/0 and 320/19; Philipp s (I G, II 835, l. 78) in 319/8, and the other fourteen as indicated in the table given above on pp. 131 f.]

<sup>27</sup> Similarly *Ἐπικράτης* (I G II 835 l. 61) and *Πυθόδικος* (*ibid.* l. 50) have been omitted.

<sup>28</sup> *Rhein. Mus. LXI* (1906), pp. 344 ff.

Beyond the fully extant beginning (265/4) of I G II 836 (which is written on the back of the stone on which I G II 835 is inscribed) lie the years of ten priests, who as ex-officials made donations to Asklepios in 266/5 and 263/2. Seven of them appear together at the end of the catalogue for 263/2. At this point the commissioners placed in the inventory a lot of miscellaneous items—the weight of gold on hand, the ἀργυρώματα οἷς οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐχρῶντο etc. Perhaps an assortment of cult-furniture which had been contributed by the priests themselves was put out of service at this time, a censer, a ladel, several ἡδυνότια, a bowl, etc. Or it may be that the commissioners chose this point to list the articles of the permanent outfit which were donated by priests who held office prior to the year in which Athens fell; for all but three items in this part of the inventory concern objects donated by priests, while of the others one was apparently the property of Asklepios himself, and a second came as a gift from the δῆμος of Athens.

It is not important to decide whether this nest of dedications is the result of something done in 262/1 or of the cataloguing in 232/1. In any case its insertion just before the first year of the Macedonian regime checks in a decisive way our chronology of the whole period.

The first dedication by the δῆμος was listed in 263/2: the next was made in 256/5, and this seems to have established a precedent; for in the two following years (for which alone a complete catalogue is extant) the state likewise made a gift to the shrine. Was the precedent set in the year in which Athens regained her freedom? That is given by Eusebius as 256/5, not, as is usually affirmed,<sup>29</sup> as 255/4.

Macedonian money appears among the dedications for the first time in what we have determined to be 261/0. Thus during the priesthood of Theoxenos of Pergase (l. 45) a [τέτραχμον Ἄντι] γόνειον was given as an offering by Euagion. In 256 5 four

<sup>29</sup> BELOCH, Griech. Gesch. III 2, p. 436. [Hieronymus and Syncellus (524, 12) assign it to Ol. 131, 1 = 256/5. This is the year of Abraham 1761. The Armenian version puts it in the year of Abraham 1761, which is equated, however, with Ol. 131, 2 = 255/4. Still Zohrab's reading of the *versio Armenia* puts it in the year of Abraham 1760 = Ol. 131, 1 = 256/5. Schöne, *Eusebius*, II, pp. 120 f.; cf. Jacoby, *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 376, n. 1.]

*τέτραγμα Ἀντιγόεια* were dedicated (l. 80), in 255/4 three (l. 86), and some more in 254/3 (l. 93).

After a period during which Athens had lost her right of coinage the mint was reopened in 229, and the *new style* of Attic coins began. Head determines the period of suspension to be from 322 to 229.<sup>30</sup> That is assuredly wrong. It is impossible to believe that between 307 and 262/1 Athens coined no money in her own name. The first appearance of *Ἀντιγόεια τέτραγμα* in 261/0 tells clearly enough when it was that the *old style* of Attic coins was abandoned. Head,<sup>31</sup> following J. P. Six,<sup>32</sup> attributes the *τέτραγμα Ἀντιγόεια* of our catalogue to Antigonos, the father of Demetrius Poliorcetes. This view is based on a false dating of I G II 836. The coins belong, as is now clear, to Antigonos Gonatas, and can probably be identified by the numismatists. In any case we have again a decisive check upon our chronology in the fact that these *τέτραγμα Ἀντιγόεια* make their first appearance in the priestship which we have dated in the year after the fall of Athens.

Before assigning to precise years the ten priests who made dedications as ex-officials, it will be well to look to the limits of the inscription in which they occur. Its beginning is extant in a fragmentary condition, and, judging from the normal number of lines required for a year, it appears that at least five annual catalogues preceded that from 265/4. How many more there were depends upon the extent of the *lacuna* between fragments *ab* and *d*. Since, as will be seen in a moment, the earliest year required by the tribes of the ten priests involved is 275/4, it is conceivable that the list began at about that time. It ended in 232/1 B.C. Hence about 45 years were included. Since it is to be supposed that the inscription on the front of the stone was equally long, it is probable that the two sides contained a continuous narrative, and together listed the dedications from about 330 to

<sup>30</sup> *Historia Nummorum* p. 316.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 201.

<sup>32</sup> *Annuaire de Numismatique* 1882, p. 27. I have not had access to this serial or to any other of the numismatic journals. [I notice that Koehler in the *Sitzungsb. d. Berl. Akad.* for 1896, pp. 1089 ff., has already taken issue with Head on most of these points.]

232/1 B.C., the juncture being at about 276/5 B.C. And this proves to be not an approximate but the exact date; for I G II 835 was set up in the archonship of E[ύ— and the secretaryship of Κλειγ[ένης]. Between 332/1 and 274/3 officials whose names begin in this way are possible only twice. In 277/6 or 284/3 —laios? was archon. His secretary is unknown. Hence there is nothing to exclude his year. But there is nothing to commend it either. Whereas 276/5, the year which preceded that of the earliest priest in I G II 836, and the year of a most important change of government in Athens,<sup>33</sup> has for archon Eubulos. His secretary has not been known hitherto. We may therefore safely conclude that I G II 835 was inscribed in 276/5. That being the case, we have found a reason for its peculiar arrangement; for this catalogue differs from the rest in that the donations are grouped, not under the names of the priests in whose years they were made, but according to their location in the shrine. This was natural, if the articles were listed in 276/5 B.C. The many changes of government and the abandonment of the official order during the preceding fifty years made it at that time impossible to arrange the dedications chronologically.

Since it is certain that the ex-priests belong to the period immediately preceding 265/4 B.C., I have assigned them to the years into which their demes distribute them. In the process two restorations have been made, one rash, the other probable. [Τι]μοκλή(ς) 'Ε— belongs to 273/2, 272/1, 270/69, or 267/6, and in the tribes which are involved by these years only four demes begin with 'Ε, viz.: Erchia and Erikeia (Aigeis 270/69), Eiresidai (Akamantis 267/6), and Eitea (Antigonis 273/2). Because of Τιμοκλής Είτειαῖος (P. A. 13733) the last possibility has been preferred.

The case of Λυσανία[ς—]λι leaves less for guesswork. [It has been restored with Με]λι(τεύς) by Sundwall, *op. cit.*, p. 78, and defended by Kirchner (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1906, pp. 985 f.)

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* V pp. 167 f., 170, 173, and below pp. 155 and 166. It will be observed that the change from the financial board of ἐπι τῆ διοικήσει to the single officer, which was made in 276/5, was accompanied by the transfer, in part at least, of certain of the duties of the college, e.g., the payment for inscribing documents, to the ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν. The earliest mention of the military treasurer in this connection is still I G II 835; cf. LARFIELD II 2, p. 722.

against the objections made by me, below p. 169. Lysanias is then assigned to 272/1.]

4. A few remarks may now be made on the archon-list.

It should no longer be doubted that Philippos belongs in 293/2 B.C., and that no name is lacking in the list given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; for between Philippos and Diokles (290/89) place must be found for Kimon and Charinos. The reference in the letters of Epicurus—*ἐπὶ δὲ Χαρί[νου καὶ ἐπὶ] Διοτίμ[ου]*—makes it practically impossible, as Kolbe rightly remarked,<sup>34</sup> to locate Charinos after Diokles.

Kimon I will have to be assigned to 292/1 rather than to the following year (or to the preceding) because of the connection between the policy of Phaidros in this archonship and the situation inevitably arising out of the revolt in Boeotia in 292/1 B.C.<sup>34a</sup> Phaidros was doubtless moderate in his politics. He held the generalship between 301 and 296/5, and in 296/5 under both the aristocracy and Lachares. He continued to serve under the democracy of 295/4–276/5, and was publicly commended in 275/4 after the moderates again assumed control.

Moderate counsels were much needed in Athens in the year which followed that of Philippos, for the extreme oligarchs were then back from exile<sup>35</sup> and many reasons urged the city to join in the unfortunate Boeotian rebellion (292/1). That Athens maintained peace, freedom, and a liberal government was, it seems, due to the influence of Phaidros in Kimon's year (292/1). The passage from which we learn this is worth quoting in full. *Χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα στρατηγὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Κίμωνος ἄρχοντος διετέλεσεν ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας, καὶ περιστάτων τεῖ πόλει καιρῶν δυσκόλων διεφύλαξεν τὴν εἰρήνην τῆι χώραι, ἀποφαινόμενος αἰεὶ τὰ κράτιστα, καὶ τὸν σίτον ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρποὺς αἴτιος ἐγένετο εἰσκομισθῆναι, συμβουλεύσας τῶι δήμῳ συντελέσαι* (erasure of c. 38

<sup>34</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, p. 103. [See, however, my article on the *Death of Menander* in *Classical Philology* 11, where it is shown that Charinos, Philippos, and Kimon succeeded one another in 293/2, 292/1, and 291/0.]

<sup>34a</sup> KOLBE: *loc. cit.*, pp. 103, 108; BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.* III, 1, p. 234, n. 1.

<sup>35</sup> DION. HAL.: *De Dinarcho* IX = p. 651; cf. *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* V, p. 161.

letters in which there was some reference to Demetrius) *καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ δημοκρατουμένην ἀυτόνομον παρέδωκεν καὶ τοὺς νόμους κυρίους τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν* (erasure of c. 71 letters).<sup>35a</sup> That is to say, in spite of the crisis peace was maintained, but contributions of money were necessary to gather in the harvest. The penalty for indiscretion would have been the destruction of the legal safeguards of life and property, and a rabid oligarchy upheld by the drawn sword of Macedon.

If I G II 310 is a correct reproduction of the stone, it seems impossible to restore the archon-name found in line 24 except as Ὀλυμπιοδώ]ρον. In that case the decree which occupies the earlier part of the stone precedes 301 B.C.; for the *ταμίας* was instructed to pay the cost. This can be either the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου* or the *ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*. The *ταμίας τ. δ.* was abolished in 301: the *ταμίας τ. σ.* was first entrusted<sup>36</sup> with the payment for the inscribing of documents on the change of government in 276/5. Αἰσχρων Προξένου, to whom the decree in question renders praise, was given Athenian citizenship in 290/89 or the following year. Hence it is much the most likely thing that the *ταμίας τ. δ.* is meant. I G II 310 was passed *εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης*. The end of the "four years' war" is probably referred to. Αἰσχρων, the leader perhaps of a pro-Athenian party in Delphi, was accordingly lauded by Stratokles and his friends in c. 303/2 and by the same government upon its restoration in 294/3 (Olympiodoros). For befriending Athenians in Delphi, probably at the time the Aetolians seized the shrine,<sup>37</sup> he was finally given the citizenship in 290/89. Aischron was in all likelihood the most prominent man among the out and out democrats in Delphi.

We shall have to reconcile ourselves after all to dating the return of Demochares from exile, the revolt of Athens from Demetrius Poliorcetes, and the storming of the Museion in 289

<sup>35a</sup> I G II 331.

<sup>36</sup> See above, p. 149, n. 33.

<sup>37</sup> PAULY-WISSOWA: IV, p. 2568; *Jahrb.*, 1897, p. 187. Pomtow concludes that Aischron was not a Delphian because his name is wanting in the Delphian inscriptions. The same argument would convict Lachares of *ξενίας* in Athens. [Kirchner (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906 p. 985) objects to the restoration Ὀλυμπιοδώ]ρον on the ground of lack of space, and refers to *Hermes* 1902 p. 436 where he has suggested Ἀντιπάρ]ρον (262/1 B.C.)]

B.C.,<sup>38</sup> and Plutarch will have to be corrected where he nar-  
rates the revolt of Athens after the expulsion of Demetrios from  
Macedon,<sup>39</sup> the only alternative being that some fallacy exists in  
our calculation of the limits of Demetrius' reign.<sup>40</sup>

Urios must precede Eubulos; for I G II 331 must have been  
passed in the year immediately after Eubulos—not a few years  
later, as Kolbe assumes. Certainly no one who accepts Beloch's  
very plausible dating of Eubulos in 276/5 should attribute I G II  
331 to any year but that of his successor, since it is upon the  
observation that the year of this document was the second of an  
Olympiad that Eubulos is assigned to the first.<sup>41</sup> This being so, a  
single officer ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει appears in 275/4, whereas in Urios'  
year the board still existed. Hence Urios belongs to 285/4.<sup>42</sup>

It is likely that both Telokles and —laios? precede Eubulos;  
for after Eubulos no archon-name, unless it be these, appears in  
Epicurus' correspondence. That would seem to have ceased with  
the infirmities of the philosopher's latter days. The only possibil-

<sup>38</sup> The *agonothetes*, Philippides of Kephale, in 288/7, ἐπι]θετον ἀγῶνα κατε-  
σκεύασεν τεῖ Δῆμ[ητρι καὶ τεῖ Κόρρ]ε[ι [πρ]ῶτος ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ δήμου [ἐλευθερίας]. .

<sup>39</sup> See *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* V, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>40</sup> KOLBE'S (*loc. cit.* pp. 91 ff.) criticism of Beloch's conclusion (*Griech.  
Gesch.* III 2, p. 80) that Demetrius Poliorcetes was expelled from Macedon  
in 288 B.C. is not fatal. The attack on Demetrius may have been delivered  
in the early summer of 288. His abdication was probably made on his de-  
parture for Asia, in 288/7 or later.

<sup>41</sup> This Kolbe seems to have overlooked.

<sup>42</sup> In I G II 325, which Kolbe in contradiction to Koehler, who after seeing  
the stone (II 5 325) decided for Arrheneides, locates in Kallimedes' archon-  
ship, appears, as between 295/4 and 276/5, the board of officers entitled οἱ ἐπὶ  
τῇ διοικήσει. In II Add. Nov. 373 b (248/7), II 305 (245/4), *Εφ. Αρχ.* 1905 p. 219  
(235/4) and II 334 (232/1) we find on the other hand ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. Again  
after 229 B.C. οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει recurs, and before 201/0 ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει suc-  
ceeds. It is easy to understand that in 229 the democracy reverted to the  
practice of the earlier democrats of 295/4-276/5 B.C., and then dropped it  
when the first zeal of the restoration wore away and the advantages of one  
responsible administrator prevailed over sentiment. But how explain the  
isolated appearance of the college in the middle of the century? We have  
Kolbe's assurance that the stone has τὸ[ύ]σ[ι], otherwise the easiest way would  
be to assume a misreading. It is, however, possible that a college was reap-  
pointed when the Chremonidean War began, and that it remained in charge  
till the Athenian pro-Macedonians came to have a free hand in 256. In that  
case II 325 should be assigned to Arrheneides and the mss. of Diogenes  
Laertius (WILAMOWITZ: *Antigonos von Karystos*, p. 341) which yield τὸν  
ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως, corrected to τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. But the whole matter is  
uncertain. [Kirchner (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906, p. 987) suggests that the  
archon name in I G II 325 be restored [Ἐπι Θρασυμ]ήδο[v], and that Thrasy-  
medes be located in one of the years after 221/0 B.C. I notice, by the way,  
that an exceptional letter of Epicurus was written in the period of his last  
sickness in 271/0 B.C.]

ities are 284/3 and 277/6, and there is no means of deciding which of these comes to each.

5. Beloch has assigned Antipatros to 263/2 and Arrheneides to 262/1. The determining passages are as follows:<sup>43</sup>

Καὶ Ἀπολλό[δω]ρος δὲ τὸ κα[θρι-  
ρ]ῆσθαι [τίθησι τ]ὴν πόλιν [ἐπ' Ἀν-  
τιπ]άτρου τ[οῦ] πρὸ Ἀρρηνείδ[ου  
καὶ φρουρὰ[ν εἰς] τὸ Μουσεῖον[τότε  
εἰσῆχθ[αι ὑπ'] Ἀντιγόνου [καὶ τὰς  
ἀρχὰς [ἀνηρῆσθ]αὶ καὶ πᾶν ἐν[ι  
βουλεύ[ειν? ἐφ]εῖσθαι

Καθάπερ ἐν τῇ[ι] πε-  
ριχοῦσῃ τὰ περὶ Ἀντιφῶν[τος  
ἐπιστολῇ λέγετα[ι]. γίνετα[ι βε-  
βιωκῶς ὁ Ζήνων . . . ἰδε . . . .  
·α τῶν ῥ̄ καὶ ᾠ̄ ἐτῶν. ἀπὸ  
Κλεάρχου γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρρ]ενε[ί-  
δην, ἐφ' οὗ σημ[ειωθ]ῆναι [τε-  
τελευτηκέναι[ι] Ζήνωνι, ἔτη  
ἔστιν ἐννέμ κα[ι] τριάκ[οντα  
καὶ μῆνες τρεῖς.

[γεγονέναι Κλε-]  
άνθην ἐπ' ἄρχον[τος]  
Ἀριστοφάνους κα[ι]  
τὴν σχολὴν δια[κατα-]  
σχεῖν ἐπ' ἔτη τριάκ[οντα]-  
τα καὶ [ἔ]ν.

ἀπηλλάγη[δ' ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἰ-]  
άσωνος ἐτ[ῶ]ν τὰ μ[άλιστα ῥ̄].

The sequence of Antipatros and Arrheneides is thus clearly established. Klearchos was archon in 301/0 B.C. Thirty-nine years bring us to the beginning of 261/0. Three months can carry us as well into the year 261/0 as into that of Klearchos. Hence Beloch's<sup>44</sup> calculation is not the only one possible.

<sup>43</sup> For a more exact presentation of Crönert's reading of these papyrus-fragments see BELOCH II 2, pp. 424, 39, 472 f. The text here given does not indicate the varying degrees of certainty of particular letters.

<sup>44</sup> *Griech. Gesch.* III 2, p. 424. [Kolbe's emphatic affirmation that it is (*Deutsche Literaturzeit.* 1907, p. 934) should not lead any one astray.]



The public tomb was decreed to Zeno in the latter part of the fifth month, Maimakterion,<sup>45</sup> at the request of King Antigonos.<sup>46</sup> This being the case, it is probable that his death occurred two months earlier, in the third month of 261/0. Zeno's successor, Kleantes, was head of the Stoa for upward of thirty-one years. By *inclusive* reckonings this brings us to 231/0 for his death and for the archon Jason. The lack which ἐπι calls for is explained by the three months of Arrheneides' year given to Zeno. The calculation is then verified by the equation 331/0 (Aristophanes) minus 231/0 (Jason) = about 100. We need not concern ourselves here with other computations as to the lives and headships of Zeno and Kleantes, since it is through the one which he himself gives that the years of Philodemus' archons must be arrived at.

Since it was not till 262/1 B.C., and, if the distribution of the dedications to Asklepios is any criterion—3½ lines to Phileas, 4 to Kalliades<sup>47</sup>—in the late fall of 262 at the earliest, that Athens came into the hands of Antigonos, it is apparent that the surrender of the city took place at the time that the young king Antiochos II came to the throne of the Seleucids (between July 262 and July 261),<sup>48</sup> and declared war upon Ptolemy Philadelphus<sup>49</sup>—the champion and chief hope of the Athenians. This new entanglement destroyed the last prospect of Egyptian aid, and the city could do nothing but yield. The marriage of Antigonos' heir to Antiochos' sister, Stratonike, was the consummation of the alliance which cost Athens its independence. The war, in which the siege and fall of Athens formed but an episode, continued for some time after 262, and resulted in the downfall of the sea-power of Philadelphus.<sup>50</sup>

Antigonos, we observe, is said τὰς ἀρχὰς [ἀνηρῆσθ]αι καὶ πᾶν ἐν[ὶ] βουλευ[ειν?] [ἐφ]εῖσθαι.

<sup>45</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS: VII, 10-12.

<sup>46</sup> DIOGENES LAERTIUS: VII, 15; cf. WILAMOWITZ: *Antigonos v. Karystos*, pp. 118, 344.

<sup>47</sup> I G II 836, ll. 36 ff. [Lehmann-Haupt (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906, pp. 1265 f.) dates the fall of Athens in the spring or summer of 261.]

<sup>48</sup> BEVAN: *The House of Seleucus I*, p. 168.

<sup>49</sup> BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.* III 1, p. 615.

<sup>50</sup> BELOCH: III 1, p. 618; III 2, pp. 428 ff.

6. The archons between 261/0 and 230/29 form a group by themselves and deserve a special study. Leaving out of account Sosistratos and Philoneos,<sup>51</sup> who belong before 262/1, and Philostratos, Antimachos, and Phanostratos, whom Kolbe<sup>52</sup> has, I believe rightly, assigned to 209/8 ff., there remain for the thirty-one years involved twenty-two archon-names: Kleomachos, Diogeiton, Olbios, Lysiades, Kallimedes, Glaukippos,<sup>53</sup> Thersilochos, Charikles, Lysias, Kimon, Ekphantos, Lysanias, Diomedon, Jason, Alcibiades, Hagnias, Lykeas, Pheidostratos, Philippides, Theophemos, Thymochares, . . . bios? and, as a possible twenty-third, Aristides. Of these the first fourteen are assigned in the table to a definite year. These assignments require a word of justification.

Diomedon has been dated by Kirchner in 232/1, for obvious and adequate reasons. That leaves only 244/3 and 256/5 open to a secretary from Leontis, *i.e.*, to Thersilochos and Kleomachos. Kallimedes precedes Thersilochos by a clear year; hence a decision between 256/5 and 244/3 involves all three archons. It is hard to make. But first it should be remarked that Kolbe's effort<sup>54</sup> to carry Kallimedes and Thersilochos back to 290/89 and 288/7 was most ill-advised. The decrees of these archons contain a formula of allegiance to Macedon which is found only between 276/5 and 230/29 B.C.,<sup>55</sup> and in the second place one of them exhibits the form *γίνομαι*, which does not appear till after 261/0, and then only in unofficial documents.<sup>56</sup> *Γίνομαι* demands as late a year as possible for Thersilochos. The contents of the documents of Thersilochos' year demand that Macedon be on friendly terms with both the Boeotian League and Athens; for each of these accepts arbitrators for a dispute from the Macedonian de-

<sup>51</sup> Philoneos cannot be located in 265/4; for *Λυσικλῆς Συναλήττιος*, priest of Asklepios in 265/4 and *ἀκοντιστής* in Philoneos' archonship, cannot have held these two offices in the same year.

<sup>52</sup> *Loc. cit.* pp. 76 ff. An additional and conclusive argument may now be added to those given by Kolbe. There is no other place in the third century B.C. for the three archons whether Antimachos was the first or middle one of the three. He doubtless occupied the middle place.

<sup>53</sup> The reason for dating Glaukippos in 245/4 rather than in 257/6 or 233/2 is the similarity of content in II 305 and II 325. The prosopographical data given in *Cornell Studies* X, p. 34, also favor 245/4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, 1905, pp. 98 ff.

<sup>55</sup> See LARFELD: II 2 pp. 684 f.

<sup>56</sup> See MEISTERHANS: *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*<sup>3</sup> pp. 177 f., n. 1478.

pendency, Lamia. The condition thus imposed was not fulfilled between the revolt of Alexander, Krateros' son, in c. 252 and the defeat of Abaeokritos at Chaeronea in 245.<sup>57</sup> There is no unlikelihood that it was met in 256/5: it was admirably fulfilled in 244/3. After the battle of Chaeronea the Boeotian League entered into *sympolity* with Aetolia, and thus came over to the Macedonian camp.<sup>58</sup> It had sympathized with Alexander,<sup>59</sup> and had been in alliance with Achaea up to 245. During this time its relations with Athens were undoubtedly strained, and upon the change of policy in 245 it is natural to find disputes referred to a Macedonian dependency for arbitration.

Between 262 and 256 Athens was very completely under Macedonian tutelage,<sup>60</sup> and it is less natural to find a group of decrees extant from this period than from 246 ff. Hence for these various reasons 246/5 and 244/3 should be assigned to Kallimedes and Thersilochos, and 256/5 to Kleomachos.

In a decree of Kallimedes' year (I G II 306) we read *στρατος ὁ πατή[ρ . . . .] βασιλέως Δημ[ητρίου . .]* "As far as one may judge, it is here said that the father of the person eulogized in the decree did some services to Athens during the reign of Demetrius Poliorcetes." This interpretation, made in *Cornell Studies X*, p. 31, Kolbe (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXX, 1905, p. 100) regards as *gekünstelt* and a *Verlegenheitsauskunft*. To me it seems most natural as well as correct. Did Kolbe forget such documents as I G II 331, in which the earlier part of the decree enumerates the services rendered to Athens by the (grandfather and) father of the benefactor to whom the body of the psephisma is devoted? About forty years had elapsed in 246/5 since Demetrius had ceased to be a king. That is also natural. The benefactor of 246 could well have been a boy of 10 or 15 in 290 B.C. while his father was still in the prime of life.

7. The appearance in the archonships of Kallimedes and Glaukippos of a cult of Zeus Soter in Athens as well as in the

<sup>57</sup> BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.* III 1, p. 642.

<sup>58</sup> NIESE: *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten* II, p. 250.

<sup>59</sup> BELOCH: III 1, 639; NIESE: II, p. 249; *cf.* however BELOCH: III 2, p. 438.

<sup>60</sup> SUIDAS: Philochoros. BELOCH: III 2, pp. 435 f.

Peiraieus should be noted;<sup>61</sup> for the finding in Athens of the stones, on which were written I G II 305 (Glaukippos), 325 (Kalimedes, according to Kolbe), 326 (same time as 325), 616 (middle of third century), and 1387 (dateless),<sup>62</sup> demonstrates this point clearly enough. It is significant that all these stones belong to the period 262–229. The same duplication of worship is demonstrable in this period for still another cult—that of Bendis. From an interesting inscription published by Wilhelm in 1902<sup>63</sup> we learn that in Polystratos' archonship (with which Lykeas from an unpublished document must be closely associated)<sup>64</sup> a branch cult of this goddess had recently been established among the Thracians in the city, and that by formal resolution the old organization agreed to assume a friendly attitude toward it—*καὶ νῦν οἱ ἡ[ρη]μένοι ἐν τῷ ἄστει κατασκευάσασθαι ἱερὸν οἴονται δεῖν οἰκείως διακεῖ[σθ]αι πρὸς ἀλλήλους*. Provision is made for co-operation between the two societies in the *πομπή* from Athens to the Peiraieus which formed so characteristic a feature of the Bendis worship. The *ἐπιμεληταί* in the Peiraieus were to provide sponges, basins, and wreaths for the members of both clubs upon the arrival of the procession in the harbor-town.

Furthermore, it is to be observed that between 260/59 and 229 not a single person from either the Peiraieus<sup>65</sup> or Phaleron appears in any capacity whatsoever in the Athenian documents.

One is tempted to believe that the Peiraieus and its environs were taken away from the rest of Athens in 256 and put under the military government of the Athenian *strategos*, "tyrant," Herakleitos, Asklepiades' son, of Athmonon.<sup>66</sup> But on close examination this view is proved untenable; for the Athenian archon was eponymos in the Peiraieus in Polystratos' year, and the Thracians there resident claim certain exclusive rights on the strength

<sup>61</sup> WACHSMUTH: *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* II, p. 145, denies the existence of a separate cult in Athens. MOMMSEN: *Die Feste der Stadt Athen* p. 524, stoutly maintains it. JUDEICH: *Topographie von Athen* p. 302, agrees with Mommsen.

<sup>62</sup> The provenience of I G III 167 (c. 134 A.D.) is disputed.

<sup>63</sup> *Gesterr. Jahresschrift* V, 1 p. 127 ff.

<sup>64</sup> WILHELM: *loc. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>65</sup> The restoration Πειραίαιε? in I G II 330 (Kimon II 237/6) is quite uncertain.

<sup>66</sup> Καθεστηκώς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παττομένων μετὰ τοῦ Πειραιέως. I G II 5 591 b.

of the Athenian laws.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, in 239/8 (Charikles) the ekklesia met in the Peiraeus,<sup>68</sup> and again in 230/29? (I G II 5 373c) the senate was convened there. The Peiraeus was thus more than an ordinary deme still.

The solution of these various problems is undoubtedly this: that the citizen population in the Peiraeus had diminished very greatly in numbers, and had perhaps accepted another political creed than that dominant in the city. It moreover had lost constant touch with the city through the destruction or delapidation of the long walls. It was still possible for processions to go from the one town to the other, and for the populace or the senate to proceed to the harbor when local business made that expedient. But all this could be done only in time of peace, and there was no longer the unbroken intercourse between the two places which made it possible for men resident in Athens to render daily worship to deities resident only in the Peiraeus.

8. Since the ekklesia met in the Peiraeus in Charikles' year it is clear that in 239/8 the war with Aratos, which in Plutarch's narrative is described for us as a series of disconnected incidents, had not yet begun. A similar state of peace is presupposed for the time<sup>69</sup> of I G II 5 373c, i.e., for Skirophorion of 229—after the withdrawal of the Macedonian garrison, and after a good understanding had been reached with the Achaean League. That Ptolemais did not yet exist is no objection to this date: for it is now certain that this tribe was created in the course of 225/4 or in 224 3 or in 223/2; for while it was not in existence at the beginning of Niketes' archonship, it already received officers under Menekrates. By far the most likely year in this interval is 224, not so much for the reason urged by Kirchner and Zhebelev (*Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1900, p. 450), that the archon-eponymos for 224 3 was taken from Aphidna, a deme of Ptolemais, but because of the mention of King Ptolemy in connection with the gymnasiarch for 224/3. Unfortunately the document ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, p. 43) is badly damaged, but the conjecture is obvious that we

<sup>67</sup> *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* V, 1902, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>68</sup> *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1901, p. 52.

<sup>69</sup> The possibilities are 254/3, 242/1, and 230/29.

have to do with the donation of the gymnasium named from its founder the Ptolemaion—*die erste grosse Baustiftung aus hellenistischer Zeit*.<sup>70</sup> The establishment of the tribe was Athens' way of rendering thanks for the gift. The interest of Ptolemy in Athens was doubtless due in part at least to the good understanding reached by Antigonos Doson and the Achaean League. The same event forced Athens to secure the good will of Ptolemy.<sup>71</sup>

The formula and usages which prove Kolbe's location of Kalimedes and Thersilochos in 290/89 and 288/7 to be wrong, prove with equal cogency his dating of Lysias and Kimon II to be right. The chief inscription of these years<sup>72</sup> has the notice of sacrifices offered for the Macedonian rulers—King Demetrios II and Queen [Phthia]—and also the late form *γίνομαι*. Now that there is absolutely no room for Lysias before Kimon I in 292/1, it is certain that this pair belongs in 238/7 and 237/6. As already pointed out, their immediate successors were Ekphantos and Lysanias.<sup>73</sup>

The attempts which Aratos and the Achaean League had made prior to 239 to capture the Peiraieus were renewed upon the death of Antigonos Gonatas, and a war broke out in 238/7 which had not yet come to an end in 236/5.<sup>74</sup> The Athenians are censured by Plutarch for indecently rejoicing over the reported death of their distinguished adversary, and indeed Athenian troops joined the Macedonian garrisons in protecting the country.<sup>75</sup> The struggle was one in which, according to Aratos' usual tactics, his enemies had more to fear from surprises—night at-

<sup>70</sup> JUDEICH: *Topographie von Athen* p. 315, n. 27.

<sup>71</sup> BELOCH: *Griech. Gesch.* III 2, p. 61.

<sup>72</sup> I G II 5 614b; cf. KOLBE: *Festschrift f. Otto Hirschfeld* p. 314.

<sup>73</sup> See above p. 140.

<sup>74</sup> For a description of this struggle see KOLBE in *Festschrift für Otto Hirschfeld* pp. 315 ff.

<sup>75</sup> I G II 5 614b is the only document relating to garrisons in Eleusis in which a detachment of foreign mercenaries appears. The others belong between 318/7 and 276/5? and after 229. The nationality of the mercenaries of 238 ff. is worth noticing. So far as the extant names permit a judgment, it seems that there were no Celts among them. They are mainly Greeks. One is designated *Ἀχαιός*—a deserter or traitor.

One of the soldiers' decrees (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 33) found at Eleusis begins as follows: Ἐπειδὴ Ἀντι[γο]νοῦ ὁ [βα]σιλεὺς ἀφικόμενος. Unfortunately nothing further is extant. The *orator*, however, was Ἀμεινοκλῆς Ταχύλλου Κυδαθηναίος. The same name appears in I G II 1024 l. 9—a list which belongs before 307. The probabilities, given by the name-connections, are

tacks, ambuscades, etc., than from drawn battles. It seldom came to a regular campaign, but the destruction of the crops had constantly to be expected by the Athenians, and on at least one occasion Aratos marched even into the suburbs of Athens. In 236/5 it is said of the general ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος, Aristophanes, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ ὄπω[ρ] ἐκ τῆς χώρας οἱ σί[τοι] μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἰσενεχθῶσιν. The situation had not essentially changed in 232/1. On the last of Elaphebolion of this year a subscription was started to provide the ταμίαι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν with funds.<sup>77</sup> The purpose of the contribution is stated to be [ἵνα κατὰ τὸν κ]ατάλοιπον χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ συνκ[ομισθῶσιν οἱ ἐκ γῆς? κ]αρποὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας. The inference to be made is that in the earlier part of the year the harvesting had been molested or at any rate accompanied by danger. A study of the provenience of the subscribers will, I believe, show where the exposed crops lay: 9 of them came from Erchia, 5 from Paiania, 5 from Sphettos, 3 from Halai, 3 from Phlya, and 3 from Kephisia. Of these Phlya and Kephisia lay in the eastern side of the Athenian plain, placed at the entrance of the valley which led into the Mesogeia proper. The others were in the heart of the Mesogeia itself, and constituted its most important villages. The only other deme, which in the extant portion of the list furnished more than two subscribers, was Phyle. From the six city demes Melite, Skambonidai, Kerameikos, Kollytos, Kydathenaion, Kolonos, there came a total of only four or five. There were none for Phaleron or Peiraieus, and only one each from Eleusis and Sunion. It is true

that it belongs before 320, and a grandson of one of the men in the catalogue, Χαϊρώνδης Θρασωνίδου Αἰθαλιδῆς, was ephebe in 283/2 while the *akme* of the grandson of another, Ἐπιγένης Ἐπιγένου Κυδαθηναίης, came according to Kirchner in c. 268 B.C. There is, therefore, no unlikelihood that the Ameinokles of II 1024 and of Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 33, are grandfather and grandson—if the time of the latter document is 276/5-266/5. And at what other time could a king Antigonos come in contact with Athenian troops in garrison at Eleusis? Between 262/1 and 240/39 mercenaries would have been associated with Athenians and Eleusinians in the decree. Antigonos the One-Eyed was king between 306 and 301, but was never near Athens in that interval. Antigonos Doson was not on such terms with Athens as to make a visit (what else does ἀφικόμενος mean?) possible. On the other hand our tradition represents Antigonos Gonatas as a frequent visitor of Athens between 276/5 and 261/0 (death of Zeno), *i.e.*, 266/5 B.C. (outbreak of Chremonidean War).

<sup>76</sup> I G II 5 614b ll. 66f.

<sup>77</sup> I G II 334.

that the list as we have it is fragmentary, but the demes in it are not arranged on any principle, nor are the individuals from one deme listed together. We have no reason, therefore, to suppose that a different proportional distribution would result from an analysis of the entire catalogue.

The explanation of these facts would seem to be that the crops which could still be preserved and harvested in 232/1 B.C. lay for the most part in the Mesogeia. Those in the Athenian plain itself, we may suppose, were already destroyed in whole or in part. And what was true in 232/1 was, we may safely assume, true in a great many instances in the course of the third century. While the rest of Attica was exposed to the ravages of war, from pirates on the coast places,<sup>78</sup> from the soldiers of Alexander, Krateros' son, in c. 252 ff., and of Aratos, and the Achaean League during the latter part of Antigonos Gonatas' reign and the whole of Demetrios II's, the Mesogeia proper, protected by Pentelikon and Hymettos and by the flanking position which Athens and the Peiraieus assumed to an invader of the trans-Hymettos region, enjoyed practical immunity from devastation, and came in consequence to be politically the most important section of Attica.

The *κοινὸν τῶν Μεσογείων* meets us in the inscriptions for the first time in one of Olbios' archonship and for the last time in a contemporary document.

Olbios must necessarily occupy the year 251/0; for 239/8, the only other place between 261 and 229 open to an archon whose secretary was from Aiantis, must be assigned to Charikles. The reason for this is as follows: Aristokreon, the nephew of the philosopher Chrysippos, who is commended for various services to Athens in Charikles' year, cannot possibly have been old enough for such a distinction in 251/0, yet the decree was passed prior to 229.<sup>79</sup>

The constitution of the *κοινόν* lies for the most part beyond our ken. It undoubtedly embraced men from demes which belonged to different tribes and trittyes in the Kleisthenian system. Curiously enough the chief officer (*ἀρχων*) for the only two occa-

<sup>78</sup> I G II 5 591b.

<sup>79</sup> WILHELM: 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1901, pp. 52, 55.



sions on which he is known came from Bate and Kydathenaion, suburban or city demes. The patron deity of the *κοινόν* was Herakles, and, since two of the three stones which have inscriptions relating to the association were found in Diomeia, it is clear that the temple in which the decrees of the *κοινόν* are said to have been set up, was the famous one of Herakles in Kynosarges.

Although the *κοινὸν τῶν Μεσογείων*, like that of the "four cities", (*Τετράπολις*) was primarily a religious federation, its creation or revival in about 250 cannot have lacked some political significance. The union of the demesmen it involved must have given them increased influence in the *ekklesia*. Their material prosperity came into relief now that the shipping and trade of the Peiraieus and Athens had diminished, and the weakening of Athens' predominance in Attica must have strengthened the separatist tendencies always latent in a mountainous country. The Mesogeia was exposed to spoliation because Athens was of necessity involved in all of Macedon's wars. It could not escape them by making the state join Macedon's enemies. It got no help from Athens' walls, nor did the recovery of sea-power lie within the range of its ambition. And now for the first time since the days of Kleisthenes the Mesogeia determined the policy of Athens. Of this there can be little doubt. The three most influential families in the state before and after 229 came, Dromeas-Diokles from Erchia, Mikion-Eurykleides from Kephisia, Zenon-Asklepiades from Phyle—all from demes located in the Kleisthenian Mesogeia. These were the men who foiled Aratos of his hope of bringing Athens into the Achaean League, and carried through the policy of strict neutrality which gave the country respite from wars and devastation for nearly thirty years.

9. From Kimon's year we possess a list of ephebes.<sup>10</sup> It contained from twenty to thirty names. It is the last of the kind till we reach the second half of the second century B.C. The disposition of the names in the list is like that of I G II 338 (Philoneos), and 324 (Polyeuktos, 275/4), and all three differ in a significant point from the catalogue of 283/2 (I G II 316, Menekles). In the earlier list the deme is used to segregate the names

<sup>10</sup> I G II 330.

into groups; in the later ones the tribe alone performs this function. Since the number of names is about equally small in each case, the classification of them in about 150 deme-groups is absurd—explicable only on the supposition that it is the survival of an idea, sensible in the not very distant past. In 305/4 (I G II 5, 251b) the same system is employed, and it meets us again in 334/3 (I G II 5, 563b), but in each of these instances it is applied to a much larger number of names.

In 334/3 the ephebe system described by Aristotle<sup>81</sup> was in existence. All the young men in their eighteenth and nineteenth years were obliged to serve as ephebes. Upon attaining legal maturity, they were entered by the demarchs in the official list of citizens, and became thereby attached till their sixtieth year for ephebe, military, and judicial service to the archon-eponymos for the year of their registration. They were put as ephebes under the supervision of state officials, the most important of whom were one *kosmetes*, chosen from all the citizens, and ten *sophronistai*, taken from thirty reputable and qualified citizens nominated by the tribes.

The list for 334/3 contained οἱ ἔ[φηβοι] (τῆς Κεκροπίδος) οἱ ἐπὶ Κτησικλέο(υ)ς ἄρχοντος ἐνγραφέντες.<sup>82</sup> In it there were from forty-four to fifty names.<sup>83</sup> There were therefore about 500 ephebes enrolled under the archon Ktesikles, and as many more are to be added for the archon of the preceding year; so that the young men of Athens in their eighteenth and nineteenth years numbered about 1,000.<sup>84</sup> Since there were only 33 in 283/2, it is clear that the compulsory service has already become voluntary. The term, too, was seemingly reduced to one year, and the *sophronistai* exist no longer. We have to do with a most important change in the life and institutions of Attica. It was equivalent to the abandonment of universal conscription as a national system of defense, and in the case of Athens that meant the con-

<sup>81</sup> *Ath. Pol.* 42.

<sup>82</sup> The technical term for registration with the demarchs; cf. ARISTOTLE: *loc. cit.*

<sup>83</sup> FOUCART: B. C. H., XIII, p. 263, thinks that col. I of I G II 5 563b had more than 22 names. Col. II had 22.

<sup>84</sup> So GIRARD: article "Ἐφηβοι" in *Daremberg et Saglio*.

fession of the city's inability to protect herself with her own resources. When in an age of war Athens renounced the effort to train her young men in the highly technical profession of arms, it was over with her days as a free-acting political agent.

The time of this confession of impotence is surely worth investigating. Its determination rests largely with the ephebe-list I G II 5, 251b. This is like that of 334/3 in giving us the ephebes for one year only. What we have is a catalogue of τοὺς ἐφήβους τοῦ]ς ἐνγ[ραφεύτας ἐπὶ Κοροίβου ἄρχοντος. Moreover two sons of Ergokles from the same deme, if the restorations are correct, which is doubtful, and two sons of Kephisokles of Kikynna, if the restorations again are correct, appear in it. Unless these are in both cases twins, or mere coincidences, or false restorations, it is imperative for us to assume that in 305/4 the term of office was already reduced, as in 283/2 ff., to one year.

The number of ephebes must next be ascertained. The stone is so badly damaged that an approximation is all that is possible. Eighteen names are extant in part or in whole from the tribe Erechtheis and fourteen from the tribe Akamantis. How many are lost?

It is known that the population of the tribes<sup>85</sup> and demes is quite evenly represented in the surviving names, and that it is the big demes that have the largest representation in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*. A comparison of the relative strength of the demes in the P. A. and in the prytany-lists will show this to be the case. Enonymon had eleven ephebes in 305/4: it has 208 names out of a total of 929 for the tribe Erechtheis in the P. A. That suggests a total of slightly over fifty for the ephebe-list of this tribe. In the case of Akamantis, Thorikos had 1 ephebe to a total representation of 129; Kerameikos had 3 to 143; Kephale had over 5 to 120; and Kikynna had 2 to 56. The four have over 11 to 448, which yields about 26 for the whole tribe with 979. A comparison of the ephebe-list with the list of the prytanies will probably yield a safer result. Part of Paiania was assigned to Antigonis. It was undoubtedly the smaller part,<sup>86</sup> which, in a prytany of fifty, got but one member in I G II 871 and 865, while

<sup>85</sup> See KOERTE: *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1903, pp. 829 f.

<sup>86</sup> BATES: *Cornell Studies* VIII, p. 12.

the other part, which remained in Pandionis, had regularly 12. We do not know how many Παιανιείς from Pandionis were epebes in 305/4, but from Antigonis there came three. This suggests that the epebe-list was much larger than the prytany-list. So, too, Phegus had one epebe in 305/4, whereas it had no senator at all in I G II<sup>5</sup> 871b. There are four names and one fragment of a name extant in I G II<sup>5</sup> 251b frg. k from an unknown deme. Since there were so many, the deme can have been only Kydathenaion, Oe, or Myrrhinus. It was certainly Myrrhinus; for three<sup>87</sup> of the four names are found among the Μυρρινοῦσιοι in Kirchner's *Prosopographia*, and none among those from either of the other two demes. Hence there were at least five epebes from Myrrhinus in 305/4. This deme was represented by six members in the senate in the fourth century.

All this evidence goes to show that there were as many names in each tribal list in 305/4 as in 334/3, and that the total number must have been between five and six hundred. At the time of the census of Demetrius of Phaleron there were 21,000 citizens in Athens. This, on the ratio of the Belgian census,<sup>88</sup> calls for 1,176 young men in their eighteenth and nineteenth years, or about 588 for either of these ages. It is thus likely that I G II<sup>5</sup> 251b contains a list of young men of only one age,<sup>89</sup> and it is to be observed that this document takes cognizance of the registration in the demes (οἱ ἐνγραφέντες ἐπὶ Κοροΐβου ἄρχοντος), just as I G II<sup>5</sup> 563b does, whereas in 283/2 the young men are referred to as

<sup>87</sup> For Kallisthenes cf. P.A. 8103; for Athenodoros P.A. 276; and for Aristokrates P.A. 1921. [Sundwall (*l. c.* below n. 89) shows that this list does not belong to Myrrhinus.]

<sup>88</sup> FRANCOU: *L'Industrie dans la Grèce ancienne (Bibliothèque de la faculté de philosophie de l'université de Liège, Fasc., VII, 1900, p. 164.)*

<sup>89</sup> Among the . . ε]ς of Demetrias appear side by side the epebes — Ἐρ]γοκλέους and — Ἐργο]κλέους. The last name may be restored in many ways, e.g., Φιλο]κλέους, Θεμιστο]κλέους, Ἱερο]κλέους, etc. Among the Κικυννείς are [Α]μάχος Κηφισοκλ[έους] and [Εἰ]βουλος Κηφισοκ[λέους]. Here too there is possible a number of different restorations of one name, e.g., Κηφισο[δόντου] Κηφισο[φώντου] Κηφισο[δώρου] κτλ. It is simply through the assumption that we have to do with two pairs of brothers that the restorations in the *Corpus* became current. Brothers are, of course, common in the same epebe-lists when the service was for one year only and there was no compulsion as to age-limits or registration. [Some of the details of this treatment of I G II<sup>5</sup> 251b will have to be altered because of Sundwall's clever rearrangement of the document (*De institutis reipublicae Atheniensium post Aristotelis aetatem commutatis. Acta Societatis fennicae XXXIII (1907)*), but the general conclusion is substantiated.]

τοὺς ἐφηβεύσαντας ἐπὶ Μενε<ο>κλέους ἄρχοντος. If the service were voluntary in 305/4 and in 283/2 it is impossible to explain why 1,100 (at least 5-600) came forward in the earlier year and only 33 in the latter; for the city was equally popular in its government and equally involved in a serious foreign war in the two years.

I conclude therefore that the national ephebe system was still in existence in 305/4, and this result finds substantial confirmation in that the *sophronistai*, who are lacking in 283/2 ff., are found in this year still. The *sophronistai* appear in 303/2 also (I G II<sup>5</sup> 565b), so that the change had not occurred at that date. It therefore took place in the following twenty years. Had a national ephebe system been in existence when Athens regained her independence in 289, it would never have been abolished by the democrats in the war-time which followed. Nor is it conceivable that it was abolished in 289 itself. On the other hand, if done away with prior to 295/4, the democrats on recovering the government in that year would have been unable to restore it because of their relations to Demetrius Poliorcetes. A Macedonian garrison in Museion and a restoration of universal conscription do not harmonize. The only occasion suitable for this momentous change came in 301 B.C. In this year a government was established in Athens on a moderately aristocratic basis—its enemies called it an oligarchy—which had as its foreign policy the abandonment of all imperialistic notions, and, without sacrifice of independence, the maintenance of friendly, neutral relations with all the powers.<sup>90</sup> It was this government which made the ephebe system voluntary. The number of ephebes instantly fell to a mere handful. Ten *sophronistai* for about three times as many charges seemed absurd. The *sophronistai* were therefore dispensed with. But the old habit of registering the ephebes under deme-captions persisted. It existed in 283/2, but upon the change of government in 276/5, it was also discarded, and in 275/4 ff. the tribe-captions alone are used. Had Kimon II belonged in 292/1, the old system should have been employed in I G II 330.

10. I G II<sup>5</sup> 371c will have to be dated in either 250/49 or

<sup>90</sup> *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* V, pp. 155 ff.; EDUARD MEYER: *ibid.* pp. 180 ff.

249/8; for the secretary's deme began with 'Ει, which can be restored only as Εἰρεσίδης or Εἰτεαῖος. For Akamantis, the tribe of Eiresidai, there is no place between 256/5 and 243/2. Eitea, which at this time belonged to both Antiochis and Antigonis, has a place in 250/49 or 249/8. The decree was passed at the conclusion of the war between Athens and Argos, friends of Antigonos Gonatas, on the one side, and Alexander, his rebellious nephew, on the other. It commends Aristomachos of Argos for insisting on including Athens in the peace he had purchased from the successful rebel. Alexander was dead in 243:<sup>91</sup> he had not rebelled in 256, *i.e.*, when Antigonos withdrew his garrison from the Museion. Hence the dating above given. It is obvious that the *akme* of Alexander's success was reached a short time before the passing of the decree, *i.e.*, in either 250 or 249.

Diogeiton has been assigned to 252/1 because 'Ακρότιμος Αἰσχίου 'Ικαριεύς, who moved the passing of I G II Add. Nov. 352b in this archonship, was ταμίης (τῶν στρατιωτικῶν!) in 255/4. Twelve years earlier is out of the question, for that takes us back of the Macedonian regime. Twelve years later in 240/39 is possible, but much less probable.

It is evident that the archon-list I G II 859 was begun, as Zhebelev and Kirchner claimed,<sup>92</sup> in the year 230/29 with the officers for the first year of Athenian independence.

Three boys who were 18 in Phaidrias' archonship were τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας in the year of Anthesterios.<sup>93</sup> Anthesterios was archon in 160/59 or 158/7–156/5; for a boy τῆς δευτέρας ἡλικίας in 161/0 won the boxing-match open to boys of all ages in Anthesterios' archonship. 159/8 is excluded, because comic exhibitions, which were not given in two successive years, were given in 161/0 and in the year which preceded that of Anthesterios. The possibilities are Phaidrias in 154/3 and Anthesterios in 160/59, or Phaidrias in 153/2 and Anthesterios in 158/7. A boy of 15 has little chance in a boxing match with others of 19. A boy of 17 is a much more likely winner. Hence the last possibility is to be pre-

<sup>91</sup> Corinth was taken by Aratos in 243 from Antigonos, not from Alexander. [Kirchner (*Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1906, p. 990) gives ground for assigning I G II 5 371c to 250/49.]

<sup>92</sup> *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1900, p. 448.

<sup>93</sup> For the references see *Cornell Studies* X, pp. 67 f.

ferred. It is assumed with Rangabe (*Ant. Hell.*, II, 678 ff.) that *παῖδες τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας* were 12 and 13, *παῖδες τῆς δευτέρας ἡλικίας* 14 and 15, and *παῖδες τῆς τρίτης ἡλικίας* 16, 17, 18, and 19 years old.

The result of Wilhelm's combination<sup>84</sup> of I G II<sup>5</sup> 385e, 496c, and II Add. 453b is that the name of the priest for Timarchos' year (138/7 B.C.) was .....? Νικο[υ.....] Φλυεῖς. No Attic names begin with Νικο[υ], and, in fact, what is read by Koehler as Τ can be equally well Κ. Then the restoration [Ζωῖλος] Νικοκ[ράτου] Φλυεῖς may be made. No other name among the Φλυεῖς in the *Prosopographia* fulfills the conditions. Ζοῖλος' father Νικοκράτης Ζωῖλου Φλυεῖς was an ephebe in 172/1 (I G II 1224). His cousin Ζωῖλος Ζωῖλου Φλυεῖς was priest of Serapis in 117/6 (P.A. 6251) and of ἀγνῆς Ἀφροδίτης in 105/4?. In I G II<sup>5</sup> 373c (230/29?) Ζωῖλος Ζωῖλου Φλυεῖς is found. One item in the catalogue of dedications to Asklepios given in I G II 403 (Thrasyphon 221/0) is as follows: τύπον δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Ζωῖλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδίου. The two are probably the same. The priest of Asklepios in 138/7 will be the great-grand-son of the donor of 221/0 B.C.

I have to thank Johannes Sundwall of the Royal Alexander University in Helsingfors for an admirable monograph, entitled *Epigraphische Beiträge zur sozial-politischen Geschichte Athens im Zeitalter des Demosthenes* (Leipzig: Kreysing, 1906),<sup>85</sup> which I received while my study was in the press. Sundwall has also made the discovery (pp. 47 f.) that the official order was employed to distribute the priestship of Asklepios among the tribes, and in section 9 (pp. 75 ff.) he tabulates the extant priests. The matter had only a subsidiary interest for him, however, and his failure to examine I G II 836 with sufficient thoroughness has made his list for the most part incorrect. His cardinal error was in not distinguishing between the priests and

<sup>84</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1902, pp. 1908 f.

<sup>85</sup> Also published in *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* as *Beiheft IV*.

ex-priests of Asklepios found in this document. And yet they are marked off with all reasonable precision. The annual offerings to the temple are invariably catalogued under the headings *καὶ τὰδε ἐφ' ἱερέως Προκλέους Πειραιέως* (l. 22), *Φιλέου Εἰτεαίου* (l. 36), etc., the priests in office for each year being thus clearly designated. The ex-priests simply make dedications like other people, e.g. *σκάφιον, ἱερεὺς Λυσικλῆς Συπαλήττιος* (l. 22) etc., and when the officiating priest donates anything, this, too, is recorded by entering it regularly as an item in the section to which his name gives the date. There is not the least difficulty in deciding which is a priest and which an ex-priest, and yet their confusion vitiates the entire disposition of the priests in Sundwall's table.

Sundwall (p. 76, n. 1) suggests that the archon-name E[ύ- of II 835, l. 8, be restored Euxenippos (305/5). This is practically impossible. The secretary for 305/4 was [.....]ος Λύκου Ἄλωπεκῆθε[ν] (I G II Add. 252b; II 5 252c): that for the year of II 835 *Κλειγ[ένης]*, no other restoration of line 1 being possible. It is true that [.....]ος Λύκου Ἄλωπεκῆθεν is found only in inscriptions from which the archon-name is lost, but *Εὐξενίππου* fills the *lacuna* in these exactly, and there is absolutely no place, except 305/4, in the entire neighborhood in which a secretary from Alopeke can be placed. There can be no doubt that E[ύ- must be restored Eu[bulos].

In regard to *Λυσανία[ς Με]λι(τεύς)* Sundwall says, (p. 78 n. 3): *Die Ergänzung ist ganz sicher. Von M ist noch eine Spur übrig.* It is true that a faint scratch like the lower limb of a M appears in the *lacuna* of l. 33. But the space certainly calls for more than three letters, and on other grounds also the restoration *Λυσανία[ς Προβα]λί(σιος)* is much preferable.<sup>96</sup>

The juxtaposition of Nikomachos (l. 33) and Nikomachos *Παιανεύς* of II 839, though it tempted me to make the same restoration as Sundwall has made (p. 78, n. 2), is probably deceitful. It would require Nikomachos to have been priest prior to 276/5.

The restoration *Τιμοκλῆς Ε[ίτεαῖος]* (l. 16) Sundwall also makes. So, too, he assigns Telesias of Phlya to 336/5 and Eunikides of Halai to 341/0. To Teisias (338/7) he likewise gives the

<sup>96</sup> See above, pp. 149 f. [where the restoration of Sundwall is accepted].



demotikon. Κεφαλῆθεν and to Pataikos that of Ἐλευσίνιος. The reasons given above (p. 145) show that Lysitheos of Trikorynthos was not priest in 334/3.

Number V<sup>3</sup> of *Klio* (the new and convenient title of *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*) also reached me after my study had gone to the printer. I am pleased to find that Beloch in his article *Griechische Aufgebote* (p. 352) arrives at approximately the same conclusion, though by a slightly different method, as to the number of ephebes listed in I G II<sup>5</sup> 251b. The comparison which I have instituted between this ephebe-list and the prytany-lists can now be carried further by the aid of Sundwall's tables (*op. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.). It is perhaps worth noting that this same scholar (p. 89) has proved the correctness of Bates' conjecture (*Cornell Studies* VIII, p. 12) that the part of Paiania transferred to Antigonis (see above p. 164) was the smaller one of the two.

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt (the distinguished historian, C. F. Lehmann; the *Beiträge* and its founder being, it seems, rebaptized at the same time) in his well considered article *Zur attischen Politik vor dem Chremonideischen Kriege*, which this number of *Klio* also contains (pp. 375 ff.), has doubtless done a good service in showing that Athens in 274/0 had the same foreign policy as in 301 ff.—the establishment of friendly relations with all the great powers of the time. Its embassy to Pyrrhus (Justin, XXV, 4, 4) probably sought respect for its neutrality. And in fact the city had the friendship of Ptolemy and his allies, the Spartans and others; of Antigonos, at this time Ptolemy's friend; and seemingly of Pyrrhus, for it was not molested by him.

Lehmann-Haupt's explanation of the estrangement of Ptolemy and Antigonos—the designs of Arsinoe upon the throne of Macedon—is also plausible. And I do not think that it is invalidated by the fact that the Chremonidean War did *not* begin in 268. Philokrates cannot now be ejected from 268/7, and since the capture of Athens came in the fall of 262, five military seasons had then elapsed, if the war began in the summer of 266 (Peithidemos). Pausanias' remark that the Athenians resisted for a very long time (ἐπὶ μακρότατον) calls for no more than this. It is, of course, none the less possible, as Lehmann-Haupt maintains,

that the treaty made between Athens and Ptolemy in 266 was the deferred result of an understanding *aimed at* in 274/0 while Arsinoe was still alive.

[I have endeavored to join the series of Asklepios-priests and the series of prytany-secretaries for the early third century before Christ to a fixed chronology in 288/7, 262/1, and 221/0. It may be granted cheerfully that no one of these joints is absolutely fast: that 263/2 and 262/1 are alike open for the end of the Chremonidean War, and that *suffectio* and reëlection of magistrates are alike adequate to explain the reduplication of Antiochis in the priestly series; that 288/7 and 284/3 are both possible for Isaïos, and that there is no necessary parallelism between the series of secretaries constructed by working backward from 221/0 and the series of priests during the period 262/1-229/8. I have not sought to make a mathematical proof: an historical demonstration is sufficient. In this, however, I believe that I have succeeded. Otherwise, moreover, we have to do with a most astounding series of accidents. It must be an accident that upon the restoration of the official order of the priests' tribes in 307/6, the rotation began with the first tribe, Erechtheis. It must be an accident that both priests' and secretaries' tribes locate Isaïos in 288/7. It must be an accident that the official order of the secretaries' tribes demands Antigonis, again the *coryphaeus* of the sequence, in 261/0; that the Macedonian coins make their first appearance in Athens in that year; that the end of 263/2 was chosen by the cataloguers of the Asklepios' dedications as the point at which to enter a lot of semi-official offerings, made by priests during the preceding thirteen years; and that the legislative activity of Athens, and state dedications to the shrine of Asklepios began anew in 256/5—the year in which, according to Eusebius, the Athenians regained their autonomy. It must be an accident that the division between I G II 835 and I G II 836 occurs in the archonship of E[ $\delta$ -,] and that no priests are mentioned in the latter half of this joint catalogue who cannot be located preferably after 276/5 (there is no place for one more), while a change of government suited to explain both the division and the absence of earlier priests took place in the archonship of Eubulos, in 276/5. Professor Kolbe (*Deutsche Literaturzeit.* 1907, pp. 932 ff.) may believe in the possibility of such accidents. I do not.]

## APPENDIX I—LIST OF PRIESTS.

## IV century B.C.

- Ἀρίσταρχος Κοθωκίδης II 1466, 1468.  
 Ἄρχι...δου [ἐκ Κοίλ]ης II 1479.  
 Ἐ[λ]πίνης II 1446.  
 Εὐθύδημος Ἐλευσίσιος II 1651.  
 Κτησικλῆ[ς] Ἀγνούσιος II 1481; III 144.  
 Μελάνωπος Χολαργεύς II 1472.  
 Μενέστρατος Ἀγγελῆθεν II 1447, 1448. 350/49?  
 Νικόδημος II 1440.  
 Τίμων II 1473.  
 Φιλοκλῆς Ξυπεταιῶν II 1475.

## IV or III century B.C.

- Ὀλύμπιχος Κυδαθηναίεύς II 1491.

## III century B.C.

- Αἰσχρωνίδ[ης] II 1496.  
 Δημαγένης II 1350 296/5?  
 Εὐθύδημο[ς] Ἀντικλέους ἐξ [Οἴου] II 1496.  
 Νικωνίδης Φλυεῖς II 1495 301/0, 289/8.  
 Σίμυλος Νικοστράτου [ἐκ Κ]οίλης II 1500.  
 Φίλιος Φαληρεῖς II 1505. End of century.  
 Φορμ[ίω]ν Ἡδύλου [Ἐλ]ευσίσιος II 1504. End of century.

## II century B.C.

- Ζήνων Ἀθηναγόρου Μελιτεῖς II 1204.  
 Λεωνίδης Φλυεῖς II 840. Archon Pleistainos.

## I century B.C.

- Νι[κ]όστρατος Ἀφιδναῖο[ς] II 1511.  
 Σοφοκλῆς Φιλώτου Σουμειεύς, γόνυ δὲ Διονυσοδώρου Δειραδιώτου *Ath. Mitt.* XXI, p. 297, c. 100 B.C.  
 — Μυρριν(ούσιος)? I G II Add. 477 c. Archon Kal-

## I and II centuries A.D.

- Ἀγαθόπουϛ Φλυεΐϛ III 693. Archon Peiso c. 175 A.D.  
Ἀσωπ[όδαρος] Κλεομένουϛ Φλυ(εΐϛ) III 102a. c. 61 A.D.  
Διόφανηϛ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀξηνιεΐϛ III 228, 228 a, 229, 229 a.  
Θεό[φιλοϛ] Εὐδόξου Ἐλευσίνιοϛ III 132 n.  
Φλά(οιοϛ) III 729.  
— Κ]ολλυτεΐϛ III 181 h. Archon Q. Trebellius Rufus  
c. 100 A.D.



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HORACE'S ALCAIC STROPHE

BY

LEON JOSIAH RICHARDSON

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HORACE'S ALCAIC STROPHE

BY

LEON JOSIAH RICHARDSON.

The Alcaic<sup>1</sup> strophe as employed by Horace involves the following quantities:

A ≈ - - - - - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 A ≈ - - - - - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 B ≈ - - - - - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 C - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ - - - - - ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

Descende caelo et dic age tibia  
 regina longum Calliope melos,  
 seu voce nunc mavis acuta,  
 seu fidibus citharave Phoebi.

(III, 4, 1-4.)

A. THE ELEVEN-SYLLABLE ALCAIC.

(1) What word-arrangements are possible in a line of eleven syllables and how many of them did Horace actually employ? It is evident that there are two ways of arranging words in a line of two syllables (namely, either *monosyllable monosyllable* or *dissyllable*), four ways in a line of three syllables, eight ways in a line of four syllables, and so on. In short, we are able to make out the total possible ways in a given line by means of the formula  $2^{n-1}$  ( $n$  being the number of syllables in the line). Thus it appears that in a line of eleven syllables 1,024 different arrangements are possible. Yet among his 634 examples of A Horace

<sup>1</sup> This meter is found in thirty-seven of Horace's Odes, aggregating 317 strophes or 1,268 lines. Ten of these Odes, containing 60 strophes, are in Book I; twelve, containing 86 strophes, are in Book II; eleven, containing 118 strophes, are in Book III; and four, containing 53 strophes, are in Book IV.

employed only 117 arrangements, confining himself generally to the 19 that follow:

1. doctus sagittas tendere Sericas .....	(47 cases)
2. quicumque terrae munere vescimur .....	(46 cases)
3. laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum .....	(29 cases)
4. audire magnos iam videor duces .....	(25 cases)
5. mutaret umbras et iuga demeret .....	(25 cases)
6. atqui sciebat quae sibi barbarus .....	(23 cases)
7. odi profanum volgus et arceo .....	(18 cases)
8. me nec Chimacrae spiritus igneae .....	(18 cases)
9. hic innocentis pocula Lesbii .....	(17 cases)
10. donec virenti canities abest .....	(17 cases)
11. O matre pulchra filia pulchrior .....	(16 cases)
12. robustus acri militia puer .....	(16 cases)
13. vixi puellis nuper idoneus .....	(15 cases)
14. delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops .....	(12 cases)
15. perire quaerens nec muliebriter .....	(11 cases)
16. cur me querellis exanimas tuis .....	(11 cases)
17. temptare multa caede bidentium .....	(10 cases)
18. quamquam choreis aptior et iocis .....	(10 cases)
19. favete linguis: carmina non prius .....	(10 cases)

(2) Horace departed from his Greek models by putting a long syllable almost always in the first space<sup>2</sup> and always in the fifth space. See Table VII.<sup>3</sup> On the reading of III, 5, 17, see Kiessling's note.

(3) In its Greek form *A* was without a fixed caesura or diaeresis. But in the Augustan age the "derivation theory" of meters held sway (see Gleditsch, *Metrik*, pp. 70 and 73) and Horace, apparently under its influence, resolved the Eleven-Syllable Alcaic into two phrases of sound, each constant in length. This he did by making a word end regularly in the fifth space. See Table I. Only five exceptions occur: I, 37, 14; IV, 14, 17; I, 16, 21; I, 37, 5; II, 17, 21; and in three of these (the last three as cited) the regular division is not wholly absent, falling as it does between the members of a compound word. He admitted *syllaba anceps* in the final space of *A*, and hiatus occasionally between *A* and *A* or between *A* and *B*. See Table V.

(4) Latin quantitative versification is based on a number of principles, one of which is important for our present purpose:

<sup>2</sup> This term is used to designate any part of a verse occupied by a syllable, whether long or short, there being eleven such spaces in *A*.

<sup>3</sup> The tables are to be found at the close of this paper.

namely, in the initial portion (generally two or more feet) of a verse rhetorical elements should not often coincide with corresponding metrical elements. That is to say, coincidence, when it does occur, is generally preceded or followed by non-coincidence. And so it happens, among other things, that successive words seldom fill each a single foot; successive word-accent usually do not coincide with ictuses; caesuras on the average outnumber diaereses. These facts are hinted at by Quintilian in IX. 4, 90: *plerique enim ex commissuris eorum [i.e., verborum] vel divisione fiunt pedes; ex quo fit ut isdem verbis alii atque alii versus fiant.* The principle under consideration is obeyed in the first and second of the following verses, but disobeyed in the third:

*virginibus Tyriis mos est gestare pharetram.* (Verg. *Aen.* I, 336.)

*quaerere constituit sociisque exacta referre.* (*Ib.* I, 309.)

*sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret.* (Ennius, *Varia* 14.)

Thus we have an important clue to the metrical structure of any given poem. By way of brief illustration, let us suppose that we are trying to discover the meter of the *Aeneid*. The initial portion of the verses is composed in a great variety of ways, but seldom or never with any of the following word-arrangements:

denique Caesare.

primae terrae.

denique terrae.

primo Caesare.

This is all the more significant because such groups occur often in Latin prose. The fact is, these word-arrangements are not allowed to begin the verse in question because the rhetorical elements would each exactly coincide with corresponding metrical elements throughout more than one foot. The conclusion is therefore to be drawn that the feet at the outset of Vergil's verse are either dactyls or spondees or both combined.

We may reach this same result by another method of analysis. Within the initial portion of the verses word-breaks tend to occur at certain points with marked frequency. These points, according to the principle above described, must be *within* feet. Otherwise expressed, they must be caesuras. Knowing where the caesuras are located, we are able to differentiate them from diaereses and so to identify the feet.

(5) Verse *A* is nowadays often divided into feet as follows:

∷ : - ∪ | - > || - ∪ - | - ∪ | - ^

But we find in Horace many verses, like

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior,

where there would be an overwhelming correspondence of words and feet. Again, according to the theory represented in this scheme, a trochee would end with the third space, and yet about half the verses have a break there; if this were really a diaeresis, the unity and flowing character of the verse would vanish. By this theory, the fundamental foot would be trisemic, despite the fact that most of the feet as represented have syllables that are at variance with such a norm. Furthermore the line would begin with anacrusis, which is here unsupported by any genuine evidence. In short, this interpretation of Horace's verse rests on no direct ancient authority, it disregards well established laws of quantitative verse structure, and altogether is a false guide for those who would read the Alcaic strophe in the manner intended by the Roman poet.

(6) Let us now regard what we have called the first phrase of verse *A* and analyse it according to the method outlined in section 4 above.

*First Space.* In 119 verses this space is occupied by a *monosyllable*.

*Second Space.* (= -) In 291 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

<i>α</i>	dissyllable .....	211 times
<i>β</i>	monosyllable monosyllable .....	80 times

*Third Space.* (= - ∪) In 308 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

<i>α</i>	trisyllable .....	199 times
<i>β</i>	monosyllable dissyllable .....	67 times
<i>γ</i>	dissyllable monosyllable .....	33 times
<i>δ</i>	three monosyllables .....	9 times

The fact that Horace allows words to end here with great frequency is significant. It implies that the break after the third space is a caesura. This and the sequence of quantities involved

point to iambic movement at the outset of *A*. Significant also are the different degrees of favor represented in the numbers 67 and 33, which result in part from the fact that an iambic movement is thrown into less bold relief<sup>4</sup> by cases under  $\beta$  than by those under  $\gamma$ .

*Fourth Space.* (—) In 53 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

<i>a</i>	<i>quadrisyllable</i> .....	4 times
<i>β</i>	<i>trisyllable monosyllable</i> .....	22 times
<i>γ</i>	<i>monosyllable trisyllable</i> .....	10 times
<i>δ</i>	<i>dissyllable dissyllable</i> .....	3 times
<i>e</i>	<i>monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable</i> .....	9 times
<i>ζ</i>	<i>monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable</i> .....	5 times
<i>η</i>	<i>dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	0 times
<i>θ</i>	<i>four monosyllables</i> .....	0 times

The cases under *a* are II, 17, 6; III, 5, 10; 21, 10; IV, 4, 69. Two of them, at least, may be neglected: in III, 5, 10, the quadrisyllable exists only so far as results from an elided pentasyllable; in IV, 4, 69, the verse begins *Carthagini iam*, where the noun and particle are closely joined and the effect is much the same as though the first phrase of *A* embraced a single pentasyllabic word. The rarity of quadrisyllables at the outset of verse *A*, taken in connection with the succession of quantities, is an indication of iambic movement. Noteworthy also are the different degrees of favor represented in the numbers 22 and 10, an iambic movement being thrown into less bold relief by cases under  $\beta$  than by those under  $\gamma$ . The unwelcome character of the cases under  $\delta$  is made evident not only by their rarity but also by the

<sup>4</sup> An iamb is thrown into relief when it is occupied by a *dissyllable*, or by two *monosyllables*; a diamb when it is occupied by:

- a* *quadrisyllable*.
- b* *dissyllable dissyllable*.
- c* *dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable*.
- d* *monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable*.
- e* *monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable*.
- f* *monosyllable trisyllable*.
- g* *trisyllable monosyllable*.
- h* *four monosyllables*.

As a rule, it is less objectionable to throw into relief the anlaut than the auslaut of a foot. A break after the penultimate syllable of the foot has a tendency to render less objectionable a break after the auslaut. Consequently, *c* and *e* are less objectionable than *d*; and *g* less objectionable than *f*.

way they are disguised when they do occur. In III, 29, 5, the first of the pair exists only so far as results from an elided trisyllable. In I, 16, 21, the pair arises from two elided trisyllables. The verse has no break after the fifth space. In I, 37, 5, the first of the pair arises from a trisyllable affected by synizesis. This verse also omits the usual break after the fifth space. In short, no real case of two dissyllabic words beginning a verse is found. This is strong evidence of an iambic movement. Pointing in the same direction is the fact that cases under  $\epsilon$  outnumber those under  $\zeta$  and  $\eta$ .

*Fifth Space.* (=---) In 629 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

$\alpha$	<i>pentasyllable</i> .....	21 times
$\beta$	<i>quadrisyllable monosyllable</i> .....	4 times
$\gamma$	<i>monosyllable quadrisyllable</i> .....	42 times
$\delta$	<i>trisyllable dissyllable</i> .....	176 times
$\epsilon$	<i>dissyllable trisyllable</i> .....	175 times
$\zeta$	<i>trisyllable monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	20 times
$\eta$	<i>monosyllable trisyllable monosyllable</i> .....	10 times
$\theta$	<i>monosyllable monosyllable trisyllable</i> .....	66 times
$\iota$	<i>dissyllable dissyllable monosyllable</i> .....	1 time
$\kappa$	<i>dissyllable monosyllable dissyllable</i> .....	33 times
$\lambda$	<i>monosyllable dissyllable dissyllable</i> .....	58 times
$\mu$	<i>dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	0 times
$\nu$	<i>monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	9 times
$\xi$	<i>monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable</i> .....	5 times
$\omicron$	<i>monosyllable monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable</i> .....	9 times
$\pi$	<i>five monosyllables</i> .....	0 times

That verse *A* begins with iambic meter is evidenced by the character of the monosyllables falling in the fifth space. Table IV shows 49 such cases. The resulting break after the fourth space is generally bridged over and softened by some of the following usages: (*a*) In twelve cases elision takes place, being located as in the following example:

dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

(III, 2, 13.)

(b) In twenty-nine cases the break in question is concealed by another break after the third space. Thus the metrical phrase closes with two monosyllables. One of them is not infrequently a proclitic or an enclitic, which also serves to lessen the prominence of the break after the fourth space, as in

ducentis *ad se* cuncta pecuniae.

(IV, 9, 38.)

(c) Only a few cases remain, and in some of them the monosyllable and the preceding word are closely knit together, as in

iamdudum *apud me est*. eripe te morae.

(III, 29, 5.)

Again, significant of iambic meter is the fact that cases under  $\gamma$  so greatly outnumber those under  $\beta$ ; that  $\theta$  outnumbers  $\zeta$ ; that  $\zeta$  outnumbers  $\eta$ ; that  $\lambda$  outnumbers  $\kappa$ ; that  $\nu$  and  $\sigma$  outnumber  $\iota$  and  $\xi$ ; that  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$  are strongly in favor.

If the first phrase of *A* (five syllables) is compared with what precedes the main caesura in the iambic trimeter of Horace's Epodes (normally five syllables), the words occurring in one case will be found to accord with those in the other as regards their form, length, and arrangement. This is well illustrated by Epode III, where the word-arrangements in verses free from substitutions are typically:

---	---
 - | ---  
 - | - - -  
 - | - | - -  
 - | - - | - -  
 - | - | - | - -

(7) The following points are to be noted for the light they throw on the nature of the rhythm in the second phrase of *A*:

(a) Breaks within the phrase occur freely after the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth spaces, most freely, however, after the eighth. (Table I.)

(b) The favorite combinations of words within the phrase are, in order of preference, as follows:



*trisyllable trisyllable,*  
*monosyllable trisyllable dissyllable,*  
*monosyllable dissyllable trisyllable,*  
*quadrisyllable dissyllable,*  
*dissyllable quadrisyllable.*

(Table III.)

(c) Monosyllables are abundant in the sixth space alone. Only seven times does a verse end with a monosyllable and in six of these cases the effect is veiled. That is to say, in II, 11, 13, the monosyllable is preceded by another monosyllable, as sometimes occurs at the close of the dactylic hexameter or pentameter. In I, 9, 13; II, 15, 5; III, 26, 9; 29, 9; and 49 there is elision. But in IV, 9, 1, the monosyllable stands out boldly after a pentasyllable, an effect that is probably intended to reinforce the striking character of the thought.

(d) Dissyllables end freely in the seventh or eleventh space.

(e) Trisyllables end freely in the eighth or eleventh space.

(f) Quadrisyllables end freely in the ninth or eleventh space.

(g) Pentasyllables and hexasyllables occur occasionally at the close of the verse.

The conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is as follows: The poet's feeling has not led him to treat the second phrase in the same manner as he did the first. He has not here studiously avoided the coincident termination of word and foot, since breaks occur freely at all points, except after the tenth space, an exception due to the fact that monosyllables are not welcome in final position.

(8) We are now in a position to make out the meter of the whole verse. As regards the first phrase, it has been shown that words are frequently chosen and arranged according to the following divisions:

— — — | — —  
 — — | — — —  
 — | — | — — —  
 — | — — | — —  
 — | — — — —

We rarely find:

— — | — — | —  
 — — — — | —

The meter, therefore, is iambic in character. But what is the particular form of the feet? Do the first four syllables constitute two iambs or one diiamb? If these syllables appeared characteristically as  $\sim - \sim -$  there would be ground for recognizing two iambs, but as a matter of fact they are normally  $- - \sim -$  (only nineteen verses begin  $\sim - \sim -$ ) and the conclusion is inevitable that *A* begins with a diiamb.

A verse by its very nature has unity, which implies that it embraces homogeneous elements. Therefore, since the first phrase of *A* contains a diiamb plus one syllable, it is probable that this syllable introduces a second metrical division, not necessarily identical with the first, but similar in kind and commensurate in duration. Keeping in mind that a diiamb is quadrisyllabic and in effect hexasemic, we find that a foot having these two properties is made up by the syllables in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth spaces. Moreover, it assumes the form of a foot to which ancient writers on metric frequently refer, namely, a major ionic ( $- - \sim -$ ).

Three syllables remain, *long short long*, respectively, and they in turn answer the conditions of a quadrisyllabic hexasemic foot, one, however, that has been modified by catalexis in the final cadence of the verse. In acatalectic form this foot would apparently be a ditrochee, as may be gathered from the *Twelve-Syllable Alcaic* cited by Hephaestion (*Ench.*, XIV, 4, C.):

$\sim - \sim - , - - \sim - , - - \sim -$   
*ἰόπλοκ', ἀγνά, μελλιχόμειδε Σαπφοῖ.*

With this verse (= Alcaeus fr. 34) compare:

*θάλω τι ρεῖπην, ἀλλά με κωλύει αἴδως.* Alcaeus fr. 19.

*κοιλωνύχων ἵππων πρύτανις* [Ποσειδάν]. Stesichorus fr. 21.

Verse *A*, then, may be classed as an Epionic Trimeter Catalectic and is to be represented thus:

$\sim - \sim - , - || - \sim - , - \sim -$

a reader being always at liberty to treat the last foot as  $\sim - - \sim$ .

This conclusion is not only supported by ancient authority,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>Hephaestion (*Ench.* XIV, 3, C.) describes *A* in its Greek form as follows: Ἐπιωνικὸν δὲ ἀπὸ μείζονος τρίμετρον καταληκτικὸν ἐστὶ, τὸ καλούμενον Ἀλκαϊκὸν ἑνδεκασύλλαβον, ὃ τὴν μὲν πρώτην συζυγίαν ἔχει λαμβικὴν, ἥτοι ἐξάσημον ἢ ἐπτάσημον, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν ἰωνικὴν ἀπὸ μείζονος ἢ δευτέραν παιωνικὴν, τὴν δὲ κατάκλειδα ἐκ τροχαίου καὶ τῆς ἀδιαφόρου.

but corroborated by numerous parallels in allied verse forms: for example, the initial motive<sup>6</sup> - - - - - - - - is found in Pindar, *Nemea*, I, str. 2 and 4; V, str. 5; *Isth.*, I, str. 5; VI, str. 1; fr. 29, 1; fr. 122, 1; fr. 124<sup>c</sup>, 1; Bacchylides, VIII, ep. 1; XI, 1 and 8; XIV, ep. 1; *et passim*. The final motive - - - - - - - - is also abundant; see for example Christ, *Metrik*, section 627. This motive in acatalectic form is found in Sappho, fr. 50; Pindar, fr. 75, 4; Eurip., *Medea*, 151-3; and elsewhere.

#### B. THE NINE-SYLLABLE ALCAIC.

(1) There are 256 possible ways of arranging words in a verse of nine syllables. In this Alcaic, however, Horace employed only 48, confining himself as a rule to the 10 following:

1. eantemus Augusti tropaea .....	(60 cases)
2. rugis et instanti senectae .....	(26 cases)
3. cui laurus aeternos honores .....	(26 cases)
4. redegit in veros timores .....	(21 cases)
5. oblitus aeternaeque Vestae .....	(20 cases)
6. quantis fatigaret ruinis .....	(17 cases)
7. exceptit ictus pro pudicis .....	(15 cases)
8. non Seres infidive Persae .....	(13 cases)
9. sortitur insignis et imos .....	(12 cases)
10. sumptu iubentes et deorum .....	( 8 cases)

(2) The metrical character of this verse is revealed in what follows:

*First Space.* In 84 verses the initial word is a *monosyllable*. Horace departed from his Greek models by putting a long syllable almost always in this space. See Table VII.

*Second Space.* (= -) In 83 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

α <i>dissyllable</i> .....	75 times
β <i>monosyllable monosyllable</i> .....	8 times

*Third Space.* (= - -) In 259 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

α <i>trisyllable</i> .....	155 times
β <i>monosyllable dissyllable</i> .....	65 times
γ <i>dissyllable monosyllable</i> .....	35 times
δ <i>three monosyllables</i> .....	4 times

<sup>6</sup>This term *motive* is used to designate any dominant metrical design or sequence.

Evidences of iambic movement are seen in the sequence of quantities, the great frequency of breaks after the third space, the frequency of trisyllables as shown in *a*, and the fact that *β* outnumbered *γ*.

*Fourth Space.* (≡ - - -) In 51 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

<i>a</i> quadrisyllable .....	0 times
<i>β</i> trisyllable monosyllable .....	34 times
<i>γ</i> monosyllable trisyllable .....	2 times
<i>δ</i> dissyllable dissyllable .....	0 times
<i>ε</i> monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable .....	13 times
<i>ζ</i> monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable .....	0 times
<i>η</i> dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable .....	2 times
<i>θ</i> four monosyllables .....	0 times

Evidences of iambic movement are seen in the sequence of quantities, the infrequency of breaks after the fourth space, the facts under *a* and *δ*, the way *β* outnumbered *γ*, and the way *ε* outnumbered *ζ*.

*Fifth Space.* (≡ - - - -) In 52 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by :

<i>a</i> pentasyllable .....	3 times
<i>β</i> monosyllable quadrisyllable .....	5 times
<i>γ</i> quadrisyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
<i>δ</i> trisyllable dissyllable .....	23 times
<i>ε</i> dissyllable trisyllable .....	12 times
<i>ζ</i> monosyllable monosyllable trisyllable .....	1 time
<i>η</i> trisyllable monosyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
<i>θ</i> monosyllable trisyllable monosyllable .....	1 time
<i>ι</i> monosyllable dissyllable dissyllable .....	5 times
<i>κ</i> dissyllable monosyllable dissyllable .....	1 time
<i>λ</i> dissyllable dissyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
<i>μ</i> dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
<i>ν</i> monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
<i>ξ</i> monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable monosyllable .....	0 times
<i>ο</i> monosyllable monosyllable monosyllable dissyllable .....	1 time
<i>π</i> five monosyllables .....	0 times

Evidences of iambic movement are seen in a comparison of *β* and *γ*, of *δ* and *ε*, and of *ι*, *κ*, and *λ*. The relatively small number

of breaks after the fifth space makes it clear that this verse is not divided into set phrases of sound. Thus *B*, though beginning with the same quantities as *A*, has a different opening cadence. Kiessling pointed out that when a word ends in the fifth space, the effect of the break is generally subdued by the presence of a monosyllable in the sixth space. This feature affords a good example of the way Horace's art underwent change. In Book I four verses have a word ending in the fifth space without a following monosyllable (16, 3; 26, 7; 29, 11; 35, 11). In Book II there are seven such verses (1, 11; 3, 3; 13, 27; 14, 11; 19, 7; 19, 11; 19, 19). In Books III and IV they disappear altogether. Since words seldom end in the fourth or fifth space, a monosyllable is not likely to occur often in the fifth space. Only one example is found, namely *et* in II, 3, 27, and this is neutralized by elision. Owing to the general avoidance of words ending in the fifth space, only two verses end with a quadrisyllable (II, 3, 3; 19, 19) and only eight end with two dissyllables (I, 16, 3; 26, 7; 29, 11; II, 1, 11; 13, 27; 14, 11; 19, 7; 19, 11). It is an interesting fact, as Mr. Page points out, that in six of these cases the first dissyllable of the pair is repeated at the outset of the succeeding verse. For example:

*Alcae, plectro dura navis,  
dura fugae mala, dura belli.*

(II, 13, 27-28.)

Horace departed from his Greek models by putting invariably a long syllable in the fifth space.

*Sixth Space.* (= - - - -) In 251 verses a break occurs after this space, a mark of iambic movement, for toward the close of such a verse the usages of diaeresis and caesura undergo a change, breaks after the even syllables becoming numerous.

The favorite combinations of words at the close of a verse are, in order of preference:

*trisyllable trisyllable,  
monosyllable dissyllable,  
monosyllable trisyllable.*

(Table III.)

Words of more than three syllables occurring in this verse are interesting as regards both their rarity and their position. Only one hexasyllable occurs and that ends in the seventh space. Among 11 pentasyllables, 3 end in the fifth space, 3 in the sixth, and 5 in the seventh. Among 69 quadrisyllables, 5 end in the fifth space, 26 in the sixth, 36 in the seventh, and 2 in the ninth. Thus these polysyllables tend to occur in the middle of the verse.

(3) By a process of reasoning similar to that followed on p. 177 ff., it appears that Horace felt the rhythm of the first four syllables as a foot in the shape of a diiamb. Especially significant is the fact that not a single verse has a word ending in the fourth space unless it be a monosyllable or trisyllable. The next four syllables also conform to a diiamb.

This foot, it should be remembered, occurs in Alcaeus and Sappho both as  $-\ - \ - \ -$  and  $\ - \ - \ - \ -$ . The extreme rarity of the latter form in Horace's alcaic strophe may be due to the abundance of long syllables in Latin, to the fact that this form by itself is metrically ambiguous, being either a quadrisyllabic foot or two dissyllabic feet, and to the fact that the *gravitas Romana* with which Horace invested his Odes is better served by the form of the diiamb containing three long syllables. In reading the foot  $-\ - \ - \ -$  it does not stand to reason that the ancients consciously shortened the initial syllable. Any positive reduction in length at this point would often confuse the sense. For example, shortening the initial syllable of *cānēs* ('thou art hoary'), which might conceivably be the word concerned, would result in *cānēs* ('dogs'). The same applies to scores of words subject to a similar change of meaning, should the first syllable be shortened. The fact that  $-\ - \ - \ -$  is in effect a hexasemic foot is rather to be explained on other grounds. To be sure, this diiamb, when exactly measured, seems to be overlong to the extent of a *mora*; but since the overlength is in the first syllable of the foot, and since the compass of the foot is large, the excess is neither enough nor in a position to unbalance the rhythm. Compare in this connection the ditrochee, which is also hexasemic in effect and frequently has three long syllables ( $\ - \ - \ - \ -$ ), thus being overlong in the last syllable of the foot.

The final syllable of this verse remains to be accounted for. According to some scholars (Masqueray: *Métrique*, section 276, Gleditsch: section 150, 3), *B* and *C* of the Greek Alcaic strophe are held to be in effect one long verse. However that may be, Horace certainly felt *B* and *C* as separate verses, as is shown by the fact that he admitted *syllaba anceps* at the close of *B*, as well as interverse hiatus between *B* and *C* (Table V). According to O. Schroeder (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1904, Nr. 51), *B* is an iambic pentapody (*Fünfheber*), the final syllable representing an iamb.

The conclusions reached in this paper support the view held by Kiessling and many others, namely, that *B* is hypercatalectic. The transition from the ascending rhythm of this verse to the descending rhythm of *C* is facilitated by the extra syllable, just as is the case in the following examples:

<p>— — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,</p>	<p>Bacchyl. VII, b. 14-15. Cf. XI, 2-3.</p> <p>" XII, str. 2-4. Cf. ep. 3-4.</p> <p>" XVIII, str. 1-2.</p> <p>" XIII, ep. 6-7.</p> <p>" VIII, str. 8-9. Cf. ep. 3-4.</p>
---	--

Especially significant are the following:

<p>— — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,  — — — — —,</p>	<p>Bacchyl. XIV, str. 3-5.  Cf. Pindar, fr. 124<sup>c</sup>, 1-2; fr. 126, 1-2.</p> <p>Bacchyl. XIV, ep. 1-3.  Cf. Pindar, fr. 122, 1-3.</p>
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In the last example line 1 nearly equals *A*, line 2 equals *B*, line 3 is like *C* in having a descending rhythm part of which is trochaic. It seems fair to say that line 2 (which equals *B*) is an Iambic Dimeter Hypercatalectic (not a pentapody), since the next to the

last example clearly shows that a dimeter may legitimately occur in this metrical context.

Verse *B*, then, may be classed as an Iambic Dimeter Hypercatalectic and is to be represented thus:

~ - - - , - - - - , ~

### C. THE TEN-SYLLABLE ALCAIC.

(1) There are 512 possible ways of arranging words in a verse of ten syllables. In this Alcaic the poet employed but 51, confining himself as a rule to the 10 following:

- |  |            |
|--|------------|
| 1. egit equos volucremque currum ..... | (49 cases) |
| 2. divitiis potietur heres .....       | (36 cases) |
| 3. vis rapuit rapietque gentis .....   | (33 cases) |
| 4. purpureo varius colore .....        | (27 cases) |
| 5. levia personuere saxa .....         | (18 cases) |
| 6. Pegasus expedit Chimaera .....      | (16 cases) |
| 7. fronde nova puerum palumbes .....   | (13 cases) |
| 8. Delius et Patareus Apollo .....     | (13 cases) |
| 9. pomifero grave tempus anno .....    | (13 cases) |
| 10. in domini caput inmerentis .....   | (11 cases) |

(2) The metrical character of this verse is revealed in the following analysis:

*First Space.* In 69 verses this space is occupied by a *monosyllable*.

*Second Space.* ( - - ) In 101 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

- |  |          |
|--|----------|
| α <i>dissyllable</i> .....               | 99 times |
| β <i>monosyllable monosyllable</i> ..... | 2 times  |

*Third Space.* ( - ~ - ) In 79 verses a break occurs after this space. Among these cases the break is preceded by:

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| α <i>trissyllable</i> .....             | 60 times |
| β <i>monosyllable dissyllable</i> ..... | 9 times  |
| γ <i>dissyllable monosyllable</i> ..... | 10 times |
| δ <i>three monosyllables</i> .....      | 0 times  |

Daetylic meter is here suggested, for an initial trissyllable occurs less frequently than an initial dissyllable (99 cases) (compare *A* and *B*), and β and γ enjoy virtually equal favor (compare *A* and *B*).



**Fourth Space.** (---) In 252 verses a break occurs after this space. It is preceded by :

$\alpha$	<i>quadrisyllable</i> .....	87 times
$\beta$	<i>dissyllable dissyllable</i> .....	81 times
$\gamma$	<i>monosyllable trisyllable</i> .....	55 times
$\delta$	<i>trisyllable monosyllable</i> .....	20 times
$\epsilon$	other combinations .....	9 times

The unequal favor enjoyed by  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  points to dactylic meter.

**Fifth Space.** (----) In 14 verses a break occurs after this space. It is preceded by *trisyllable dissyllable* four times. A break after the fifth space falls between two short syllables and is so situated in the verse as to produce a weak effect, which seems to account for its infrequency.

**Sixth Space.** (-----) In 52 verses a break occurs after this space. It is never preceded by *hexasyllable*, and by *trisyllable trisyllable* but once, namely, in IV, 4, 72, where the second trisyllable exists only so far as arises from an elided quadrisyllable. This is strong evidence of dactylic meter.

**Seventh Space.** (-----) In 112 verses a break occurs after this space. It is never preceded by either *trisyllable trisyllable monosyllable* or *hexasyllable monosyllable*, which points to dactylic meter. The general conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing points is that Horace felt the first six syllables of *C* as two dactylic feet. Since words are seldom allowed to end in the fifth or sixth space, polysyllables are barred, as a rule, from beginning in the sixth or seventh space and, therefore, tend to gravitate to the initial or middle parts of the verse.

The usual combinations of words at the close of the verse are, in order of preference :

<i>quadrisyllable dissyllable,</i>	
<i>trisyllable trisyllable,</i>	
<i>dissyllable dissyllable,</i>	
<i>quadrisyllable trisyllable.</i>	(Table III.)

(3) We are now in a position to identify the meter throughout the whole verse. Hephaestion (quoted by Gleditsch, p. 173 ff.) applies the term *logaoedic* to dactylic or anapaestic verses in whose initial or final parts (or both) the arses consist, not of pairs of short syllables, but of single short ones. He cites *C* as an ex-

ample (*Ench.*, VII, 8, C.). By reading the dactylic dipody with a more rapid *tempo* than is given the final ditrochee the time relations of the verse are as a whole kept true (see Westphal: *Allg. Metrik d. Gr.*, III, 1, p. 366; Masqueray: p. 328; Gleditsch: section 142). Compare in this connection the substituted anapaests and dactyls in Horace's Epodes; these feet, which are ordinarily tetrasemic, are there given trisemic values. Further light is thrown on the metrical structure of *C* by the following verses, some of which are logaoedic and some trochaic:

$\alpha$ {	----- -----	Hybrias ( <i>Anth. Lyr.</i> p. 275).
$\beta$	-----	Bacchyl. fr. 20, str. 2; cf. XV, str. 4.
$\gamma$	----- -----	Simonides, fr. 57.
$\delta$	-----	Aristoteles, fr. 5, 15.
$\epsilon$	-----	Simonides, fr. 30.
$\zeta$	-----	Praxilla, fr. 5; cf. Bacchyl. XV, str. 5.
$\eta$	-----, -----, -----, -----, -----, -----,	
{	-----, -----, -----,	Aleman, fr. 5, str. 9-14.

Here --- and -- seem to be made equivalent in time value. This is especially evident in the alternative forms of the same verse (included within braces). Examples  $\alpha$ - $\gamma$  end somewhat like *C*,  $\delta$ - $\zeta$  quite in its manner. A line having the exact form of *C* concludes three of the strophes in Aleman, fr. 5; it occurs also in Ibycus, fr. 1, 9; 8c, 1; 8e, 1; 13, 4; 15, 2; Bacchyl., IV, str. 6; and eighteen passages of Greek dramatic poetry cited by W. Christ: *Grundfragen der melischen Metrik der Griechen*, Abhandl. der Akad. der Wissensch., Philos.-philol. Cl., München, 1902, 270f. It is found to follow iambic and other kinds of verses; not infrequently it is used to conclude a strophe. Since strophes having a distinct kind of verse as *clausula* are abundant, nothing stands in the way of our taking *C* as a logaoedic verse in the shape of a

dactylic dipody followed by a ditrochee. It may be termed a Dactylotrochaic Dimeter,<sup>7</sup> being represented thus:

- - - - - , - - - - -

#### THE STROPHE AS A WHOLE.

The poet's feeling for the strophe as a whole is reflected in the following points:

(1) Elision occurs 69 times in the first verse of the strophe, 59 times in the second, 38 times in the third, and 31 times in the final verse. Interverse elision occurs twice (II, 3, 27-28; III, 29, 35-36).

(2) Since interverse hiatus works against the unity and even flow of the strophe, we should expect to find it occurring less and less often as Horace's art develops. Such turns out to be the fact, as appears in Table V.

(3) Sense-pauses are numerous within the first verse of the strophe, still more so in the second, infrequent in the third, and rare in the fourth. The majority are not coincident with the main rhythmical pauses, the sense being made to run on from verse to verse, and strophe to strophe.

(4) Long words tend to occur in the latter part of *A*, but in the middle of *B* and of *C*. Furthermore, as regards word-lengths and combinations of words, Tables II and III show that (1) each verse has different habits of beginning and ending (the extremes of *B*, however, do not differ greatly); (2) *A* has characteristic ways of beginning, *B* has others, *C* still others; (3) much the same may be said of their closing, the final effects of the *clausula*, however, being especially well differentiated from those of the other verses.

(5) We may here consider the question whether the Aleaic strophe of Book IV differs materially from that of Horace's earlier work. A comparison shows results somewhat as follows: Type 1, as recorded on p. 176, occurs in Book IV ten times, type 2 eleven times, type 3 once, type 4 not at all, type 5 twice, type 6 once, type 7 six times. In short, it turns out that certain forms

<sup>7</sup>Justification for bringing two dactyls within one *meter* is found in Gleditsch: section 65, 1, *fn.*

of verse abundantly represented in Books I-III are relatively much less frequent in Book IV, and *vice versa*, the general result being that in the poet's later work the range of lyric effects is somewhat narrower. The bold and exceptional features of the strophe, cited *passim* in the foregoing pages, point to the same conclusion, since they are in large measure confined to Books I-III. Light is sometimes thrown on the date of an Ode's composition by tests along these lines.

(6) The location of the ictus is a matter not so easily determined as the form of the feet. However, we seem to be warranted in holding that an ictus belonged to each foot, and that if it belonged to the first half of a given foot, it belonged to the same half of all the feet alike. An ictus hardly belonged to the final two syllables of the major ionic (— — —) or the dactylic dipody (— — — — —). This leads one to infer that in each foot the ictus belonged to the first half. The interpretation of the *Seikilos* inscription and Anonymus Bellermannius, section 85, given by F. Blass (*Hermes*, 35 [1900], 342; *Neue Jahrb. klass. Altertum*, 3 [1899], 42) points to the first half of a diamb as the place of the ictus.

(7) The strophe as a whole may be represented, from the standpoint of reading, thus:

*A* ≈ ˘ — —, — || ˘ — —, ˘ — ≈ ˘

*A* ≈ ˘ — —, — || ˘ — —, ˘ — ≈ ˘

*B* ≈ ˘ — —, — ˘ — —, ≈

*C* ˘ — — — — —, ˘ — — ≈

TABLE 1.

The number of times that a word ends at any given point in the strophe is shown in the following table. For example, among the 634 verses included under *A*, 199 begin with a monosyllable, 291 are so composed that a word ends with the second space, 308 with the third space, and so on.

	1st space	2nd space	3rd space	4th space	5th space	6th space	7th space	8th space	9th space	10th space	11th space
A....	199	291	308	53	629	202	144	346	242	7	634
B....	84	83	259	51	52	251	102	10	317	.....	.....
C....	69	101	79	252	14	52	112	199	0	317	.....

Elided syllables are neglected, *sententia*, for example, with *a* elided, being counted as a trisyllable. The enclitics *-que*, *-ve*, *-ne* are not treated as separate words, *inversique* being counted as a quadrisyllable. Other enclitics and proclitics appear separately in the tables, owing to the difficulty of establishing a clear line of demarcation between these words and those that are really independent. But in drawing inferences concerning metrical structure the character of the words involved has, wherever possible, been taken into account.

The Kiessling text of Horace (edition of 1890) is the basis of these investigations. Pindar is cited according to the edition of Schroeder 1900, Bacchylides according to the edition of Blass 1905, other Greek lyric poets according to the Hiller-Crusius edition of Bergk's *Anthologia Lyrica* 1901.

TABLE II.

Summary of word-lengths at the beginning of all four verses.

	In A	In B	In C	
1	80	8	2	verses begin: 'monosyllable monosyllable.'
2	67	65	9	verses begin: 'monosyllable dissyllable.'
3	10	2	55	verses begin: 'monosyllable trisyllable.'
4	42	5	2	verses begin: 'monosyllable quadrisyllable.'
5	0	3	0	verses begin: 'monosyllable pentasyllable.'
6	0	1	1	verses begin: 'monosyllable hexasyllable.'
7	33	35	10	verses begin: 'dissyllable monosyllable.'
8	3	0	81	verses begin: 'dissyllable dissyllable.'
9	175	12	1	verses begin: 'dissyllable trisyllable.'
10	0	23	0	verses begin: 'dissyllable quadrisyllable.'
11	0	5	4	verses begin: 'dissyllable pentasyllable.'
12	0	0	3	verses begin: 'dissyllable hexasyllable.'
13	22	34	20	verses begin: 'trisyllable monosyllable.'
14	176	23	4	verses begin: 'trisyllable dissyllable.'
15	1	77	1	verses begin: 'trisyllable trisyllable.'
16	0	21	17	verses begin: 'trisyllable quadrisyllable.'
17	0	0	18	verses begin: 'trisyllable pentasyllable.'
18	4	0	3	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable monosyllable.'
19	0	0	17	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable dissyllable.'
20	0	0	29	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable trisyllable.'
21	0	0	36	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable quadrisyllable.'
22	0	0	0	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable pentasyllable.'
23	0	0	2	verses begin: 'quadrisyllable hexasyllable.'
24	9	2	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable monosyllable.'
25	6	1	2	verses begin: 'pentasyllable dissyllable.'
26	3	0	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable trisyllable.'
27	2	0	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable quadrisyllable.'
28	0	0	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable pentasyllable.'
29	1	0	0	verses begin: 'pentasyllable hexasyllable.'
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	634	317	317	

TABLE III.

Summary of word-lengths in the concluding portions of all four verses.

	In A	In B	In C	
1	2	2	0	verses end: 'monosyllable monosyllable.'
2	52	39	9	verses end: 'monosyllable dissyllable.'
3	44	36	5	verses end: 'monosyllable trisyllable.'
4	2	0	0	verses end: 'monosyllable quadrisyllable.'
5	19	0	0	verses end: 'monosyllable pentasyllable.'
6	2	7	0	verses end: 'dissyllable monosyllable.'
7	32	8	34	verses end: 'dissyllable dissyllable.'
8	76	31	8	verses end: 'dissyllable trisyllable.'
9	63	0	12	verses end: 'dissyllable quadrisyllable.'
10	0	0	0	verses end: 'dissyllable pentasyllable.'
11	3	0	0	verses end: 'dissyllable hexasyllable.'
12	1	1	0	verses end: 'trisyllable monosyllable.'
13	82	12	5	verses end: 'trisyllable dissyllable.'
14	170	115	64	verses end: 'trisyllable trisyllable.'
15	0	1	1	verses end: 'trisyllable quadrisyllable.'
16	1	0	0	verses end: 'trisyllable pentasyllable.'
17	3	0	0	verses end: 'trisyllable hexasyllable.'
18	1	0	0	verses end: 'quadrisyllable monosyllable.'
19	73	35	127	verses end: 'quadrisyllable dissyllable.'
20	3	20	22	verses end: 'quadrisyllable trisyllable.'
21	0	1	0	verses end: 'quadrisyllable quadrisyllable.'
22	0	0	0	verses end: 'quadrisyllable pentasyllable.'
23	2	0	2	verses end: 'quadrisyllable hexasyllable.'
24	1	0	0	verses end: 'pentasyllable monosyllable.'
25	1	5	21	verses end: 'pentasyllable dissyllable.'
26	0	3	3	verses end: 'pentasyllable trisyllable.'
27	1	0	0	verses end: 'pentasyllable hexasyllable.'
28	0	0	0	verses end: 'hexasyllable monosyllable.'
29	0	1	3	verses end: 'hexasyllable dissyllable.'
30	0	0	1	verses end: 'hexasyllable trisyllable.'
	634	317	317	

TABLE IV.

This table takes account of all words found in Horace's *Alcaic strophe*, showing their length in terms of syllables, their relative frequency, and the places of the verse in which they end. The table is to be read as follows: 199 monosyllables stand in the first space of *A*; 211 dissyllables end in the second space of *A*; 60 trisyllables end in the third space of *C*; and so on.

		1st space	2nd space	3rd space	4th space	5th space	6th space	7th space	8th space	9th space	10th space	11th space	Total
Monosyllables in	<i>A</i> :	199	80	42	31	49*	201	4	45	52	2	7†	712
	<i>B</i> :	84	8	39	49	1‡	41	39	2	10			273
	<i>C</i> :	69	2	10	27	4	1	5	9				127
Dissyllables in	<i>A</i> :		211	67	8	276		140	94	33	2	240	1071
	<i>B</i> :		75	65		30	37	8	7	100			322
	<i>C</i> :		99	9	83	5	49	8	34		189		476
Trisyllables in	<i>A</i> :			199	10	241	1		205	83	1	293	1033
	<i>B</i> :			155	2	13	144	13	1	205			533
	<i>C</i> :			60	55	1	2	70	5		103		296
Quadrisyllables in	<i>A</i> :				4	42			3	73	1	65	181
	<i>B</i> :					5	26	36		2			69
	<i>C</i> :				87	2	23	127			13		232
Pentasyllables in	<i>A</i> :					21				1	1	20	43
	<i>B</i> :					3	3	5					11
	<i>C</i> :					2		4	21				27
Hexasyllables in	<i>A</i> :											9	9
	<i>B</i> :							1					1
	<i>C</i> :							1	3		2		6

\* Of these 12 are preceded by elision (2 in Book I, 2 in Book II, and 8 in Book III) and 3 arise from elided dissyllables.

† All preceded by elision, except two.

‡ Preceded by elision.



TABLE V.

Interverse hiatus occurs fifty times, as shown in the following enumeration. Cases falling between verse *C* and verse *A* are enclosed within parentheses, being less objectionable than those within a single strophe; cases involving an exclamative monosyllable, likewise little objectionable, are marked with an asterisk.

I, 9, 7* ; 14.	
I, 16, (16) ; 27.	
I, 17, 6 ; 13 ; (16) ; 25.	
I, 26. None.	
I, 27. None.	Total:
I, 29. None.	11 cases within strophes.
I, 31, 5 ; 14.	4 cases between strophes.
I, 34. None.	
I, 35, 9 ; (12) ; (32) ; 38.	
I, 37, 11.	
II, 1, (12).	
II, 3, (12) ; (24).	
II, 5, 9.	
II, 7. None.	
II, 9, 3 ; (12).	
II, 11. None.	Total:
II, 13, (4) ; 7 ; (8) ; 11 ; 21 ; 26 ; (28).	8 cases within strophes.
II, 14, 3.	9 cases between strophes.
II, 15. None.	
II, 17, (4*) ; (20).	
II, 19, 31.	
II, 20. None.	
III, 1. None.	
III, 2, 17 ; (24).	
III, 3, (8) ; (40).	
III, 4, (4) ; (16) ; (28) ; (72) ; (76).	
III, 5, 10 ; 11 ; (12) ; (24) ; (36) ; 46.	Total:
III, 6. None.	4 cases within strophes.
III, 17. None.	12 cases between strophes.
III, 21. None.	
III, 23, (16).	
III, 26. None.	
III, 29. None.	
IV, 4, (4).	
IV, 9. None.	Total:
IV, 14. None.	1 case within a strophe.
IV, 15, 10.	1 case between strophes.

Many instances of interverse hiatus in a poem indicate immaturity in the poet's art, intractability of material, or conditions of composition some way unfavorable. Ode II, 13, for example, shows not only seven cases of interverse hiatus but the following unusual points: Verse 22 (*A*) has a form not found elsewhere in Horace; that of verse 33 (*A*) occurs again only in II, 7, 13; that of verse 14 (*A*) occurs again only in I, 34, 10, and III, 4, 17; that of verse 27 (*B*) is unique; that of verse 19 (*B*) occurs again only in III, 6, 11; that of verse 8 (*C*) is unique; that of verse 12 occurs again only in I, 9, 24.

TABLE VI.

Features of rare occurrence may by their very rarity throw light on the nature of the verse. One may thus see what the poet generally avoids and, by contrast, what he seeks. The following verses of Horace are each unique as regards arrangement of caesuras and diaereses. Rightly interpreted they form a sort of *Alcaic antibarbarus*.

I, 9, 8	O Thaliarche merum diota.	(C)
I, 9, 13	quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et.	(A)
I, 16, 24	fervor et in celeres iambos.	(C)
I, 17, 14	et musa cordi est. hic tibi copia.	(A)
I, 26, 11	hunc Leabio sacrare plectro.	(B)
I, 26, 12	teque tuasque decet sorores.	(C)
I, 27, 14	mercede. quae te cumque domat Venus.	(A)
I, 29	None.	
I, 31, 13	dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater.	(A)
I, 31, 16	me cichorea levesque malvae.	(C)
I, 34, 10	quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari.	(A)
I, 35, 11	regumque matres barbarorum et.	(B)
I, 35, 21	te Spes et albo rara Fides colit.	(A)
I, 35, 39	incude diffingas retusum in.	(B)
I, 37, 6	cellis avitis dum Capitolio.	(A)
I, 37, 14	mentemque lymphatam Mareotico.	(A)
I, 37, 20	Haemoniae daret ut catenis.	(C)
II, 1, 4	principum amicitias et arma.	(C)
II, 1, 11	res ordinariae grande munus	(B)
II, 1, 35	non decoloravere caedes.	(B)
II, 1, 36	quae caret ora cruore nostro.	(C)
II, 3, 3	ab insolenti temperatam.	(B)
II, 3, 13	huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis.	(A)
II, 3, 15	dum res et aetas et sororum.	(B)
II, 3, 22	nil interest an pauper et infima.	(A)
II, 3, 27	sors exitura et nos in aeternum.	(B)
II, 5	None.	
II, 7, 19	depone sub lauru mea nec.	(B)
II, 9, 4	usque nec Armeniis in oris.	(C)
II, 9, 13	at non ter aevo functus amabilem.	(A)
II, 11, 4	quaerere nec trepides in usum.	(C)
II, 11, 10	vernix neque uno luna rubens nitet.	(A)
II, 11, 13	cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac.	(A)
II, 13, 8	hospitis; ille venena Colcha.	(C)
II, 14, 11	enaviganda sive reges.	(B)
II, 15, 5	evincet ulmos. tum violaria et.	(A)
II, 17, 2	nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius.	(A)
II, 17, 21	utrumque nostrum incredibili modo.	(A)

II, 19, 19	nodo coerces viperino.	(B)
II, 19, 26	ludoque dictus non sat idoneus.	(A)
II, 20	None.	
III, 1, 11	descendat in campum petitor.	(B)
III, 2, 5	vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat.	(A)
III, 3, 24	cum populo et duce fraudulentio.	(C)
III, 3, 49	aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm.	(A)
III, 3, 64	coniuge me Iovis et sorore.	(C)
III, 4, 8	quos et aquae subeunt et aurae.	(C)
III, 4, 9	me fabulosae Volture in Appulo.	(A)
III, 4, 20	non sine dis animosus infans.	(C)
III, 4, 41	vos lene consilium et datis et dato.	(A)
III, 4, 59	Volcanus hinc matrona Iuno et.	(B)
III, 4, 70	sententiarum notus et integrae.	(A)
III, 4, 75	missos ad Oreum nec peredit.	(B)
III, 5, 10	ancillorum et nominis et togae.	(A)
III, 5, 12	incolumi Iove et urbe Roma.	(C)
III, 5, 14	dissentientis condicionibus.	(A)
III, 5, 21	derepta vidi, vidi ego civium.	(A)
III, 5, 43	ab se removisse et virilem.	(B)
III, 5, 56	aut Laedaemonium Tarentum.	(C)
III, 6, 18	primum inquinavere et genus et domos.	(A)
III, 17	None.	
III, 21, 10	sermonibus te negleget horridus.	(A)
III, 21, 21	te Liber et si laeta aderit Venus.	(A)
III, 23	None.	
III, 26, 9	O quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum et.	(A)
III, 29, 3	cum flore Maecenas rosarum et.	(B)
III, 29, 5	iamdudum apud me est. eripe te morae.	(A)
III, 29, 7	declive contempleris arvum et.	(B)
III, 29, 9	fastidiosam desere copiam et.	(A)
III, 29, 12	fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.	(C)
III, 29, 30	caliginosa nocte premit deus.	(A)
III, 29, 32	fas trepidat. quod adest memento.	(C)
III, 29, 40	cum fera diluvies quietos.	(C)
III, 29, 49	Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et.	(A)
IV, 4, 9	venti paventem mox in ovilia.	(A)
IV, 4, 22	nec scire fas est omnia sed diu.	(A)
IV, 4, 52	fallere et effugere est triumphus.	(C)
IV, 4, 56	per tulit Ausonias ad urbis.	(C)
IV, 4, 72	nominis Hasdrubale interempto.	(C)
IV, 9, 1	ne forte credas interitura quae	(A)
IV, 9, 26	multi sed omnes inlacrimabiles.	(A)
IV, 14, 5	aeternae O qua sol habitabilis.	(A)
IV, 14, 17	spectandus in certamine Martio.	(A)
IV, 14, 24	mittere equum medios per ignis.	(C)
IV, 14, 33	te copias te consilium et tuos.	(A)
IV, 15	None.	

It must not be supposed that because a verse is rare in form it is necessarily crude. Some verses are rare (1) by design, as, for instance, might result from onomatopoeia; some (2) by chance, the unusual features being purely accidental; some (3) by defect. Like the cases of interverse hiatus, these last arise from immaturity in the poet's art, intractability of material, or conditions of composition some way unfavorable, as may be inferred from the circumstance that where such verses abound other irregularities are likely to be found. In I, 37, for example, along with the unduly similar word-arrangements of verses 21, 22, and 23, the objectionable fifth-space division of verse 23, the absence of the regular division in verses 5 and 14, the two dissyllables at the outset of verse 5, and other features shown in the three examples above quoted, we find interverse hiatus after verse 11 and a short initial syllable in verses 15 and 22. In III, 4, along with the monosyllable closing verse 59 and other features shown in the seven examples above, we find a prosodic irregularity in verse 41 and five cases of interverse hiatus. In III, 29, along with four verses closing with a monosyllable (three in the first three strophes), the two dissyllables at the outset of verse 5, and the other features shown in the nine examples above, we find verses 35-36 connected by interverse elision. It should be noted also in this poem that the form of verse 36 is repeated in verse 52, but nowhere else in Horace, and the form of verse 2 occurs elsewhere only in III, 4, 65.

TABLE VII.

Horace allowed a short syllable to begin a verse of the Alcaic Strophe in the following cases:

I, 9, 1	A
I, 16, 19	B
I, 17, 7	B
I, 27, 17	A
I, 27, 22	A
I, 29, 7	B
I, 29, 14	A (common syllable)
I, 31, 9	A
I, 31, 17	A
I, 35, 15	B
I, 35, 37	A
I, 35, 38	A
I, 37, 15	B
I, 37, 22	A
II, 1, 6	A
II, 3, 3	B
II, 7, 22	A
II, 9, 5	A
II, 13, 29	A (common syllable)
II, 14, 6	A
II, 17, 3	B
II, 17, 21	A (common syllable)
II, 19, 22	A
II, 20, 11	B
III, 1, 2	A
III, 1, 22	A
III, 1, 26	A
III, 3, 34	A
III, 3, 71	B
III, 4, 78	A
III, 5, 22	A
III, 29, 11	B
IV, 4, 58	A (common syllable)

Summary of cases in A (common syllables not included):

Book I .....	8 cases
Book II .....	5 cases
Book III .....	6 cases
Book IV .....	0 cases
Total .....	19 cases

Summary of cases in *B*:

Book I .....	5 cases
Book II .....	3 cases
Book III .....	2 cases
Book IV .....	0 cases
	<hr/>
Total .....	10 cases







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Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 205-262

June, 1907

SOME PHASES OF THE RELATION OF  
THOUGHT TO VERSE IN PLAUTUS

BY

HENRY W. PRESCOTT

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SOME PHASES OF THE RELATION OF  
THOUGHT TO VERSE IN PLAUTUS

BY

HENRY W. PRESCOTT.

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In his study of the Saturnian verse Leo has recently stated his conception of the relation of thought to verse in early Latin poetry: "in early Latin verse," Leo says, with reference especially to the Saturnian, "verse and sentence are identical; art-poetry in its beginnings" (and he refers to Plautus as illustrative of the principle)," when sentence-structure was developing, resisted this inherent requirement and limited itself to the norm by which words in the sentence intimately connected in thought were not separated by the verse unless the separation was justified by special considerations: externally, by reason of length, or by the colligation of words through alliteration or other means of connection; internally, by reason of emphasis or some stylistic effect of the word thus separated."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>"Vers und Satz fallen ursprünglich zusammen; . . . Die Kunstpoesie hat in ihren Anfängen, wie sich die Satzbildung mächtig entwickelte, mit dieser der Poesie innewohnenden Forderung gekämpft und sie auf die Norm beschränkt, dass im Satze eng zusammengehörige Wörter nicht durch den Vers getrennt werden dürfen, wenn sich nicht die Trennung durch einen besonderen Umstand als berechtigt erweist; äusserlich durch Länge, durch allitterierende oder andere einander suchende und anziehende Wortverbindungen, innerlich durch Nachdruck oder sonst stilistische Absicht des gesonderten Worts. So erscheint der Gebrauch bei Plautus ausgebildet." Der saturnische Vers 14 = Abhandl. Götting. Gesell. (1905).

In 1881 Buecheler reminded Schoell that only pronominal adjectives were separated from their nouns by the verse-end, that almost no other adjectives were so treated, in the text of Plautus (*Truculentus*, ed. Schoell, praefatio XLV, n. 1). Buecheler repeated this admonition in

Leo has left to others the task of testing the validity of his law. I have attempted to gather and study the evidence offered by one group of examples in Plautus, the cases in which adjectival words, whether ordinary attributives, pronominal adjectives, or numerals, are separated from their substantives by the verse. In many respects the study must be descriptive: the lack of similar studies in Greek poetry, and the fragmentary remains of earlier Latin poetry, usually of uncertain metrical constitution, retard a convincing account of Plautus's position in the historical development of verse-technique. Nor will it be just to confirm or refute Leo's theory until other phases of the problem in Plautus, and the corresponding phenomena in Greek poetry are investigated. For the present, the study may suggest points of view and methods of approach, which will doubtless need readjustment as the problem is studied in its larger aspects.

## I.

Among the features that Leo enumerates as justifying separation is length: this element may be a matter of syllables, or in addition to syllables may include an extension of thought. That is, a given word may be long, or a thought-unit involving several words may be long. In either case, it is not at once clear that length occasions the separation. If, however, as appears to be

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Rh. Mus. 41 (1887) 312. In 1893 Appuhn published his dissertation: *Quaestiones Plautinae. Quae rationes inter versus singulos sententiasque intercedant Plauti exemplo comprobatur* (Marburg). Interpretative analysis was impossible in this attempt to cover a large field within the compass of a doctor's dissertation.

Norden summarizes the usage of Vergil in *Aeneis* Buch VI, 390-391. For references to studies of the general question of the collocation of words, as well as of the special question under consideration, cf. the same work 382 n. 1, and the same author's *Die antike Kunstprosa* I 68 n. 1.

In the present paper the song-measures are excluded; I have not knowingly included examples from such passages except for comparative purposes, and then their provenance is stated. I may be open to criticism in not dividing the material with reference to the metre of the verses concerned; but the results show no important differences between the technique of the iambic and trochaic verses, or of the shorter and longer verses, except such as may more conveniently be described parenthetically, and a metrical classification interferes with clearness of presentation.

the case,<sup>2</sup> words of five or more syllables that are metrically suitable regularly tend to the end of the verse, or less frequently to the beginning, it follows that, if such a word is a substantive or adjective, the difficulties in combining the two members of the pair in one verse are much greater than they otherwise would be. And similarly, a thought-unit consisting of a substantive and several adjectives, wherever they may be disposed in the verse, will by reason of the number of syllables, easily overflow into the next verse.

In a thorough treatment of Leo's theory predicative expressions should be included. The consciousness of verse-unity could not be better illustrated than in these two couplets:

isque hic compressit virginem adulescentulus  
(vi), vinulentus, multa nocte, in via. (Cist. 158)

quom hasce herbas huius modi in suom alvom congerunt  
formidulosas dictu, non essu modo. (Ps. 823)

But such cases of predicative expressions, involving long words, are apart from our immediate purpose. There are, however, a few cases of adjectives following their substantives (either adjective or substantive is of great length) and not so clearly predicative. Their position makes it possible that they amplify the meaning, in which case this amplifying force as well as length justify the separation. Most of these adjectives are derived from proper nouns; and since in almost all cases the adjectives stand at the beginning of the second verse it is significant to note that in Oscan and Umbrian proper adjectives usually follow their nouns:<sup>3</sup>

Philopolemum vivom, salvom et sospitem  
vidi in publica celoce, ibidemque illum adulescentulum  
Aleum una et tuom Stalagmum servom (Capt. 873)

<sup>2</sup> In the *Mostellaria*, for example, out of 90 cases of words of five or more syllables, two-thirds stand at the end of a verse; of the remaining third all but two are metrically impossible at the end. On the other hand words of four syllables are freely disposed in the interior of the verse. Five syllables is, therefore, assumed to be the minimum of length which may be regarded as offering difficulty.

<sup>3</sup> Nilsson, de collocatione pron. adj. apud Plautum et Terentium 10 = *Lunds Universitets Års-skrift* 37 (1901).



non ego te ad illum duco dentatum virum  
Macedoniensem, qui te nunc fientem facit: (Ps. 1040)

quem propter, o mea vita!—propter militem  
Babyloniensem, qui quasi uxorem sibi (Truc. 391)

sed illi patruo huius qui vivit senex  
Carthaginiensi duae fuere filiae: (Poen. 83)

These examples are of somewhat different value. In the first case, the length of *adulescentulum* and its consequent position (of fifteen occurrences of the word thirteen are at the end of the verse) are the controlling factors: *Aleum* is no more amplifying than in vs. 169 of the same play (*nam eccum hic captivom adulescentem (intus) Aleum, | prognatum genere summo et summis ditiis*) where the adjective is kept in the same verse with its shorter noun. The next two examples are alike in having the separated adjective followed by the caesural pause and an explanatory *qui*-clause.<sup>4</sup> In the last example, too, we have the caesural pause. Plautine usage of these adjectives points to length as the influential factor. *Carthaginiensis* occurs only at the beginning of the verse (Poen. 59, 84, 963, 997, 1377) with one exception (1124). *Babyloniensis* is less constant: at the beginning in Truc. 84, penultimate word in Truc. 203 (here, however, iambic septenarius; in the other cases, senarii); in all three cases the same phrase occurs. So we get *militem | Babyloniensem* (391), *| Babyloniensem militem* (84), *Babyloniensis miles |* (203). It is clear that length and metrical conditions are potent. *Macedoniensis* does not occur again: *Macedonius* takes its place (Ps. 51, 346, 616, 1090, 1152, 1162), and in all the cases except one (346) it stands at the end, different metrical constitution making it convenient in that position; in all the cases of *Macedonius*, however, separation is avoided except in the following couplet:

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Truc. 83:

quem antehac odiosum sibi esse memorabat mala,  
Babyloniensem militem: is nunc dicitur  
venturus peregre:

here the adjective is not separated, and a demonstrative resumes the description. For relative clauses defining separated adjectives cf. Seymour, Harv. Stud. III (1892) 98 ff., and for explanatory clauses after a separated demonstrative in Plautus cf. below, p. 252.

Pseudolus tuos allegavit hunc, quasi a Macedonio  
milite esset. (Ps. 1162)

In this case the adjective precedes, and the unity of thought is seriously affected. Such a case strengthens our feeling that in the examples in which the adjective follows its noun, it is not so much the amplifying force, which is difficult to prove, as it is the length that conduces to separation.

In a few cases of ordinary attributives, however, the thought, quite as much as the length, justifies the separation :

quom sexaginta milia hominum uno die  
volaticorum manibus occidi meis. (Poen. 472)

The swaggering antithesis of 60,000 and a single day<sup>5</sup> occupies the first verse, and crowds out *volaticorum*; but this adjective is in itself of a length that makes it most adaptable to the extremes of the verse—so in the conversation that follows our passage :

volaticorum hominum?—ita dico quidem.  
—an, opsecro, usquam sunt homines volatici?

Plautus is no slave to such external conditions, however, for the adjective by its separation and prominence produces the climax of surprising absurdity after the antithesis of the preceding verse. Nor is it far-fetched to suggest that the juxtaposition of *volaticorum* and *manibus*, “ wings ” and “ hands,” is not accidental. In both of the following cases the rest of the second verse is an explanation of the separated adjective or substantive,<sup>6</sup> which stands at the beginning of the second verse before a strong pause :

ut in ocellis hilaritudo est, heia, corpus cuius modi,  
subvoluturium—illud quidem, subaquilum volui dicere. (Rud. 421)

novi, Neptunus ita solet, quamvis fastidiosus<sup>7</sup>  
aedilis est; si quae improbae sunt merces, iactat omnis. (Rud. 372)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aul. 70, Aul. frag. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Leo, *Analecta Plautina: de figuris sermonis* II 31, refers to the word-play in *subvoluturium—volui*. For a slightly different explanation of a separated adjective cf. below, p. 224. More like our present example, but with a play on verbs, is *Frivolaria*, frag. 8.

<sup>7</sup> In the only other occurrence of the adjective, *fastidiosus* is in the same position (M. G. 1233).

There may be a difference of opinion in the interpretation of the second example: perhaps the second verse explains *fastidiosus* rather than *aedilis*. But in any case *aedilis* comes in as a surprise and, as in the first example, the separation and the position of the unexpected idea enhance the effect.

It is, of course, true that the separation seems more violent in the second case than in the first because the adjective precedes. Similarly in these examples:

quo modo me ludos fecisti de illa conducticia  
fidicina?—factum hercle vero, et recte factum iudico. (Ep. 706)

volo deludi illunc, dum cum hac usuraria  
uxore nunc mihi morigero. (Amph. 980)

In both of these the long prepositional phrase, quite apart from the long adjective, makes separation almost inevitable.<sup>8</sup> Without a preposition the accusative case *fidicinam—conducticiam* is accommodated in a single verse in Ep. 313; whereas the same phrase with *uxoraria* escapes separation only by occupying an entire verse:

cum Aleumena uxore usuraria. (Amph. 498)

The significant fact is that in all the few occurrences of *conducticia* and *usuraria* the adjectives stand at the end of the verse (Curc. 382, Truc. 72). The same position is the regular habitat of *praesentarius*, so that the following separation may in large measure be referred to the length of the adjective:

vendidit tuos natus aedis.—perii.—praesentariis  
argenti minis numeratis.—quot?—quadraginta.—occidi. (Trin. 1081)

(For other cases of this adjective at the end, Most. 361, 913, Poen. 705, 793.) The explosive alliteration in the first verse may, from Leo's standpoint, partially reestablish the unity of that verse; indeed, from an English point of view the idea "cash down" is a separable idea,<sup>9</sup> but we may not safely attribute it to *praesentarius*.

The fact that *argenti minis* constitutes an almost inseparable

<sup>8</sup> The alliteration in Ep. 707 is also to be noted.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *mutuos*, below, p. 234.

unit (usually at the end or beginning of a verse) adds to the difficulty. This brings us to examples of long thought-units. Such thought-units may be of two sorts: a substantive attended by a succession of adjectives of equal value, e. g. "a long, lean, rascally, devil of a fellow"; or a substantive accompanied by attributive modifiers of unequal value, e. g. "my own twin sister." Our author is fond of billingsgate, and offers a richer store of the first variety of compounds than we may quote. In general it may be said that such a succession of adjectives is usually so disposed as to accentuate the unity of the verses: the substantive usually precedes or is embraced between groups of attributives; the thought is in a measure complete, and the virtues or vices or indifferent qualities either run over into several verses or occasionally are bound within a single verse, in either case without serious disturbance of verse-unity. A few examples will illustrate these characteristics:

nisi mihi supplicium virgeum (MSS. virgarum) de te datur  
longum, diutinumque, a mane ad vesperum. (M. G. 502)

stat propter virum  
fortem atque fortunatum et forma regia. (M. G. 9, cf. 56-57)

equem  
recalvom ad Silanum senem, statutum, ventriosum,  
tortis superciliis, contracta fronte, fraudulentum,  
deorum odium atque hominum, malum, mali viti probrique plenum,  
qui duceret mulierculas duas secum satis venustas? (Rud. 316)

For other examples, Bacch. 280 (if Leo's *strigosum* is accepted), Cas. 767, Men. 402, 487, M. G. 88, Ps. 724, 974, Rud. 125, 313, Truc. 287. In the examples quoted other obvious features will be noticed: in the first, intensification of one idea in one verse; in the second, initial rhyme. There are a few cases of a succession of two or three adjectives in which the unity is not so obvious:

ut aliquem hominem strenuom  
benevolentem adducerem ad te. (Ps. 697)

post altrinsecust securicula ancipes, itidem aurea  
litterata: ibi matris nomen in securiculast.<sup>10</sup> (Rud. 1158)

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Rud. 478, 1156-1157.

ibi nunc statuam volt dare auream  
solidam<sup>11</sup> faciundam ex auro Philippo, (Circ. 439)

In all of these the noun and one adjective (or two) stand in the first verse so that the thought is practically complete; *benevolentem*, and *aurea* (as we shall see presently), are metrically convenient in the places which they occupy; the separated adjectives all stand at the beginnings of their respective verses and are not without emphasis; it is also to be noticed that *litterata* is explained in the rest of the verse.

Of the second variety of thought-units, two occur with sufficient frequency to be of significance. These are the expressions for "own twin sister, brother, son," often accompanied by a pleonastic numeral when the expression is in the plural; and the phrase for a sum of money in which *nummi aurei Philippi* in various arrangements, with an accompanying numeral or further attribute, makes an elaborate complex. This latter phrase is usually from eight to thirteen syllables in extent, and on five occasions the longer varieties run over into a second verse:<sup>12</sup>

sunt tibi intus aurei  
trecenti nummi Philippi<sup>9</sup>—sescenti quoque. (Poen. 165)

qui mihi mille nummum crederet  
Philippum, (Trin. 954)

atque etiam Philippum, numeratum illius in mensa manu,  
mille nummum. (Trin. 965)

hic sunt numerati aurei  
trecenti nummi qui vocantur Philippi. (Poen. 713)

nam ducentis aureis  
Philippis redemi vitam ex flagitio tuam. (Bacch. 1010)

On the contrary, in a large majority of cases similar varieties of the same phrase, not always with *aureus*, are included in a single verse: As. 153, Bacch. 230, 590, 882, 934, 1026, Poen. 670, 732, Trin. 152, 959, 1158.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The proximity of *faciundam* gives *solidam* predicative force in our passage: cf. Cicero, de div. I, 24, 48.

<sup>12</sup> In Pers. 438 *probi numerati* are probably amplifying, as Leo brings out in his punctuation: cf. Pers. 526.

<sup>13</sup> It is not likely that in any of these phrases there was any violent separation (cf. for the usage of the various forms Langen, Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung des Plautus 85 ff., Brix on Trin. 844). At least in

There are a dozen instances of the first phrase, including more than six syllables, and of these only two escape into a second verse; these two are of eleven and ten syllables:

geminam germanam meam  
hic sororem esse inaudivi: eam veni quaesitum. (M. G. 441)

spes mihi est vos inventurum fratres germanos duos  
geminos, una matre natos et patre uno uno die. (Men. 1102)

The second of these (and possibly the first<sup>14</sup>) is only apparent separation: *geminos* is followed by a sense-pause which emphasizes the idea as amplifying, and the elaboration of the same idea in the rest of the same verse gives a distinct unity to that verse. Indeed, *geminus* is elsewhere in the same play a substantive: Men. 26, 40, 68, 69, and if the prologue is of dubious authorship in parts, at least once in the play itself, vs. 1120. In nine cases long forms of this complex are confined to a single verse: Amph. 480, cf. 1070, Men. 18, 232, 1082, 1125, M. G. 238, 383, 391, 717. To be sure, our impression that this situation points to a sensitiveness to verse-unity is momentarily disturbed when we find a much shorter form of the same phrase running over:

sicut soror  
eius huc gemina venit Ephesum et mater accersuntque eam. (M. G. 974)

Only momentarily, for again *gemina* may be substantival; Palaestrio may be working upon the soldier very tactfully, the separation of *nummus Philippus*, the use of *Philippus* alone, and the examples above (Trin. 954, 965, with *qui vocantur Philippi* in Poen. 714), suggest that the words are separable, either one amplifying the other. When *aureus* (convenient at the verse-end, cf. above and As. 153, Bacch. 230, 590, 934, Trin. 1139) is a part of the phrase, the separation seems more violent; if, however, Bentley's emendation of Bacch. 230 is right, there would be some evidence of a substantival *aureus*, similar to the usage of later times; and one should compare the usage of *χρυσούς* as a substantive without *στατήρ* in the fragments of Greek comedy: Jacobi, comicae dictionis index s. v. *χρυσούς*. The separation of *aureus* is no more than that of a material genitive as in Hipponax, 22, 4:

καὶ σαμβάλισκα κάσκερίσκα καὶ χρυσού  
στατήρας ἐξήκοντα τοῦτέρου τοίχου.

But Plautus does not separate the genitive *auri* in this phrase.

<sup>14</sup>The resumptive *eam* in the same verse with *sororem* may help to strengthen the unity of the verse.

slowly unloading his ammunition, "a sister, her twin." (So, perhaps, also in vss. 473-474.) And Leo might add that the alliteration in *sicut soror* reasserts the unity of the first verse.<sup>15</sup>

## II.

In so far as he overcomes the obstacle offered by length in a large majority of cases, Plautus may be said to show respect for the integrity of the verse. But the poet's aversion to separation or his indifference to verse-unity is best tested by conditions in which there are no obstacles in the length of words or thoughts. Some general considerations will help us to appreciate the examples.

In the later Republican prose the substantive is often separated from its attributive by intervening words, and much more frequently in poetry; so far as I know, no effort has been made to discover whether such separation is regulated by any laws or not<sup>16</sup>—whether, for example, certain attributives are more separable than others, whether the intervening words are of some special character, etc. Norden<sup>17</sup> has already pointed out that such separation in early Latin prose is, as regards the number and the nature of the intervening words, subject to limitations. Altenburg<sup>18</sup> has collected the material: usually only one word intervenes, or if more, they constitute a unit of thought. From our present point of view we should like to know whether the attributives themselves show degrees of separability: whether,

<sup>15</sup> Under the head of long thought-units should come Ep. 559, in which the genitive and the adjectives constitute an inseparable compound and perhaps account for the escape of *mulierem*:

accipe, aerumnosam et miseriarum compotem  
mulierem retines.

The same would apply to Nonius's reading *aerumnarum*.

<sup>16</sup> Even the interpretation of the material under discussion in this paper would be facilitated by a study of the collocation of adjective and substantive within the verse, quite apart from the question of separation by the verse.

<sup>17</sup> Die antike Kunstprosa I 179-180, and 180 n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> De sermone pedestri Itolorum vetustissimo = JHB. Supplbd. 24 (1898) 523 ff.

for example, the separation of certain pronominal adjectives does not appear earlier than that of ordinary attributives. Perhaps the material is too scanty to lead to convincing generalization; the fact that in Oscan the relative adjective is very regularly separated from its noun and stands at the opposite extreme of the clause lends significance to a similar situation in Plautus.<sup>19</sup> Such observations as Kaibel makes in his study of Aristotle's Athenian Constitution<sup>20</sup> would affect our interpretation of many examples if early Latin prose showed similar characteristics: he notes that certain pronominal adjectives are separated from their substantives with greater frequency and by more intervening words than ordinary attributives; he mentions in the order of such frequency *ὅτος*, *πᾶς*, *ὄλος*, *ἄλλοι*, the relative, *ποσοῦτος*, *ὅσος*, *οὐδεὶς*, *ὁ αὐτός*, *τις*; but the last seven are naturally represented only by one or two examples; he also refers to numerals, but without mentioning the frequency of separation in such cases. Altenburg's examples show that some of the corresponding words in Latin are separated in early prose.<sup>21</sup> When we add thereto that in Plautus, quite apart from the question of separation within the verse, the cases of separation by the verse and, often, by intervening words as well, show a relatively large number of pronominal adjectives and numerals, we may suspect that some influence made the disturbance of verse-unity either less violent or more imperative than it appears to us and than it perhaps was in the case of ordinary attributives: in Plautus 20 per cent. of the cases of separation by the verse-end are pronominal adjectives, 25 per cent. possessive adjectives, 15 per cent. numerals. That is, more than half are pronominal words and numerals.

A step towards the explanation of some of these phenomena has been taken by Wackernagel,<sup>22</sup> though without reference to the matter of verse-unity. His investigations in Indogermanic languages, especially Greek and Latin, bring to light survivals

<sup>19</sup> Altenburg, l. c. 530; Norden, l. c. I 181 n. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Stil u. Text der *Πολιτεία Ἀθηναίων* des Aristoteles 99 ff.

<sup>21</sup> For example, *ceteri*, *omnes*, numerals including *nullus*, *alter*, *tantus*, *qui* (rel.), *quis* (indef.).

<sup>22</sup> Indog. Forsch. I 406 ff. Cf. Delbrück, Syntakt. Forsch. III 47.



of a law by which short enclitic words tend to the beginning of a sentence, usually to the second place. Pronominal words are often enclitics, and some pronominal adjectives are directly affected by this law. Others are indirectly affected; for the law of pronominal attraction, combined with Wackernagel's law, will sometimes bring pronominal words that may or may not be enclitics to at least the third place in the sentence. Such laws have precedence of the natural attraction of the adjective to its substantive.

A few other laws affect the collocation of words so fundamentally that verse-unity must waive its claims, whenever it conflicts. Words of the same category are attracted to one another. Certain formulas exist for the expression of certain ideas, e. g., of oaths. Groups of words in Plautus have been studied and peculiarities of collocation discovered. Most of these conditions reflect the usage of ordinary speech. But there are other artificial combinations—whether due to the influence of rhetoric or not we may not always say—resulting often in the interlocking of words and the consequent separation of words that are syntactically connected. All such factors must be appreciated. Apparent violation of verse-unity may be only conservation of these natural or artificial collocations.<sup>23</sup>

Some of these general considerations account for the separate treatment of ordinary attributives, possessive adjectives, other pronominal adjectives, and numerals. All of them will make more intelligible the discussion of individual passages.

In this discussion I do not wish to be understood as representing the attendant features to be the cause of separation or atonement for separation; that would be begging an important question. In viewing the problem of verse-unity with reference to Leo's theory, it is apparent that the cases of separation are often attended by such features as Leo regards to be justifications for

<sup>23</sup> On the various matters here briefly referred to cf. Langen, *Rh. Mus.* 12 (1857) 426 ff.; Kellerhof, *de collocatione verborum Plautina* = *Studium-Stud.* II 49 ff.; Kämpf, *de pronominum personalium usu et collocatione ap. poet. scaen. Rom.* 16 ff. = *Berliner Studien* III (1886); Leo, *Bemerkungen über plautinische Wortstellungen u. Wortgruppen* = *Nachricht. Götting. Gesell.* (1895) 416, 432-433; Norden, *Aeneis Buch VI*, 386.

separation: a descriptive paper notes the appearance of such features. Quite apart from this descriptive treatment is the important question which Leo's theory involves, namely: is Plautus, under the influence of earlier Latin poetry, conscious of verse-unity in the sense that all cases of separation must be justified by special considerations? Granting that these features attend separation, there is the further question: may any or all of these be proved to be necessarily involved in the relation of thought to verse? For example, alliteration is inherent in Plautus's style: may not its appearance have nothing to do with verse-unity?<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, granting that Plautus is conscious of the individuality of each verse, which may hardly be denied, such consciousness may arise in one of several ways: a poet may be under the influence of a primitive form of verse in which verse and sentence are identical—so Plautus in Leo's theory; or he may be far removed from any such influence and yet preserve the unity of the verse—which is not necessarily lost sight of entirely even in advanced stages of verse-development—either for the purpose of bringing into relief units of thought, or as a concession to an artificial tendency of his time.<sup>25</sup> On a priori grounds Plautus's attitude towards verse-unity may well be suspected of being affected by the Saturnian verse; he is, however, adapting Greek comedies, and the verse-technique of his Greek sources had reached a much higher point than contemporary Latin verse. This counter-influence must be reckoned with in any a priori reasoning. Leo would be the first to recognize the validity of this contention.

None of these important questions is begged in the following descriptive treatment. Some of them may be considered by way of conclusion, but many of them cannot be settled in a study of a few phases of verse-unity. The division of adjectives is but a small part of word-division, and word-division is but a part of

<sup>24</sup> Of course the fact that alliterative groups are usually limited to a single verse in itself shows a consciousness of verse-unity. The question at issue is whether a noun or adjective is separated for the purpose of bringing it into an alliterative group.

<sup>25</sup> Such an artificial preservation of unity appears in Bion: cf. Wilamowitz, *Adonis* 38-39.

a larger topic which includes the division of the larger units of thought, phrases and clauses.

### III.

When an attributive follows its substantive it is often possible that the adjective is amplifying; each case must be interpreted with reference to the context, but the mere possibility justifies us in distinguishing between (*a*) adjectives that follow, and (*b*) those that precede their substantives. Further classification might be desirable, for example, with reference to whether or not words intervene between the adjective and noun; but this would confuse the discussion. I have persuaded myself from an inspection of the *Mostellaria* that the number and the nature of the words that intervene between adjective and noun within the verse are the same in the corresponding situation when a verse-end also intervenes. In some cases it may well be argued that verse-unity was sacrificed to the normal collocation of words. The equally important question whether within the verse the collocation of adjective and noun and intervening words is ever abnormal for the sake of preserving verse-unity is not within the limits of this paper.

#### (*a*)

It is not easy to draw a line between purely predicative and amplifying adjectives. The former, as we saw in examples of long adjectives, are often set off in a separate verse; many are participial:

is ex se hunc reliquit qui hic nunc habitat filium  
pariter moratum ut pater avosque huius fuit. (Aul. 21)

cur inclementer dicis lepidis litteris  
lepidis tabellis lepida conscriptis manu? (Ps. 27)

vilius is cum corona, candide  
vestitus, lautus, exornatusque ambulat. (Cas. 767)

Somewhat different in effect, but equally separable are these participial adjectives:

miles lenoni Ballioni epistulam  
conscriptam mittit Polymachaeroplages. (Ps. 998)

hominem cum ornamentis omnibus  
exornatum adducite ad me iam ad trapezitam Aeschinum. (Ps. 756)

et tu gnatam tuam  
ornatam adduce lepide in peregrinum modum. (Pers. 157)

“Writes and sends,” “dress up and bring” may suggest the effect of such separation. Such examples, in which the verbal element is prominent, are hardly within the scope of this paper.<sup>26</sup>

I take it that the following group of cases will not be regarded as illustrating real separation; predicative or amplifying as you please, the suggestion of physical or emotional distress is an afterthought, which separation by the verse-end and intervening words, and position in close connection with caesura or diaeresis accentuate:

item parasiti rebus prolatis latent  
in occulto miseri, victitant suco suo. (Capt. 82)

ecastor lege dura vivont mulieres  
multoque iniquiore miserae quam viri. (Merc. 817)

itaque nos ventisque fluctibusque  
iactatae exemplis plurumis miserae<sup>27</sup> perpetuam noctem; (Rud. 369)

illa autem virgo atque altera itidem ancillula  
de navi timidae desuluerunt in scapham. (Rud. 74)

ibi me nescio quis arripit  
timidam atque pavidam, nec vivam nec mortuam. (Cure. 648)

A similar pathetic effect is evident in

mulierculas  
video sedentis in scapha solas duas. (Rud. 162)

<sup>26</sup> Nor present participles as in  
nam istaec quae tibi renuntiantur, filium  
te velle amantem argento circumducere, (Ps. 430)

<sup>27</sup> So, preceding a pronoun, in a lyrical context:

sed muliebri animo sum tamen: miserae (quom venit) in mentem  
mihi mortis, metu membra occupat. (Rud. 685)

Note the alliteration carried through the couplet with pathetic effect. Another example, of *misera* following a pronoun:

pol me quidem  
miseram odio enicavit. (As. 920)

Nor will there be any doubt that these adjectives are independent:

nunc equos iunctos iubes  
capere me indomitos, ferocis, (Men. 862)

*Conviva commodus* in M. G. 642 does not prevent the same adjective from becoming an amplifying expression with the same noun in

convivas volo  
reperire nobis commodos, qui una sient. (Poen. 615)

Here the noun and adjective appear at the extremes of the sentence after and before pauses.<sup>28</sup> In the following case the context shows that *frigidam* is predicative; *caleferi* finds its antithesis in *adponi frigidam*:

caleferi iussi reliquias—pernam quidem  
ius est adponi frigidam postridie. (Pers. 105)

“Served up cold” is clearly the idea.<sup>29</sup>

Nor may I admit as indubitable cases of real separation such substantival adjectives as *virgo* and *posticum*:

eius cupio filiam  
virginem mihi desponderi. (Aul. 172)  
est etiam hic ostium  
aliud posticum nostrarum harum aedium: (St. 449)

*Filiola virgo* (Rud. 39) and *virginem gnatam suam* (Trin. 113) may support the adjectival force of the first adjective, but in any case the separation in our passage defines *filia* and contrasts the daughter of Euclio with the middle-aged woman of Megadorus's previous remarks (162).<sup>30</sup> As for *posticum*, it is clearly

<sup>28</sup> The adjective *molestum* in the following verses is more closely connected with the infinitive:

et impudicum et impudentem hominem addeet  
molestum ultro advenire ad alienam domum, (Rud. 115)

And one will not take *luculentum* (*luculente* P) as anything but predicative (Ep. 158) after comparing vs. 341 of the same play.

<sup>29</sup> Cf.

memini: ut muraena et conger ne calefierent:  
nam nimio melius oppectuntur frigida. (Pers. 110)

<sup>30</sup> So, but with clearly expressed contrast in the second verse, the compound *virgo civis* is divided in

an paulum hoc esse tibi videtur, virginem  
vitiare civem? conservam esse credidi. (Ter. Eun. 857)

a substantive in Most. 931, and so its diminutive in Trin. 194, 1085; in the Stichus, if not an appositive, it defines *ostium*.<sup>31</sup> The separation of *aliud* does not here concern us.

In connection with substantival adjectives another passage in the Aulularia is to be considered:

namque hoc qui dicat: quo illae nubent divites  
dotatae, si istud ius pauperibus ponitur! (Aul. 489)<sup>32</sup>

The contrast between *divites* and *pauperes* suggests that the former is substantival; but it does not at once follow that *dotatae* is purely adjectival. For vss. 534–5 of the same play show how easily the participial adjective becomes substantival:

nam quae indotata est, ea in potestate est viri;  
dotatae mactant et malo et damno viros.

Similarly Ter. Phor. 938, 940. If, however, it is adjectival in our passage, it adds to and explains *divites* very much as *factiosum* in

venit hoc mihi, Megadore, in mentem te esse hominem divitem  
factiosum, me autem esse hominem pauperum pauperrimum. (Aul. 226)

In both passages we have the contrast between rich and poor, and in *factiosum* as in *dotatae* the happy isolation at the beginning of the verses of a more specific attribute of the rich class: in each case the emphasis is accentuated by the sense-pause which follows the separated adjective. From a different point of view *hominem divitem* | *factiosum* should be compared with *hominem strenuom* | *benevolentem* (Ps. 697, above, p. 211).

Most of such amplifying ideas are similarly brought into prominence by their position at the beginning of the second verse; often they are followed by a decided sense-pause; sometimes this separation brings them into the vicinity of contrasted

<sup>31</sup> The verse immediately following in the Stichus (450a) contains *positicam partem*, but this verse is not in A, and the division of 450a and 451 in B is suspicious: cf. Leo *ad loc.* If vs. 450a is genuine, as Lindsay seems to regard it in his Oxford text, a purely adjectival force gains some support. Cf. Pauli Festus, 220 M = 276 de Ponor.

<sup>32</sup> In a similar context Menander (585 K.) has a similar separation:

ὅστις γυναῖκ' ἐπικλήρον ἐπιθυμεί λαβεῖν  
πλουτοῦσαν

ideas.<sup>33</sup> All of these features, with attendant alliteration, are illustrated in

ego te, Philocrates  
false, faciam ut verus hodie reperiare Tyndarus. (Capt. 609)

The separation of an adjective from a vocative is similarly arranged, but here in a succession of epithets (referred to on p. 211), in

Quid ais, homo  
levior quam pluma, pessime et nequissime,  
flagitium hominis, subdole ac minimi pretif (Men. 487)

The surprise of the opprobrious epithet is made more effective by separation and prominent position. The element of surprise, which *false* and *levior*, like *subvolturium* and *volaticorum* among the long adjectives, illustrate, recurs in another example of the vocative; the parasite greets his patron as a veritable god on earth:

o mi Iuppiter  
terrestris, te coepulonus compellat tuos. (Pers. 99)

Without the element of surprise and without so distinct a sense-pause, but, I think, with emphasis *paterni* is separated in

nonne arbitraris eum adolescentem anuli  
paterni signum novisse. (Trin. 789)

So in Poen. 1080 the same adjective stands with emphasis in the same position, though not separated.

Contrast is heightened by alliteration<sup>34</sup> in

quodque concubinam erilem insimulare ausus es  
proabri pudicam meque summi flagiti, (M. G. 508)

and here prominent position is given to the crime rather than the adjective, that the two crimes may occupy the extremes of

<sup>33</sup> For contrasted ideas brought into the same verse by the separation of an adjective cf. Caecilius 221 R<sup>2</sup>:

egon vitam meam  
Atticam contendam cum istac rusticana (tua), Syra f

unless it is an octonarius, as C. F. W. Müller supposes. Bergk's *asticam* brings out the contrast more plainly: cf. *rusticam* . . . *urbanam* in Pomponius 7 R<sup>2</sup> (Leo, Analecta Plautina: de figuris sermonis II 32).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *probrum, propinqua partitudo* (Aul. 75), *probrum* . . . *partitudo prope* . . . *palam* (Aul. 276).

the verse and the two abused innocents be juxtaposed in *puḍicam meque*. Contrast and comprehensiveness are obtained in this separation of *dexteram*:

age rusum ostende huc manum  
dexteram.—em.—nunc laevam ostende.—quin equidem ambas profero. (Aul. 649)

Somewhat different is the collocation in

nixus laevo in femine habet laevam manum,  
dextera digitis rationem computat, ferit femur  
dexterum. (M. G. 203)

Here the contrasted parts occupy different verses; *dexterum* echoes *dextera* of the preceding verse,<sup>35</sup> and the actor's gestures doubtless contributed to the effect; the alliterative features are plain, whether or not part of the poet's intention in separating the adjective.

An adjective expressive of size is naturally liable to separation and prominence;<sup>36</sup> in this example *maximi* is practically predicative; number and size are postponed with dramatic effect:

postquam in cunas conditust  
devolant angues iubati deorsum in impluvium duo  
maximi: continuo extollunt ambo capita. (Amph. 1107)

Essentially attributive, but in effective juxtaposition, the same adjective is postponed with more injury to verse-unity in

sumne probus, sum lepidus civis, qui Atticam hodie civitatem  
maximam maiorem feci atque auxi civi femina? (Pers. 474)

The postponement of the verb makes the thought less complete, but the alliterative juxtaposition<sup>37</sup> of the superlative and comparative more than compensates for the separation. When the verb comes in the first verse, the adjective escapes into the second verse with less violence to unity, and in this example is brought

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *usque . . . | usque . . . | faciebatis . . . | fugiebatis . . .* (As. 210-213); *iussin* (As. 424-426); *deam . . . | deum . . .* (As. 781-782); *omnes* (Aul. 114-115); *itaque* (Cist. 513-515); *perii* (Merc. 124-125); *egomet* (Merc. 852-854); *ferreas, ferream, ferreas* (Pers. 571-573); *perque* (Poen. 418-420), *pater . . . | pater . . .* (Poen. 1260-1261).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Norden, *Aeneis* Buch VI, 390.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Cas. 1006, Amph. 704, Capt. 1034, M. G. 1218, Rud. 71, St. 739.



into associations of thought and sound that give the second verse a unity of its own:

nulla igitur dicat: equidem dotem ad te adtuli  
maiores multo quam tibi erat pecunia. (Aul. 498)

So with elaborated emphasis on size:

verum nunc si qua mi obtigerit hereditas  
magna atque luculenta,<sup>38</sup> (Truc. 344)

A necessary specification is added to the noun in

ut opinor, quam ex me ut unam faciam litteram  
lon(gam, me)um laqueo collum quando obstrinxero. (Aul. 77)<sup>39</sup>

Alliterative possibilities may have helped attract the adjective into the neighborhood of *laqueo*; the alliteration in *litteram* | *longam* is merely an unavoidable accident.

This prominent position, combined with a sense-pause, sometimes introduces an elaboration of the idea<sup>40</sup> expressed in the separated adjective; so in the elaboration of a joke:

si hercle illic illas hodie digito tetigerit  
invitas, ni istunc istis invitassitis (Rud. 810)

or with further explanation of the idea as in the examples quoted above (p. 211) in Rud. 1158, and (p. 209) 421, 372.

In two examples in which the long adjective *inhonestus* is set at the beginning<sup>41</sup> of the verse the amplifying idea occupies the entire second verse with predicative effect:

nunc hic ocepit quaestum hunc fili gratia  
inhonestum et maxime alienum ingenio suo. (Capt. 98)

<sup>38</sup> Note the balance between *magna atque luculenta* (345) and *dulce atque amarum* (346).

<sup>39</sup> According to the reading of the MSS. Bacch. 279 belongs here:

ego lembum conspicio  
longum strigorem maleficum exornarier.

But *strigorem* is dubious.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Norden, Aeneis Buch VI, 391.

<sup>41</sup> The same adjective stands in the same position in Ter. Eun. 357. For the occupation of the entire second verse cf. Trin. 750:

sed ut ego nunc adulescenti thensaurum indicem  
indomito, pleno amoris ac lasciviae?

verum quom multos multa admissæ acceperim  
inhonesta propter amorem atque aliena a bonis: (M. G. 1287)<sup>42</sup>

A few cases remain in which the added ideas, set off at or near the beginning of the second verse, are rather conspicuously linked by alliteration to neighboring words in the same verse; some such cases have been already mentioned, but in the following the alliteration is even more conspicuous:

tum quæ hic sunt scriptæ litteræ, hoc in equo insunt milites  
armati atque animati probe.<sup>43</sup> (Bacch. 941)

quid istie? verba facimus. huic homini opust quadraginta minis  
celeriter calidis, danistæ quas resolvat, et cito. (Ep. 141)

quibus hic pretiis porci veneunt  
sacres sinceris? (Men. 289)

Diaeresis or caesura contribute to the emphasis and independent unity of the amplifying ideas; in the second example the entire second verse has a unity of its own, of which the alliteration is a superficial indication.<sup>44</sup> In the following example, referred to among the cases of successive epithets, the alliteration in both verses brings into relief the distinct unity of each, and the separated adjective, being only the last in an accumulation of epithets, escapes into the second verse without violence:

iam hercle ego istos fictos compositos crispas concinnos tuos  
unguentatos usque ex cerebro exvellam. (Truc. 287)

In M. G. 508 we noted a certain artificiality in *probri pudicam meque summi flagiti* (above, p. 222). The employment of the ends of a verse to set in relief a pair of balanced ideas appears in

“eme, mi vir, lanam, unde tibi pallium  
malacum et calidum conficiatur, tunicaeque hibernæ bonæ,” (M. G. 687)

The adjectives here are less evidently amplifying, though conceivably separable; the striking feature is the position of each

<sup>42</sup> Omitted in A.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Accius 308 R<sup>2</sup>:

ut nunc, cum animatus iero, satis armatus sum.

<sup>44</sup> For alliterative groups including *calidus* cf. Cas. 255, 309, Ep. 256; and especially, in connection with our passage:

reperi, comminiscere, cedo calidum consilium cito, (M. G. 226)

pair of adjectives at the opposite extreme of the verse, the first pair varied by the connecting particle *et*. The two substantives are divided between the verses; the verb common to both stands before the diaeresis of the second verse; the alliteration is comparatively unimportant. Cf. Norden, *Aeneis* Buch VI, 383 on similar phenomena in Vergil.

The regularity with which adjectives, following their substantives and separated, stand at the beginning of the second verse, is not appreciably disturbed by a few examples of different dispositions of the separated ideas. So the adjective *sacerrimus*, which regularly appears at the end of a verse in Plautus (*Rud.* 158, *Most.* 983), is effectively placed in a verse which constitutes a unity by itself and with alliteration that hisses out the opprobrious epithet:<sup>45</sup>

praesenti argento homini, si leno est homo,  
quantum hominum terra sustinet sacerrumo. (*Poen.* 89)

Similarly Plautus sets off the accomplishments of the parasite's sun-dial; again superlatives, and to be sure in one case metrically convenient (cf. *Merc.* 206); and again in a verse that is an independent unit; both this and the former example are essentially predicative:

nam(unum) me puero venter erat solarium,  
multo omnium istorum optimum et verissimum. (*Boeotia*, 1, 4)

The separated adjective stands after a diaeresis, with reiteration of the same idea at the end of the same verse and in the next verse, in

quia enim filio  
nos oportet opitulari unico.—at quamquam unicus,  
nihil magis ille unicus mihi filius quam ego illi pater: (*Cas.* 262)

(Cf. *Capt.* 150: *tibi ille unicus, mi etiam unico magis unicus.*)

A somewhat similar but less explicable separation occurs in

si itast, tesseram  
conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam attuli. (*Poen.* 1047)

Here the adjective is not demonstrably amplifying (cf. 953,

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *Ter. Hec.* 85:

minime equidem me oblectavi. quae cum milite  
Corinthum hinc sum profecta inhumanissimo:

1052, where it precedes the noun), though it may be felt as an afterthought; the association of thought in *eccam attuli* may have drawn it from its noun; but the interruption, by the verse-end, of the artificial interlocking of *tesseram conferre si vis hospitalem*—a thought-unit embraced between noun and adjective—is striking. The examples above (Poen. 615, Pers. 105, p. 220) are similar, but the adjectives in those cases are more clearly amplifying or predicative.

We have reviewed the cases in which the separated adjectives follow their substantives:<sup>46</sup> such adjectives have very regularly stood at the beginning of the second verse and usually with a caesura or sense-pause immediately following; with few exceptions they have been added ideas, the separation of which was accomplished without violence to verse-unity; many of them, indeed, were almost if not quite predicative; most of them gained by separation, through acquiring emphasis, or producing antithesis or sound-effects. There is perhaps only one doubtful case:

quin potius per gratiam  
bonam abeat abs te. (M. G. 1125)

It may hardly be said that *bonam* adds to the thought, for *per gratiam* is sufficient in itself (M. G. 979, 1200, and St. 71 according to Leo, Bemerkungen über pl. Wortstellungen etc. 418 and Lindsay, Class. Rev. 8 [1894] 159). *Bona gratia* is, of course, Plautine (Bacch. 1022, Rud. 516). The same idea, expressed in the same play, vs. 979,

vin tu illam actutum amovere, a te ut abeat per gratiam?

makes us suspect that in 1125 the poet availed himself of the pleonastic adjective and of separation for the sake of the reitera-

<sup>46</sup> Most. 501 should be added:

hospes me hic necavit, isque me  
defodit insepultum clam (ibidem) in hisce aedibus,  
scelestus, auri causa. nunc tu hinc emigra:  
scelestae hae sunt aedes, impiast habitatio.

The afterthought *scelestus* is echoed in *scelestae*. *Insepultum* needs no comment: cf. *defodit in terram dimidiatos* in Cato's Speeches, XXXVII 3.

tion of a- and b-sounds, just as a consideration for a- and t-sounds affected the structure of vs. 979.<sup>47</sup>

## (b)

It is obvious that the cases of separation in which the adjective appears in the first verse, and the substantive in the second, necessarily involve the incompleteness of the first verse. In most of the cases enumerated in the previous paragraphs the adjectives ranged from purely predicative to loosely amplifying; the thought was in a measure complete in the first verse, especially if the verb came in that verse; the separation was apparent rather than real. The examples about to be discussed may seem, *per se*, to impair the validity of Leo's theory; it is important, therefore, to note that they are few in number. Nor is it impossible that in spite of the separation the noun or adjective may be so related to the context as to reinforce to some extent the unity of the verses.

It may be well to quote at once a striking example of the realization of this possibility. In one passage already quoted we have seen some evidence of a rather studied disposition of adjectives and substantives (M. G. 687, above, p. 225). The case before us shows evidence of even more care in the collocation of words:

aequo mendicus atque ille opulentissimus  
censetur censu ad Acheruntem mortuos. (Trin. 493)

It is perhaps annoying to enumerate the features of this couplet, which are sufficiently plain to any sympathetic reader or hearer. In the first place, the thought is incomplete until the caesura of the second verse is reached. Yet the separation of *aequo* from *censu* is attended by an effective juxtaposition of ideas in the first verse, which gives to that verse a partial unity.<sup>48</sup> The sep-

<sup>47</sup> Appuhn, l. c. 67-68, distinguishes sharply between dissyllabic and trisyllabic adjectives, and maintains that the former may not be separated. There does not seem to me to be any evidence to warrant such a distinction, and it lacks inherent probability. His contention that *bonam* is unemphatic and absorbed in the first foot, may ease the separation, but does not explain it.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Cist. 532:

postremo quando aequa lege pauperi cum divite  
non licet,

aration of *censu* results in a *figura etymologica* and consequent unity of sound- and sense-effect. And *mortuos* at the end carries us back to the nouns of the first verse in such a way as to establish the unity of the couplet by the close interlocking of ideas.<sup>49</sup>

A phase of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ is illustrated in the following case:

deceat innocentem qui sit atque innoxium  
servom superbum esse, apud erum potissimum. (Ps. 460)

The thought is again incomplete until we reach the caesura of the second verse; yet there is a fitness in the transference of *servom* to the side of *superbum*, with which it belongs as much as with the adjectives of the preceding verse, and to which alliterative opportunities (cf. As. 470) attract it. The significance of this example is clearer on comparing it with the recurrence of the same thought without separation of the adjective in

deceat innocentem servom atque innoxium  
confidentem esse, suom apud erum potissimum. (Capt. 665)

In both passages the verse preceding the couplet contains the adverb *confidenter*, and this adverb prompts the commonplace in each case: in the Capt. the poet repeats the idea of the adverb in the corresponding adjective; in the Ps. he chooses a synonym. It is not, of course, possible to discover whether in the latter case his choice was determined by a desire to avoid the recurrence of the same stem or whether the alliterative unit *servom superbum* came to his mind independently of any consciousness of monotony in the repetition *confidenter—confidentem*. But in any case the comparative artificiality of the couplet from the Ps. is evident: the development in freedom of technique is clear.<sup>50</sup> Without discounting the value of other factors may we

<sup>49</sup> Nor is the emphasis on *aequo* to be overlooked; cf. the Greek equivalent in Menander 538 K:

κοινὸν τὸν Ἀιδην ἔσχον οἱ πάντες βροτοί.

The tragic seriousness of the speaker in the Trinummus perhaps explains the artificial style, which adds dignity to the expression (Leo, Plaut. Forsch. 122 and note 5).

<sup>50</sup> The hiatus in Capt. 665 is perhaps a part of the crudity of composition.

not say that when once the alliterative unit occurred to him the unity of sound proved superior to the affinity of the attributive for its noun, and that this conservation of unity of sound was made easier or perhaps suggested by the fact that there was a strong unity of thought as well which linked *servom* to *superbum*? By this question we do not imply any conscious intent on the poet's part; we mean simply to suggest that the two examples seem to us to prove that the poet's technique on occasion had got beyond the point of preserving the more natural and obvious unity of thought, and shows here as elsewhere a sensitiveness to unity of sound and to the more artificial phases of unity of thought.

In this connection, properly, we should note the isolation of an adjective in the first verse by the transposition of its noun to a relative clause that occupies the second verse:<sup>51</sup>

nisi qui meliorem adferet  
 quae mi atque amicis placeat condicio magis, (Capt. 179)

It will be granted that this is analogous to our previous example: again the noun, to which two attributive ideas belong, is expressed with the second.

Somewhat similar, too, are these cases in which a noun common to two adjectives is separated from the first adjective, and stands at the beginning of the second verse before a sense-pause; the second adjective stands in the same verse with the noun:

multis et multigeneribus opus est tibi  
 militibus: primumdum opus est Pistorensibus; (Capt. 159)

quam ego postquam aspexi, non ita amo ut sani solent  
 homines, sed eodem pacto ut insani solent. (Merc. 262)

The sound-effects, especially in the tetrasyllabic rhyme in the second case, are obvious.

<sup>51</sup>The figure of speech involved, without separation by the verse, is easily paralleled in Plautus and other poets: for examples cf. Bach, *de attractione . . . inversa ap. scriptores latinos* 16; Vahlen, *Hermes* 17 (1882) 598-599; Leo, *Analecta Plautina: de figuris sermonis* I 20. If, however, separation by the verse occurs, the adjective is usually a demonstrative: cf. Rud. 1065, Poen. 449 (quoted below, p. 254).

Equally studied is the juxtaposition of different case-forms of the same word; the separation that results may indicate that the attraction of words of the same stem for each other<sup>52</sup> is stronger than the attraction of the attributive to its noun or than any sensitiveness to verse-unity:

nam ex uno puteo similior nunquam potis  
 aqua aquai<sup>53</sup> sumi quam haec est atque ista hospita. (M. G. 551)

Again the thought reaches a partial completion at the caesura; the four objects in two pairs are grouped in the second verse; and the sound-effect in *aqua aquai* was doubtless not ungrateful to the audience. This example, too, gains in significance from the occurrence of the same thought in another form:

nam ego hominem hominis similiorem nunquam vidi alterum.  
 neque aqua aquae nec lacte est lactis, crede mi, usquam similius,  
 quam hic tui est, tuque huius autem; (Men. 1088)

Here it is worth noting that the second example, which is without separation, shows all the simplicity and explicit fulness of an early and undeveloped style; the identity of sentence and verse is almost as exact as in the early Saturnian verse. The first example, on the contrary, shows a freer technique: the thought is more condensed, less explicit; verse-unity is less scrupulously preserved. We have a suggestion before us of a difference, if not of a development, in verse-technique in the course of the poet's activity.

Artificiality in the disposition of words is clearly discernible in

non meministi me auream ad te afferre natali die  
 lunulam atque anellum aureolum in digitum? (Ep. 639)

The chiasmic arrangement of the pairs of substantives and adjectives, the consistent diminutives in the second verse in contrast with *auream* in the first verse, and the artificial interlocking of the words are the noticeable features. So far as any unity is discoverable, it consists only in such unity as appeals to the ear

<sup>52</sup> For other examples cf. Kiessling, Rh. Mus. 23 (1869) 411 ff., Kellerhof, l. c. 58-60.

<sup>53</sup> The traces of *aeque* in A and B (both, however, corrected to *aquae*) need not detain us: cf. Men. 1089 quoted above.



from the different sound-effects of each verse—a-sounds predominating in the first verse, l-, m-, u-, and n-sounds in the second; certainly there does seem to be something conscious in the change from *auream* of the first verse to *aureolum* of the second; we may properly maintain that the unity of form and of sound-effects in the second verse could have arisen only from a consciousness that the second verse was a distinct entity. At the same time the fact that the consciousness expresses itself only in a superficial or external preservation of verse-unity, and that unity of thought is interrupted, suggests that "art-poetry" in Plautus's hands was on occasion further advanced than the chronological proximity of Saturnian verse would lead us to suspect.

In contrast with merely superficial observance of unity stand a few cases of separation in which the thought serves to reassert the unity of the verse:

hosticum hoc mihi  
domicilium est, Athenis domus est Atticis; ego istam domum  
neque moror neque vos qui homines sitis novi neque scio. (M. G. 450)

Alliteration, to be sure, may have attracted *hosticum* to *hoc*, but the dominant factors are emphasis and contrast. *Hosticum* is first in the sentence because emphasis brings it to that position. *Domicilium* is first in the verse<sup>64</sup> because emphasis again demands for it a prominent position: it must stand in the same verse with *domus* to bring out the contrast between "house" and "home." The effect may be suggested in English by "Stop! a *stranger's* | *house* you point me to; *my home's* in Athens; for *your home* | I care not, nor know I who you gentlemen may be."

Another passage in which at first sight unity seems to be disregarded, when studied in the light of the context, shows considerable consciousness of the intimate association of verse-unit and thought-unit:

habui numerum sedulo: hoc est sextum a porta proximum  
angiportum, in id angiportum me devorti iusserat;  
quotumas aedis dixerit, id ego admodum incerto scio. (Ps. 960)

<sup>64</sup> But *est domicilium* in CD. Note also *hostium* (*ost*—) BCD.

Here, again, it may be said that *porta* has attracted the alliterative *proximum*, but the verse-division represents a corresponding division of thought. The beginning of the first verse leads up to the number and precise location; *angiportum*, separated from its two adjectives, stands out at the beginning of the second verse, again with emphasis, and is repeated<sup>55</sup> with the resumptive pronoun—all of which heightens the contrast with *aedis* of the third verse. The effect is: "I've got the *number* right: the *sixth*, (in going from the gate), | *alley-way*, that's the *alley-way* I was told to take; | but the number of the *house*, that I've clean forgotten."

Perhaps the existence of any unity in the following example will be less readily granted:

coepi observare ecqui maiorem filius  
mihî honorem haberet quam eius habuisset pater. (Aul. 16)

There seem to be two prominent factors in the separation: the comparative degree is attracted to the ablative of degree of difference;<sup>56</sup> alliteration brings together *honorem* and *haberet*.<sup>57</sup> Yet is it too fanciful to say that in spite of the separation the position of *filius* and *pater* at the ends of their verses<sup>58</sup> suggests a unity of thought quite apart from and above the syntactical and alliterative unity of each verse? The two verses are comparable to the two pans of the scale, the son balancing the father, and *maiolem* alongside of *filius* marking the turn of the balance which the expectant Lar anticipates.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Examples of such repetition may be found in Bach, de usu pron. demonstrat. = Studemund-Stud. II 353-354.

<sup>56</sup> See the examples in Fraesdorff, de comparativi gradus usu Plautino 31 ff. Other factors, external or internal, may have precedence over the natural juxtaposition of the ablative of degree and the comparative, but the generalization above is not thereby endangered.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *honos homini* Trin. 697, *meque honorem illi habere* Truc. 591, *mihî honores suae domi habuit maximos* Pers. 512, *habuit, me habere honorem* As. 81.

<sup>58</sup> To be sure, they owe their position in some measure to metrical convenience: cf. vss. 12, 21, 30 of the same prologue.

<sup>59</sup> It is not likely that the following example involves separation (but note *vinum Chium* in Curc. 78):

ubi tu Leucadio, Lesbio, Thasio, Chio,  
vetustate vino edentulo aetatem iuriges. (Poen. 699)

Nor can I be sure that my understanding of the next case will prove convincing. The adjective *mutuos* is occasionally separated in expressions of the ideas of borrowing and lending; in two of the cases the adjective follows the noun, in one the adjective precedes. For purposes of comparison I include them all here, although the former belong in the previous section:

tecumque oravi ut nummos sescentos mihi  
dares utendos mutuos. (Pers. 117)

sed quinque inventis opus est argenti minis  
mutuis, quas hodie reddam: (Ps. 732)

sed potes nunc mutuam  
drachumam dare unam mihi, quam cras reddam tibi? (Ps. 85)

The frequent collocation of this adjective with *dare* and *rogare* in commercial phrases may have given it a substantival force corresponding to the English "loan": so, for example, *exorare mutuom* in Pers. 43 (with *argentum* far distant in 39) suggests that the adjectival force is approximately substantival,<sup>60</sup> and eventually this substantival usage becomes established; even in Plautus we have *tute si pudoris egeas, sumas mutuom* (Amph. 819). If this is granted, the separation becomes innocuous, even if the adjective precedes; the alliteration in the last example perhaps adds to the unity of the verse, but no such additional feature is necessary if *mutuam* is in effect appositional.

The cases hitherto discussed have shown, in varying degrees, consciousness of verse-unity and conservation of it to some extent in spite of the separation of the attributives. The examples we have now to consider do not so plainly point to a sensitiveness to the identity of verse- and sense-unit. There are often extenuating circumstances, but in most cases we must admit that the separation involves a distinct interruption of a thought-unit with less effectual employment of the features that in other examples reinforced the unity of the verse. Prominent

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Ps. 294:

nullus est tibi quem roges  
mutuom argentum?—quin nomen quoque iam interiit "mutuom."

As. 248 and Trin. 1051 also show *mutuos* in a sense approximately substantival. The various forms of *facere mutuom* are hardly parallel.

among these is a group of superlatives of cretic measurement which may owe their separation in part to metrical convenience; occasionally there result sound-effects that may have conduced to separation, but in general the violation of unity is unmistakable, and the palliating or counteracting features are superficial. It is, however, always to be remembered that the cases of separation are extremely few in proportion to the number of occurrences of a given adjective at the end of a verse. The most important member of this group is *maxumus*, which we have already found separated, but following its noun and standing at the beginning of the second verse with emphasis. This adjective appears 86 times in Plautus: 39 times at the end of the verse, 38 times in the interior, nine times at the beginning. It is not likely that, under normal conditions, the position at the verse-end is prompted by a desire to emphasize;<sup>61</sup> generally unemphatic words occupy this position. A collection of all the examples of the phrase *opere maxumo*, with and without separation, will illustrate the feature of metrical convenience:<sup>62</sup>

nam rex Seleucus me opere oravit maxumo (M. G. 75)

nunc te hoc orare iussit opere maxumo (Most. 752)

pater Calidori opere edixit maxumo (Ps. 897)

rogare iussit ted ut opere maxumo (St. 248)

iussit maxumo

opere orare, ut patrem aliquo absterrereres modo, (Most. 420)

non hercle vero taceo. nam tu maxumo

me opsecravisti opere, Casinam ut poscerem uxorem mihi (Cas. 992)

Cf. Terence,

Thais maxumo t.

te orabat opere, ut cras redires. (Eun. 532)

<sup>61</sup> Such a position for emphasis is occupied at least once by the very words with which we are now concerned:

ego miserrumis periculis sum per maria maxuma

vectus, capitali periculo per praedones plurimos

me servavi, (Trin. 1087)

<sup>62</sup> The significance of the cases of separation is somewhat more apparent when we note that *magno opere*, *maiore opere*, *nimio opere*, *tanto opere* are never separated in Plautus by the verse-end.

It is evident that *opere* is attracted to *orare* and *opsecrare*, but so far as the thought is concerned, there is nothing to diminish the violence in the division of *maxumo opere* in Most. 420, or the division of the larger word-groups in Cas. 992 and Eun. 532. And in the first of the two following cases of *maxumus* there are no sound-effects to relieve the separation; in the second, separation brings together m- and a-sounds; these are, however, from lyrical passages:

ubi quisque institerat, concidit crepitu. ibi nescio quis maxuma  
voce exclamat: (Amph. 1063)

quam malum? quid machiner? quid comminiscar? maxumas  
nugas ineptus incipisso.<sup>53</sup> haereo. (Capt. 531)

Cf. Terence,

Geta, hominem maxumi  
preti<sup>54</sup> te esse hodie iudicavi animo meo; (Ad. 891)

Consideration for sound and the artificial arrangement of words may have played some part in the structure of these verses:

Alexandrum magnum atque Agathoclem aiunt maxumas  
duo res gessisse: quid mihi fiet tertio,  
qui solus facio facinora inmortalia? (Most. 775)

The a-sounds are prominent in the first verse; *magnum* and *maxumas* are perhaps not unintentionally put in the same verse; *duo*, interlocked between *maxumas* and *res*, is in contrast with *tertio* at the other extreme of the same verse.<sup>55</sup>

Another superlative *optumus* occurs at the end of the verse in one third of the total number of its occurrences; in only one case does its position result in separation:

<sup>53</sup> *Ineptias incipisse* is the reading of the MSS.

<sup>54</sup> Contrast with this the stereotyped position at the end of the verse, without separation, of *minimi preti*, *parvi preti*, *magni preti*, *quantivis preti* in Plautus (cf. Rassow, de Plauti substantivis s. v. *pretium* GS. = JHB. Supplbd. 12 (1881) 710).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *altera . . . altera*, Aul. 195; *superi . . . inferi*, Aul. 368; *miserius . . . dignius*, Bacch. 41; *malefactorem . . . beneficum*, Bacch. 395; *meam . . . tuam*, Capt. 632. It is interesting to note in this connection a couplet in bacchiac verse:

sed vero duae, sat scio, maxumo uni  
populo cui lubet plus satis dare potis sunt, (Poen. 226).

sed, ere, optuma  
vos video opportunitate ambo advenire. (Ep. 202)

With this should be compared

optuma opportunitate ambo advenistis. (Merc. 964)

Next in significance to the rarity of the separation is the fact, attested by the verse from the *Merc.*, that the initial sounds *op—v—v—op* are the external manifestation of unity which is certainly interrupted by the end of the verse. Such a case is far from disturbing Leo's theory. Such interlocked complexes of thought and sound, which are characteristic of the language, must burst the bonds that confine units of thought within the verse; that they do it so rarely is significant.

A third superlative that, like *optumus*, stands at the end of the verse in one third of the total number of its occurrences is *plurumus*. The singular and the plural of this word are perhaps on a different footing: the plural is conceivably analogous to the separation of *omnes*;<sup>66</sup> so, for example, in this case of *plurumi* in the interior of a verse, the separation seems less violent than in cases of the singular:<sup>67</sup>

plurumi ad illum modum  
periere pueri liberi Carthagine. (Poen. 988)

Whether this is true in the case of the following feminine plural is not at once patent to an English auditor:

O Gripe, Gripe, in aetate hominum plurumae  
fiunt transennae, ubi decipiuntur dolis. (Rud. 1235)

In any case, the singular seems at first to be rather rudely separated in

miles Lyconi in Epidauro hospiti  
suo Therapontigonus Platagidorus plurumam  
salutem dicit. (Curc. 429)

Here the conventional phrases of epistolary address run along naturally and result in two separations, with the first of which

<sup>66</sup> Cf. below, p. 258.

<sup>67</sup> In Eph. 391 *pluruma* (*plurimum* MSS.) is predicative.

we are not now concerned, but verse-unity is suggested in the alliterative colligation of *Platagidorus plurumam*; the effect is as if *plurumam* were an adverb and *salutem dicit* no more than *salvere iubet*, as the following example suggests:

erum atque servom plurumum Philto iubet  
salvere, Lesbonicum et Stasimum. (Trin. 435)

in which, again, we have similar alliteration—*plurumum Philto*, pronounced *Pilto*. So, too, our explanation is confirmed by

multam me tibi  
salutem iussit Therapontigonus dicere (Curc. 420)

in which, as in the other cases, *multam me* are attracted to each other, while *salutem iussit* like *salutem dicit* and *salvere* stands at the beginning of the second verse.<sup>68</sup>

The adjective *parvolus* occurs thirteen times: nine times at the end of a verse, three times with separation. Of these three, one belongs in our examples of adjectives following their nouns, and is a mere afterthought:

nam mihi item gnatae duae  
cum nutrice una sunt surruptae parvolae. (Poen. 1104)

The other two, both from the same play and of the same situation, are cases of violent and absolute separation:<sup>69</sup>

nam ego illanc olim quae hinc flens abiit parvolam  
puellam proiectam ex angiportu sustuli. (Cist. 123)

nam mihi ab hippodromo memini adferri parvolam  
puellam eamque me mihi supponere. (Cist. 552)

A comparison with three cases in Terence justifies us in attributing the separation in large measure to metrical convenience:

ibi tum matri parvolam  
puellam dono quidam mercator dedit (Eun. 108)

<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, without separation, but again in alliterative colligation in

Veneri dicito  
multam meis verbis salutem. (Poen. 406)

<sup>69</sup> The alliteration, interrupted by the verse-end, in *parvolam* | *puellam* has no significance, for it is accidental: the range of expressions for the idea is too limited to admit our regarding it as genuine alliteration.

nisi si illa forte quae olim periit parvola  
soror, hanc se intendit esse, ut est audacia. (Eun. 524)

ah, stultitias istaec, non pudor. tam ob parvolam  
rem paene e patria! (Ad. 274)

In the second example sense as well as sound may connect *periit parvola*—"died in infancy," and in the last there are sound-effects that reassert the unity of the verses.<sup>70</sup>

So much for this group of cretic adjectives;<sup>71</sup> the following participial adjectives may be more easily separable because of

<sup>70</sup> Something might be said for a substantival force in *parvola*, though it could hardly apply to the last example from Terence: such a force is possible in Ter. Eun. 155:

parvola  
hinc est abrepta;

the substantival force is evident in Terence's *a parvolo* (And. 35, Ad. 48) = *a puero*. The nearest approach to it in Plautus is in Poen. 896, 1346, but it is not certain in either place; nor is Ps. 783 a clear case. Cf. Lorenz, Pseudolus, Einleitung p. 59.

<sup>71</sup> Before leaving these examples in which metrical convenience seems to be a factor in the separation, I may call attention to a closely related phenomenon which, it seems to me, is not always recognized. Is not the stereotyped position of certain words in the verse often nothing more than the working of the poet's mind along the path of well-worn "grooves," as a psychologist might express it? For example, in the cases above in which *salutem iussit* or *dicit*, or *salvere iubet*, appear, the position of *salutem* and *salvere* (rather regularly at the beginning of the verse, though not uniformly) can hardly be attributed to metrical convenience alone: it is to some extent a matter of habit. A better example is furnished by these examples from Euripides's *Iphigeneia in Tauris*:

τολμητεον τοι ξεστων εκ ναου λαζειν  
αγαλμα πασας προσφεροντε μηχανας. (111)

Φοιζος μεπερψε δευρο, διοπετες λαζειν  
αγαλμ' Αθηνων τ' εκκαθιρυσαι χθονι. (977)

συν τοις ξενοισιν οιχεται, σεμνον θεας  
αγαλμ' εχουσα δολιμ δην καθαρματα. (1315)

το τ' ουρανον πεσημα, της Διως κρης  
αγαλμα. ναος δεκ μεσης εφθεγξατο  
βοη τις. (1384)

Those of us who are reluctant to admit metrical convenience as a factor may find some comfort in emphasizing the part that mental habit plays in the regular appearance of certain words in the same part of the verse. *Αγαλμα* in the verses above seems to me to owe its position to this rather than anything else.



the peculiar nature of the adjective, and the balanced isolation of *pater*:

salve, insperate nobis  
pater, te complecti nos sine.—cupite atque exspectate  
pater, salve. (Poen. 1259)

The greetings are from two sisters with artificial variation of the conventional terms: the imperatives and vocatives are arranged in chiasmic order; *pater* stands at the beginning of each verse,<sup>72</sup> leaving the adjectives at the end in each case. The collocation is the same as in

o salve, insperate multis annis post quem conspicio  
frater, (Men. 1132)

according to MS. B, but the other members of the Palatine family (and A apparently agrees) introduce a change of speakers before *frater*. Even if we agree with the editors in following A and the majority of the Palatine family, the isolation of the participial vocative, and the relative clause that modifies it, may point to a certain degree of separability in the participial adjectives *insperate*, *cupite*, and *exspectate* in our passage.<sup>73</sup>

There remains a small group of cases in which verse-unity seems to be lost sight of, and which are alike in that the adjectives are of four syllables metrically convenient at the end of the verse:

pol istic me haud centesumam  
partem laudat quam ipse meritust ut laudetur laudibus. (Capt. 421)

haud centesumam  
partem dixi atque, otium rei si sit, possum expromere. (M. G. 763)

si quisquam hanc liberali  
causa manu assereret, (Curc. 490)

ne epistula quidem ulla sit in aedibus  
nec cerata adeo tabula; et si qua inutilis  
pictura sit, eam vendat: (As. 763)

*Centesumus* occurs only in these two places in Plautus; *liberali causa* occurs in the interior of the verse in Poen. 906, 964, 1102,

<sup>72</sup> Cf. above, p. 223, n. 35.

<sup>73</sup> Ferges, de vocativi usu Plautino Terentianoque 32, defends the reading of B in Men. 1132 on the ground that *insperate* is not found in Plautus without an accompanying noun.

and so *liberali manu* in *Curc.* 668, 709; *inutilis* occurs again in *Ps.* 794 and at the end of the verse. But the separation in these cases is not entirely a matter of length and metrical convenience: the collocation of the other words in the sentence is so fixed by almost inviolable laws that it is not surprising that the adjective should escape into the second verse. For to anybody familiar with Plautus and with Wackernagel's study of the position in the sentence of enclitic words it will be clear that the collocations *pol istic me, si quisquam hanc, and et si qua* are to a considerable extent fixed in the usage of the language; the increased difficulty of conserving verse-unity is obvious.<sup>74</sup>

The very fact that in some 15,000 verses so few cases of separation occur—and this in spite of the fondness of the Roman for interlocked complexes which would seem to make the preservation of verse-unity difficult—clearly attests the sanity of Leo's contention. The further fact that in so many of the few cases of separation the unity of the verse reasserts itself through association of thought or sound confirms in large measure his requirement of special justification when separation does occur. The existence of a few cases in which unity is not apparent need not affect the validity of the principle; the essential unity of the verse so far as attributive adjectives are concerned is clear at once from comparison with a tragedy of Euripides or of Seneca—clearer than any statistics could make it.

#### IV.

The large proportion of possessive adjectives among the cases of separation deserves an explanation. They represent one-fourth of the total; indeed if we eliminate cases of merely apparent separation the proportion would be even larger.

No small part of the explanation is found, of course, in the relative frequency of the possessive adjectives in the conversa-

<sup>74</sup> In *As.* 763 ff. there is perhaps some effect in the position of the nouns *epistula, cerata tabula, pictura* at or near the beginning of successive verses. The resumptive *eam* may also reinforce the unity of the last verse.

tional Latin of the plays. That among 3000<sup>75</sup> cases of possessive adjectives only about 60 should be separated from their substantives by the verse-end may seem in itself some slight tribute to verse-unity rather than a contravention of it. Yet the obvious violence to the unity of thought, at least from an English standpoint, in dividing "thy son" between two verses makes even a small percentage seem inexplicably large. We must not, however, allow our English standpoint to influence us. The separation of "thy son" by the verse-end in English is not altogether analogous to the separation of *filius* from *tuos*. For in the Latin sentence the phrase corresponding to "thy son" is much less of an independent unit of thought than in the English sentence: in the Latin sentence, largely because the possessives *meus*, *tuos*, *suos* are generally unemphatic and often without accent in the phrase- or sentence-unit, the division by the verse-end does not separate "thy" from "son," but rather divides a larger unit of thought. It is clear, for example, that *tuos emit aedis filius* (Most. 670) constitutes a unit of thought; and so, too, does *aedis filius | tuos emit* (Most. 637, cf. 997). The separation in this latter case, if any is felt, is rather that of *aedis filius* from *tuos emit* than merely of *filius* from *tuos*. Furthermore, since the possessive adjectives *meus*, *tuos*, *suos* are generally unemphatic in our examples, it is possible and likely that in this example *tuos* was absorbed in the rhythmical unit *tuos emit* without much consciousness of any violence in separating *tuos* from *filius* by the verse-end; the frequency and ease with which words intervene between these possessives and their substantives (quite apart from separation by the verse-end) may support this contention. Even if the possessive had some slight stress upon it, as in the beginning of trochaic verses and rarely in an iambic verse (*filiam | suam despondit*, Cist. 600), certainly such stress was subordinate: *suam*, despite some quantitative prominence, must have been merged in the surrounding words.<sup>76</sup> Of course it may be ob-

<sup>75</sup> Nilsson, l. c. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Some such idea is expressed by Appuhn, l. c. 63, but in a way that fails to account for trochaic verses and Cist. 600. I hope it is clear that

jected that the thought would lead us to merge it in the preceding, rather than in the following word, in the example quoted, and that the possessive is enclitic,<sup>77</sup> not proclitic. For our present purpose it is enough that the possessive is absorbed in a larger unit, and that the separation by the verse-end is by no means the same as that involved in the division between verses of the English possessive and its substantive.<sup>78</sup>

In the second place it is to be noted that the possessives are subject to at least one influence from which ordinary attributives are free: Kämpf,<sup>79</sup> and others before him, observed the attraction of pronominal words to one another. Such attraction appears in a relatively small number of our examples:<sup>80</sup>

eam meae | uxori (Men. 480),  
 illam quae meam | gnatam (Cist. 547),  
 tu mihi tua | oratione (As. 112),  
 ad illam quae tuom | . . . filium (Bacch. 406),  
 fores conservas | meas a te (As. 386),

the paragraph above is not intended to offer any complete explanation of the separation, but only to suggest that the separation, such as it is, is probably by no means so harsh as it appears to us. The point that I wish to make is that the unemphatic possessive has very little independent force and is not merely "swallowed up" (Appuhn) metrically, but absorbed in larger thought-units even of ordinary speech.

<sup>77</sup> Lindsay, *Latin Language* 167; but cf. E. Wallstedt, *Från Filologiska Föreningen: Språkliga Uppsatser III* (Lund 1906) 189 ff; also Radford, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.* 36 (1905) 190 ff. Neither of these last two articles was accessible to me in time to use them for the discussion above.

<sup>78</sup> The fact that the genitive case is used in appositional relation to the possessives (e.g. *mea unius opera*) might lead to the suggestion that the separation is not more serious than that of a possessive genitive. This would be a helpful suggestion if the possessive genitive in Plautus were regularly or even frequently separated from its noun by the verse; cases do occur (e. g. Bacch. 901, Rud. 1079, Cist. 544), but rarely; and the possessive genitive with *pater*, *uxor*, *filius*, *mater*, which are the nouns most frequently appearing in our cases of the separated possessive adjective, is in Plautus almost inseparable from its noun even by intervening words.

<sup>79</sup> Kämpf, l. c. 16 ff.

<sup>80</sup> A few cases, though too few to be significant, of a verse-end intervening between pronominal words thus combined are worth noting: *tua | me* Cas. 279-280, *meam | me* Cist. 98-99, *me | meam* Ep. 480-481, *mca | meae* M. G. 738-739, *se | suamque* Trin. 109-110, *tibi | tua* Ps. 112-113.

flio | meo te esse amicum et illum intellexi tibi (Capt. 140),  
 sine dispendio | tuo tuam libertam (Poen. 163),  
 servos . . . | suos mihi (Most. 1087).

If alliteration appears in such cases, it is, of course, incidental and results from the attraction; it is not a primary factor.

Wackernagel (Indog. Forsch. I, 406 ff.) does not include *meus*, *tuos*, *suos* among his examples of enclitic words that drift to the beginning of the sentence. There are cases of separation that might have been affected by his law, but they are too few to suggest the direct influence of his law; these few show the enclitic possessives immediately following the introductory word; they seem more significant when other words intervene between the possessive and the noun: e. g. Truc. 355, Aul. 733, St. 416. Since Wackernagel's law affects particularly certain monosyllabic and dissyllabic pronouns, it follows that in combination with the law of pronominal attraction there results in many cases the necessity of placing the possessive in the third or fourth place; take, for example, these two cases, one of separation, one without separation:

conteris  
 tu tua me oratione, mulier, quisquis es. (Cist. 609)

profecto nemo est quem iam dehinc metuam mihi.  
 ne quid nocere possit, cum tu mihi tua  
 oratione omnem animum ostendisti tuom. (As. 111)

To say nothing of other features, the rule of collocation that makes *tu* second in the sentence, in combination with the attraction that joins *tu tua me* and *tu mihi tua*, undoubtedly regulates to a considerable degree the disposition of the words; and it is clear that the existence of such laws of collocation must appear seriously to interfere with the poet's consideration of verse-unity, at least in many cases.

Such laws affect the spoken language; if Plautus is more observant of them than of verse-unity, it is no more than we should expect of a dramatic poet who is reproducing the conversational Latin of his day. The same general truth applies to ordinary attributives, but they are not as a class subject to these particu-

lar regulations. In addition to the observance of laws controlling the arrangement of words in speech the poet is governed by the conditions of his verse. It is easy to overestimate the force of metrical convenience. It is seldom more than one of many factors. But it may hardly be denied that the iambic or pyrrhic possessives found a comfortable habitat at the end<sup>81</sup> and at the beginning of certain iambic and trochaic verses. Indeed, quite apart from the metrical convenience of the possessives that do not involve separation, the cases of separated possessives of iambic or pyrrhic measurement lead to two conclusions:

1) in all cases of separation in which *meus*, *tuos*, or *suos* follows a substantive, whether with or without intervening words, the possessive stands at the beginning of the second verse;<sup>82</sup>

2) in all cases of separation in which *meus*, *tuos*, or *suos* precedes a substantive, whether with or without intervening words, the possessive stands at the end of the first verse.<sup>83</sup>

The exceptions to these principles<sup>84</sup> only test their validity. It is of course evident that in the cases covered by the first rule there is no reason why the possessive should not stand at the end of the second verse; such a position is unusual, probably because the separation by intervening words is thereby abnormally great; an example from Terence is

qui tum illam amabant, forte ita ut fit, filium  
perduxere illuc, secum ut una esset, meum. (And. 80)

Similarly under the second rule there is no reason why the possessive should not stand at the beginning of the first verse; but here, again, such position is unusual probably because of the extent of the intervening words; an isolated example is

<sup>81</sup> For statistics cf. Nilsson, l. c. 37.

<sup>82</sup> Amph. 134, 135, As. 387, 434, Aul. 289, Bacch. 880, Capt. 141, 873, Cist. 586, 601, Curc. 347, 430, Ep. 391, 401, 482, 583, M. G. 543, Most. 638, 998, 1088, Poen. 164, 192, 1375, Ps. 483, 650, 850, Rud. 743, Trin. 1101, 1144, Truc. 293.

<sup>83</sup> As. 16, 112, 785, Aul. 733, Bacch. 406, 777, Cist. 184, 547, 772, Ep. 279, Men. 420, 480, 518, 740, M. G. 563, 635, 799, Rud. 1392, St. 416. Trin. 1147, Truc. 355.

<sup>84</sup> The hiatus, therefore, after the first word of Ps. 650 is not to be cured by changing *suam huc* to *huc suam* (Bothe), and Trin. 141 becomes suspicious.

meamne hic Mnesilochus, Nicobuli filius,  
per vim ut retineat mulierem? (Bacch. 842)

In both cases the rare position is attended by other features: in the first, the postponement of *meum* perhaps suggests the pathos of the situation; in the second, emphasis, alliteration, and collocation with *hic* are contributory factors. Finally, such an exception to these rules as appears in the following example is due to the peculiar nature of the formula and the greater convenience of *obsecro* at the end:

adsum, Callicles: per tua obsecro  
genua, ut tu istuc insipienter factum sapienter feras (Truc. 826)

Cf. Curc. 630, where *per tua genua te obsecro* concludes the verse, and Poen. [1387], where, again at the end of the verse, we find *per ego tua te genua obsecro*.<sup>85</sup>

We have thus noted several features that make the comparatively large number of separated possessives more easily understood. As in the case of ordinary attributives, there are occasionally special conditions which emphasize the unity of the verse in spite of the separation. The accidental alliteration arising from pronominal attraction we have already noticed, there are a few cases of genuine alliteration:

ubi erit empta, ut aliquo ex urbe amoveas; nisi quid est tua  
secus sententia. (Ep. 279)

nam hominem servom suos  
domitos habere oportet oculos et manus (M. G. 563)

oculos volo  
meos delectare munditiis meretriciis. (Poen. 191)

There are a few cases, allied to those of pronominal attraction, in which pronominal words are not immediately juxtaposed but are grouped together in the same verse:

ah, salus  
mea, servavisti me. (Bacch. 879)

vel ego, qui dudum fili causa coeperam  
ego me exercuiare animi, quasi quid filius

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Langen, Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung d. Pl. 335; Kämpf, l. c. 21.

meus deliquisset me erga (Ep. 389)<sup>86</sup>  
o filia  
 mea, quom hanc video, mearum me absens miseriarum communes; (Rud. 742)

In the following example *meae* belongs to both nouns:

inscitiae  
 meae et stultitiae ignoscas. (M. G. 542)

The possessive adjectives of the plural pronouns of the first and second persons occur naturally with much less frequency than *meus*, *tuos*, *suos*, and cases of separation are proportionately fewer. They are subject to fewer special regulations and conditions: they are not enclitics; metrical convenience does not affect their position so significantly; they are to be sure subject to the principle of pronominal attraction:<sup>87</sup>

saluto te, vicine Apollo, qui aedibus  
 propinquos nostris accolis, venerorque te, (Bacch. 172)

tonstricem Suram  
 novisti nostram? (Truc. 405)

qua re filiam  
 credidisti nostram? (Ep. 597)

meritissimo eius quae volet faciemus, qui hosce amores  
 nostros dispulsos compulit. (As. 737)

nam meus formidat animus, nostrum tam diu  
 ibi desidere neque redire filium. (Bacch. 237)

In these cases there is little to suggest the entity of individual verses. The possessive and its noun in every example but one bracket other words, and the word-group thus formed shows no respect for verse-unity. Such word-groups appear in very simple form in Altenberg's examples from early prose; in Plautus's verse—we may not here enquire into the causes—they are often

<sup>86</sup> Note also *ego*, *ego me*, *meus* at or near the beginning of successive verses.

<sup>87</sup> This does not happen to appear in our examples, but note Terence Haut. 711:

ut quom narret senex  
 voster nostro esse istam amicam gnati, non credat tamen.



orate, as the last example above illustrates.<sup>58</sup> The significance is that in spite of the employment of such interlocked and so seldom allows them to escape into the second. It is true that when the ordinary attributive escapes, unity seems more often to reassert itself than when a possessive is separated, but such difference as there is, is accounted for by the relative frequency of the possessives, the unemphatic character of most of them, and their metrical character, which carries some of them to the extremities of the verse. Inasmuch as *vester, voster* are subject only to the second of these influences, lack of emphasis may properly be regarded as the most important factor in the separation.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup>In the cases of *meus, tuos, suos*, usually the possessive is separated from its noun only by a verb (Aul. 733-734, Ps. 849-850). There are a few cases of more elaborate interlocking:

ad illum quae tuom  
perdidit, pessum dedit tibi filium unice unicum. (Bacch. 406)

Similar effects are usually produced by such arrangements; an interesting case is

sicut tuom vis unicum gnatum tuae  
superesse vitae sospitem et superstitem, (As. 16)

Here the couplet is securely linked together by the connection between the noun of the first verse and the adjectives of the second; but as the connection is predicative, the unity of the second verse, reinforced by the sound- and sense-effect, is paramount; *tuae* is separated from *vitalae*, and the separation also divides the group *tuae superesse vitalae*, but if our conclusions above are correct, the weak force of *tuae* made the separation inoffensive to the Roman. Another interesting case is

quid ais? eequam scis filium tibiaenam  
meum amare? (Ps. 482)

The criss-cross *eequam . . . filium tibiaenam* | *meum* brings together the contrasted objects and suggests the father's indignation, while *meum* is too weak to interrupt seriously the unity of the verses except so far as it is already interrupted.

<sup>59</sup>The evidence does not suffice to include Greek influence as an additional factor. The ways of expressing the possessive idea in Greek are more varied, and the conditions inherent in the words are different from those of their Latin equivalents. The fragments of the New Comedy offer almost no parallels to the separation in Plautus. In Menander's (307 K.) τὸ γινῶθι σουτὸν ἔστιν, ἂν τὰ πράγματα | εἰδῆς τὰ σουτοῖ, the article with the pos-

## V.

These special conditions also affect many other pronominal adjectives, so that it is not surprising that, for example, the demonstrative pronouns in their adjectival usage are second, in frequency of separation, to the possessive adjectives. Again, however, the cases of separation, viewed with reference to the total number of occurrences of such adjectives, are extremely few. The fact that these words are pronominal as well as adjectival may in many cases have mitigated the separation; and the effect of Wackernagel's law and of the law of pronominal attraction, working either separately or in common, is very pronounced in many of our examples. The studies of Langen, Bach, Kämpf, Kellerhof, taken in connection with Wackernagel's different and broader point of view, explain the position not only of the demonstratives, but of the determinative, and of the indefinite *quis* and its derivatives. If these words find their natural habitat immediately after the introductory word of the sentence, and if the closeness of the adjectival relation is something much less binding than the operation of Wackernagel's law—as is quite evident—it is remarkable that cases of separation are so infrequent.

The examples that follow will show the pronominal word in close connection with the introductory word of the sentence; so *nunc* is immediately followed by *hoc*:

nunc hoc deferam

argentum ad hanc, quam mage amo quam matrem meam. (Truc. 661)

possessive genitive may suggest an amplifying idea. I have not found any cases of *ἐμός*, *σός* thus separated. In Euripides, however, parallels occur, but they are less frequent than in Plautus; e. g. *γῆμας τύραννον καὶ κασιγνήτους τέκνους | ἐμοῖς φυτεύων*; (Med. 877, possibly with emphasis on *ἐμοῖς*), *τήνδ' ἐμὴν κομίζομαι | λαβῶν ἀδελφὴν* (Iph. T. 1362), *οὐχὶ τὴν ἐμὴν | φονέα νομίζων χεῖρα* (Iph. T. 385), *ἴωσαν εἰς σὴν σὴν θεοῖς ἀγάλματι | γαίαν* (Iph. T. 1480). So, too, *σόν . . . | πρόσωπον* (Ion 925), *πατρός | τοῖμοῦ* (Ion 725, Med. 746), *φρένας | τὰς σάς* (Ion 1271), *τέκνα . . . | τὰμ'* (Med. 792), *τοῖσι σοῖς ἐναντίον | λόγουσιν* (Med. 1132). On the whole, inherent features of the Latin words are more likely to have been the dominant influences, although the agreement points to an inherited separability.

nomen Trinummo fecit. nunc hoc vos<sup>m</sup> rogat  
ut liceat possidere hanc nomen fabulam. (Trin. 20)<sup>m</sup>

In close association with *qui* or with *si*:

nam servom mihi qui illum<sup>m</sup> sectari solet  
meum gnatum: is ipse hanc destinavit fidicinam. (Ep. 486)

hi qui illum dudum conciliaverunt mihi  
peregrinum Spartacum, (Poen. 769)

nimis ecator facinus mirum est, qui illi conlubitum siet  
meo viro sic me insimulare falso facinus tam malum. (Amph. 858)

qui ad illum deferat  
meum erum, qui Athenis fuerat, qui hanc amaverat, (M. G. 131)

ut si illic concriminatus sit adversum militem  
meus conservos, eam vidisse hic cum alieno ocularier, (M. G. 242)

nam si ille argentum prius  
hospes huc affert, continuo nos ambo exclusi sumus. (As. 360)

edepol ne illic pulchram praedam agat, si quis illam invenerit  
aulam onustam auri; (Aul. 610)<sup>m</sup>

di tibi propitii sunt, nam hercle si istam semel amiseris  
libertatem, haud facile in eundem rusum restitues locum. (M. G. 701)

The regularity with which the separated noun in these and many other cases stands at the beginning of the second verse, with many words intervening between it and the pronominal adjective—a mystery followed by its solution—conveys the effect of a personal pronoun and an appositive—“him . . . my son,” etc. Such interpretation may be purely subjective,<sup>94</sup> but in any case

<sup>m</sup> But A reads *vos hoc*.

<sup>1</sup> On this verse cf. Leo, Bemerkungen über plautinische Wortstellung u. Wortgruppen 430.

<sup>2</sup> *illum qui* P.

<sup>3</sup> Features reinforcing the unity of the verse are apparent in the previous example (*hospes huc*), and here particularly where *aulam onustam auri* are undoubtedly linked together by a unity of sound-effect: cf. Aul. 763, 617, 709, 809, 821.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Appuhn, l. c. 59. In a case like the following, the noun with its relative clause in the second verse seems to intensify the substantival effect of the demonstrative in the first verse:

“quam facile et quam fortunate evenit illi, obsecro,  
mulieri quam liberare volt amator.” (Ep. 243)

Occasionally this effect is brought out explicitly:

em istic homo te articulatum concidit, senex,  
tuos servos. (Ep. 488)

the rather constant attraction of these pronominal words to the second place in the sentence, without regard to any association with the noun, was certainly the usage of the spoken language; it is, therefore, unlikely that there was any violence in the separation by the verse comparable to the division in English of "that . . . son of mine." Many pronominal adjectives seem to have an independent force, a closer affinity with other words than with their substantives: in any consideration of verse-unity they are almost non-existent.

In isolated cases the separated demonstrative appears in company with *nam* and *quid*; the indefinite *quis* and its derivatives are similarly connected with the introductory particle rather than with the noun:

nam is illius filiam  
conicit in navem miles clam matrem suam, (M. G. 111)

quid hic<sup>m</sup> non poterat de suo  
senex obsonari filiai nuptiis? (Aul. 294)

sed specular labor ne quis aut hinc aut ab laeva aut dextera  
nostro consilio venator adsit cum auritis plagis. (M. G. 607)

nam cogitato, si quis hoc gnato tuo  
tuos servos faxit, qualem haberes gratiam? (Capt. 711)

nescio quid istuc negoti dicam, nisi si quispiam<sup>m</sup> est  
Amphitruo alius, (Amph. 825)

ibo in Piraeum, visam eequae advenerit  
in portum ex Epheso navis mercatoria. (Bacch. 235)

ecquem  
recalvom ad Silanum senem, statutum, ventriosum, (Rud. 316)

Some examples have already illustrated the juxtaposition of pronominal words; in the following case (a lyrical passage) particles and pronouns are grouped together in a way that readers of Plautus will admit to be almost inevitable; if there is any violence in the separation of *istam*—which I doubt—it is easily

<sup>m</sup> Usually punctuated—*quid? hic* etc., but unnecessarily, I think; in any case the stress is on *quid*, and *hic* is not the first word of the sentence-unit, as the metre shows.

<sup>m</sup> There is, however, nothing regular in the collocation *si quispiam*: see the examples in Prehn, Quaestiones Plautinae de pronomibus indefinitis 7-8.

forgiven for the sake of *scelestam*, *scelus*, *linguam* and the division only brings into relief that phrase:

quid est? quo modo? iam quidem hercle ego tibi istam  
scelestam, scelus, linguam absceidam. (Amph. 556)

There are other examples of the demonstrative which have none of the attendant features illustrated above, but which for other reasons are hardly to be considered as disturbing the unity of the verse. Among these is a small group of cases in which the noun is in the first verse, and the demonstrative in the second verse is defined in a relative clause; thus the second verse simply amplifies the meaning of the noun in the first verse:

'immo apud trapexitam situm est  
illum quem dixi Lyconem,' (Cura. 345)

continuo arbitretur uxor tuo gnato atque ut fidicinam  
illam quam is volt liberare, quae illum corrumpit tibi,  
uleiscare atque ita curetur, usque ad mortem ut seruiat. (Ep. 267)

oboluit marsuppium  
huic istuc quod habes. (Men. 384)

So, too, with *idem*:

duxit uxorem hic sibi  
eandem quam olim virginem hic compresserat, (Cist. 177)

There is, of course, no more separation in these cases than in<sup>17</sup>

sed optume eecum ipse advenit  
hospes ille, qui has tabellas attulit. (Pers. 543)

According to the earlier punctuation with a comma after *singularias*, the following verses would not concern us:

eis indito catenas singularias  
istas, maiores quibus sunt iuncti demito. (Capt. 112)

But Bach (Studemund-Stud. II 322) offers valid reasons for referring *istas* to the previous verse; such a separation is difficult to parallel, and Bach's examples are wide of the mark. There is, to be sure, a contrast suggested by the juxtaposition

<sup>17</sup> Or in

quid ais? tu nunc si forte eumpse Charmidem conspexeris  
illum quem tibi istas dedisse commemoras epistulas, (Trin. 950)

of *istas* and *maiores*, which may account for the separation, but it is certainly very vaguely suggested; the demonstrative, if it follows the noun and is in the second verse, is usually attended by features that more evidently justify separation:

quis istuc quaeso? an ille quasi ego?—is ipse quasi tu. (tum)senex  
ille quasi ego “ si vis,” inquit “ quattuor sane dato ” (St. 552)<sup>98</sup>

ei rei dies  
haec praestituta est, proxuma Dionysia?  
cras ea quidem sunt. (Ps. 58)

tu abduc hosce intro et una nutricem simul  
iube hanc abire hinc ad te. (Poen. 1147)

qua pro re argentum promisit hic tibi?—si vidulum  
hunc redegissem in potestatem eius, iuratus dare  
mihi talentum magnum argenti. (Rud. 1378)

Such analogies as there are to *istas* according to Bach's punctuation must be found in these examples: the contrast in *ille . . . ego, haec . . . cras*,<sup>99</sup> and the resumptive force of *hanc* and its proximity to *hinc*—all these features reinforce the unity of the verses; it may be doubted whether in the last example *hunc . . . eius* is a feature that has any bearing upon the separation of *hunc*: it is an unusual example (cf. Trin. 1123–4 according to Lindsay's Oxford text), and the nearest parallel to Bach's *istas* that I have found.

A few examples do not admit of grouping under characteristics common to any large number of cases:<sup>100</sup>

postremo, si dictis nequis perduci ut vera haec credas  
mea dicta, ex factis nosce rem. (Most. 198)

haec sunt atque aliae multae in magnis dotibus  
incommoditates sumptusque intolerabiles. (Aul. 532)

an te ibi vis inter istas vorsarier  
procedas, pistorum amicas, (Poen. 265)

<sup>98</sup> The whole context should be read to get the play on *quasi ego* and *quasi tu*.

<sup>99</sup> Contrast with this verse a later reference in the same play:

nam olim quom abiit, argento haec dies  
praestitutast, quoad referret nobis, neque dum rettulit. (Ps. 623)

<sup>100</sup> Most. 618 should be included, if Leo's supplementary readings are correct.

mulier profecto natast ex ipsa Mora;  
 nam quaevis alia quae morast aequae, mora  
 minor ea videtur quam quae propter mulieremst. (M. G. 1292)

pro di immortales, similiorem mulierem  
 magisque eandem, ut pote quae non sit eadem, (M. G. 528)

In none of these is the separation violent; effective antithesis, long words grouped in one verse, alliteration, the combination of associated ideas—*ea . . . quae propter mulieremst*,<sup>101</sup> *eandem . . . eadem*—are compensating features, all of which testify to the individuality of the verse.

The freedom with which the relative is separated from its noun in Oscan and Umbrian (Norden, *Kunstprosa* I 181 n.; Altenburg, *De sermone pedestri Itolorum vetustissimo* 530) suggests that the relative adjective has an inherent separability; and in several of the cases there is some evidence of unity despite the separation:

nimis paene manest.—mane quod tu oceperis  
 negotium agere, id totum procedit diem. (Pers. 114)

ut in tabellis quos consignavi hic heri  
 latrones, ibus denumerem stipendium. (M. G. 73)

cui servitutum di danunt lenoniam  
 puero, atque eidem si addunt turpitudinem, (Pa. 767)

ita ut ocepi dicere, illum quem dudum (e fano foras)  
 lenonem extrusisti, hic eius vidulum eccillum (tenet). (Rud. 1065)

di illum infelicit omnes, qui post hunc diem  
 leno ullam Veneri unquam immolarit hostiam, (Poen. 449)

qui hic litem apisci postulant peiurio  
 mali, res falsas qui impetrant apud iudicem, (Rud. 17)

quin tu tuam rem cura potius quam Seleuci, quae tibi  
 condicio nova et luculenta fertur per me interpretem. (M. G. 951)

ni hercle diffregeritis talos posthac quemque in tegulis  
 videritis alienum,<sup>102</sup> (M. G. 156)

qui omnes se amare credit, quaeque aspexerit  
 mulier:<sup>103</sup> eum oderunt qua viri qua mulieres. (M. G. 1391)

<sup>101</sup> This does not exhaust the effects: note *mora* at the ends of successive verses; and *mora* at the end of the second verse may be in close relation with *quaevis alia* of its own verse as well as with the next verse.

<sup>102</sup> Similarly, but without separation by the verse in

quemque a milite hoc videritis hominem in nostris tegulis, (M. G. 160)

<sup>103</sup> *Mulierem* B, *mulieres eum* CD.

The uniformity with which the separated substantive stands at the beginning of the second verse is rather striking: the mystery suggested by the anticipatory relatives makes its solution worthy of a prominent position; the resumptive pronoun in many cases makes the noun at home in its verse in spite of separation—*negotium . . . id, latrones . . . ibus, puero . . . eidem, lenonem . . . eius*; other evidence of unity is visible in the fact that *mali* (Rud. 18) belongs as much with the *qui* of its own verse as with the *qui* of the preceding verse,<sup>104</sup> and in the echo *mulier . . . mulieres* (M. G. 1392).<sup>105</sup>

Occasionally the interrogative adjective is similarly separated:

quem amplexa sum  
hominem? (M. G. 1345)

cui ad aures  
vox mi advolavit? (Rud. 332)<sup>106</sup>

The indefinite adjectives, too, now and then appear in verses by themselves; such a separation of *nescio quis* from its noun hardly impairs verse-unity;<sup>107</sup> and cases of *aliquis* and *quisquam*,<sup>108</sup> by the very nature of the words, are inoffensive:

nam sibi laudavisse hasce ait architectonem  
nescio quem exaedificatas insanum bene. (Most. 760)

atque ego illi aspicio osculantem Philocomasium cum altero  
nescio quo adulescente. (M. G. 288)

si censes, coquom  
aliquem arripiamus, prandium qui percoquat (Merc. 579)

ego si allegavissem aliquem ad hoc negotium  
minus hominem doctum minusque ad hanc rem callidum, (Ep. 427)

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Leo, *Analecta Plautina: de figuris sermonis* I 20. The position of *mali* (18) and *bonos* (21), each at the beginning of its verse, brings out the contrast.

<sup>105</sup> For the repetition of *mulier* cf.

ecce ad me advenit  
mulier, qua mulier alia nullast pulchrior: (Merc. 100)

<sup>106</sup> *Cui* MSS. But the same or similar phrases usually occur without separation: Trin. 45, Cure. 229, Merc. 864.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Ter. Ad. 657–658.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Ter. Ad. 716–717.



peiorem ego hominem magisque vorsute malum  
numquam edepol quemquam vidi quam hic est Simia; (Ps. 1017)

neque ego taetriorem beluam  
vidisse me umquam quemquam quam te censeo. (Most. 607)

There are some noteworthy features: the balanced alliteration in Merc. 579-580; in Ep. 427 *aliquem* is really substantival, "somebody else," and the next verse a separable element; in the two cases of *quisquam*, the regular juxtaposition of words ending in *-quam* is illustrated.<sup>109</sup>

*Alter*,<sup>110</sup> when separated, is in effect an added idea:

at ego nunc, Amphitruo, dico: Sosiam servom tuom  
praeter me alterum, inquam, adveniens faciam ut offendas domi, (Amph.  
612)

eho tu, quam vos igitur filiam  
nunc quaeritatis alteram? (Cist. 602)

The separation of *alterum* from *tantum* in the following couplet (omitted in A) is more violent; cf. the same phrase within the verse in Bacch. 1184, an anapestic passage, and in frag. 4 of the Caecus:

immo etiam si alterum  
tantum perdundumst, perdam potius quam sinam (Ep. 518)

So in this case of *tantulum*:

immo, Chrysale, em non tantulum  
unquam intermittit tempus quin eum nominet. (Bacch. 209)

It would be difficult to prove that any emphasis is attained by the position of these cretic words at the end of the verse and by their separation from the substantives, but the context in each case suggests considerable emphasis upon the adjectives.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> This hardly needs further evidence, but to quote only one play, cf. Men. 192, 400, 447, 518, 613, 780, 959.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. the separation of *alius* in St. 449-450; Ter. And. 778-779 (*alia aliam*), Hec. 365-366, Ad. 52-53, in the last two cases preceding the noun.

<sup>111</sup> The inherent separability of these pronominal adjectives is confirmed by the same phenomena in Greek: cf. above, p. 215, and for the demonstratives Menander 567; Philemon 7; 58; Diphilus 30; 3; for *αὐτός* Menander 117-118; 580; 748; for *τις* Menander 325, 8; for *ὅστος* Menander 393; for *ποσῆρα* Menander 140; for *ἀλλος* Menander 535, 3.

VI.

The numerals, also, have an independent existence which may account for the cases of separation by the verse-end:

scelestiorem ego annum argento faenori  
numquam ullum vidi quam hic mihi annus optigit. (Most. 532)

verbum  
nullum<sup>12</sup> fecit. (Bacch. 982)

ferat epistulas  
duas, eas nos consignemus, quasi sint a patre: (Trin. 774)      ei filiae  
duae erant, quasi nunc meae sunt; eae erant duobus nuptae fratribus,  
quasi nunc meae sunt vobis. (St. 539)

Alexandrum magnum atque Agathoclem aiunt maxumas  
duo res gessisse: quid mihi fiet tertio,  
qui solus facio facinora immortalia. (Most. 775)

hic dico, in fanum Veneris qui mulierculas  
duas secum adduxit, (Rud. 128)

occepere aliae mulieres  
duae post me sic fabulari inter sese (Ep. 236)

mulieres  
duae innocentes intus hic sunt, tui indigentes auxili, (Rud. 641)

quia vos in patriam domum  
rediisse video bene gesta re ambos, te et fratrem tuum. (St. 506)

tum captivorum quid ducunt secum! pueros, virgines,  
binos, ternos, alios quinque; (Ep. 210)

ubi saepe causam dixeris pendens advorsus octo  
artutos, audacis viros, valentis virgatores. (As. 564)

ubi saepe ad languorem tua duritia dederis octo  
validos lictores, ulmeis adfectos lentis virgis. (As. 574)

(atque) auditavi saepe hoc volgo dicier,  
solere elephantum gravidam perpetuos decem  
esse annos; (St. 167)

non quinquaginta modo,  
quadringentos filios habet atque equidem lectos sine probro: (Bacch. 973)

<sup>12</sup> *Verbum nullum* without separation by the verse in Bacch. 785 (by emendation), Ter. Eun. 88. *Ullus*, with *neque* preceding, is separated in Ter. Ad. 85.

The last passage is from a canticum, and is ascribed by Leo to an amplificator. In the other examples some attendant features are worth noting. Respect for unity is shown in *duae—duobus* (St. 539), *duo—tertio* (Most. 775),<sup>113</sup> and in the isolation of adjectives and nouns in the second verse in the two examples from the *Asinaria*. In most of the cases the numeral follows the noun, or if it precedes the separation brings into prominence important elements (As. 564, 574, St. 168). A few cases of *omnes* are in place here:<sup>114</sup>

hariolos, haruspices

mitte omnes; (Amph. 1132)

quin edepol servos, ancillas domo  
certum est omnis mittere ad te. (Cas. 521)

deartuasti dilaceravisti atque opes  
confecisti omnes, res ac rationes meas: (Capt. 672 ap. Nonium)

ita res divina mihi fuit: res serias  
omnis extollo ex hoc die in alium diem. (Poen. 499)

Rhodum venimus, ubi quas merces vexeram  
omnis ut volui vendidi ex sententia: (Merc. 93)

servos pollicitust dare

suos mihi omnis quaestioni. (Most. 1087)

ubi ego omnibus

parvis magnisque miseriis praefulcor: (Ps. 771)

atque me minoris facio prae illo, qui omnium  
legum atque iurum fector, conditor cluet; (Ep. 522)

fateor me omnium

hominum esse Athenis Atticis minimi preti. (Ep. 501)

The first six examples, in which the adjective follows in the second verse, involve no violation of verse-unity; the last three, however, are certainly, from an English standpoint, more destructive of unity. (Cf. also the separation of *tot* in Poen. 582.) It is likely that the adjective is more separable than the corresponding word in English: the evidence for this is found in the apparent separability of numerals in general, and

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Poen. 898.

<sup>114</sup> For *omnes* in Ter. cf. *And.* 77, 667, *Eun.* 1032. Similarly *complures*, Ter. *Ad.* 229 (cf. *plurimi* in Plautus, above, p. 237); *pauci*, Ter. *Hee.* 58; *aliquod*, Ter. *Phor.* 312. Cf. Norden, *Aeneis* Buch VI, 390.

in the usage of the corresponding words in Greek verse.<sup>115</sup> Certainly the explanation of the separation of numerals is more likely to be found in inherent qualities of the numerals as such than in such attendant features as the metrical convenience of the cretic *omnium* at the end of a verse.

## VII.

Proper and improper numerals, pronominal adjectives, and in particular possessive adjectives were separated without essential disturbance of verse-unity. This inherent separability seems to be proved not only by the treatment of these words in Plautus, but by the evidence furnished by early Latin prose, and by Greek prose and verse: the nature of the evidence suggests that this separability was an inherited trait. The operation of Wackernagel's law and of the law of pronominal attraction is a further manifestation of the looseness of the bond that binds pronominal adjectives to their nouns. The separation of possessive adjectives was probably promoted by the unemphatic nature of the words, which suffered a loss of their individuality. These conclusions do not differ essentially from those of Appuhn

In the treatment of attributive adjectives, however, I hope that something has been gained by an attempt to interpret, within the limits set by the paper, the passages illustrating separation. We found that attributives following the noun and separated were regularly expressions of ideas ranging from predicative to amplifying, and the separation was usually attended by features that reinforced the unity of the verse. We found, too, that when the separated attributives preceded their nouns, although from an English standpoint the unity of the verse was

<sup>115</sup> For the ordinary numerals in Ter. cf. Eun. 332, Phor. 638, Ad. 46. For Greek examples cf. *εις*, *οὐδεὶς*, *μηδεὶς*, Menander 535, 3; 282; 382; 397; 128, 3; Philemon 4. 13; 28, 9; other numerals, Menander 7, 1; 357; 547-548; Philemon 12; 89, 7; *πᾶς*, Menander 13, 2; 173; *ὅλος*, Menander 67, 2; *πάντες*, *ἅπαντες*, Diphilus 17, 2; Philemon 91, 7; Menander 292, 4; 363, 7; 404, 7; 532, 1; *πολλά*, Menander 593. And for numerals in early Latin prose, cf. Altenburg, l. c. 524 ff.

impaired, there were almost always associations of sound or sense that reasserted the unity of the verse; more often the unity was apparent in the organization of the thought than in the superficial colligation resulting from sound-effects.

We may not always be confident that the resultant effects represent efficient causes: in the matter of alliteration this is especially true. The confinement, in most cases, of alliterative groups to a single verse attests the entity of the verse, but alliteration is seldom more than an incidental factor in separation: usually other and stronger factors appear along with alliteration.

Metrical convenience is evident in the position of some words, especially those of considerable length, cretic words, and the possessive adjectives of pyrrhic and iambic measurement: the position convenient for such words may have conduced to separation. Again, however, other factors are usually discernible.

Indeed, the total effect of a verse or couplet is a product of many factors: it is not easy to say that one is more important than another. But it seems to me noteworthy that in so large a number of separated attributives, the unity of the verse, if my interpretation is correct, is effected by internal organization rather than by superficial colligation. So much so that in cases like *mazumo* | *me opsecravisti opere, optuma* | *vos video opportunitate, tesseram* | *conferre si vis hospitalem* I prefer to recognize the beginnings of a freer technique rather than admit metrical convenience and alliteration as really dominant factors in the separation.

Such cases are rare; nor may anybody deny the essential unity of verse, the practical identity of verse and thought, in the examples under discussion. The effect is often crudely simple, but in many cases the poet is far from being a clumsy craftsman; he shows no little competency in making verse-unity a means of bringing into effective relief associated thoughts and sounds; and occasionally he uses the beginning and the end of the same verse, the beginnings of successive verses, in ways that indicate a consciousness of the opportunities, not merely of the limitations, presented by verse-unity.

It is also significant that we can find so little positive proof of

the influence of his Greek sources:<sup>116</sup> he seems rather to be working out his own problems in the spirit of his own language, fashioning his verse with nice adjustment of sound-effects peculiar to Latin, often producing a neat balance or antithesis which has yet to be proved to result from a study of Greek rhetoric, and happily conserving, even within the limits set by verse-unity, the simpler forms of interlocked word-groups, which are as characteristic of the organizing power of the Roman mind as any phase of their political administration. These same word-groups, however, must sometimes break down the barriers, and *maxumo* | *me opsecravisti opere, optuma* | *vos video opportunitate, tesseram* | *conferre si vis hospitalem* perhaps point the way which leads to greater freedom.

Only after further investigation is it safe to take the historical point of view and ask ourselves what is Plautus's precise position in the development of verse-technique. In the answer to that question we must not be too hasty in placing him near the beginning of art-poetry in Latin: the comic verse under discussion is the most capacious of the commoner forms of metre; and this verse conveyed the conversational Latin of the day to an audience that must catch at once the effects of sound and thought. Epic verse and tragedy were created under different conditions. Some of the simple directness of Plautus's verse is perhaps to be attributed to these conditions rather than to the chronological proximity of the Saturnian verse. But in the present paper we have been interested only in suggesting some

<sup>116</sup> Without further investigation of Greek technique the statement must remain in this vague form. It would be easy to find parallels from Euripides, and some cases from the New Comedy, of Plautus's postponement of adjectives and nouns to the beginning of the second verse, and of postponement for antithetical effects, but the running over of the thought to the caesura of the second verse, familiar to readers of Greek tragic poetry, is the exception rather than the rule in Plautus; nor are the features common to Greek and Plautine verse too hastily to be regarded as merely imitative in Latin verse, especially in the case of antithetical effects. Investigation, particularly of the technique of Aristophanes, Euripides, and the New Comedy, based upon sympathetic interpretation, must precede any more precise statement of Plautus's relation to his models in these respects.

ways of interpreting a small part of the evidence that bears upon the question which Leo has answered, forestalling the investigation of the subject in his admirable statement of the historical position of Plautus in this phase of verse-technique.







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## ERRATA

- Page 82, line 3 from bottom. *For where read were.*  
Page 114, line 3. *For 7 read 8.*  
Page 127, line 11. *For amplexum read amplexus.*  
Page 130, line 9. *For absint read absunt.*  
line 19. *For and read had.*  
Page 135, line 7. *For 2 read 12.*  
Page 138, line 8 from bottom. *For minitante read minitanti.*  
Page 139, line 1. *For minitante read minitanti.*  
Page 142, line 13. *For calidam read validam.*  
Page 167, line 13 from bottom. *For then read there.*  
Page 189, note 52. *For Goldbery read Golbery.*  
Page 196, line 1. *For Goldbery read Golbery.*  
Page 202, line 9. *For Mattaire read Maittaire.*  
line 14 from bottom. *For it read its.*  
Page 223, last line. *Insert comma between propinqui and ira.*  
Page 242, second column, line 27. *For g for i read g for l.*  
Page 246, first column, line 23. *For ii 144 read iii 144.*  
line 41. *For 329 read 339.*  
Page 248, first column, line 11. *For 736 read 776.*  
Page 249, second column, line 2 from bottom. *For 645 read 635.*  
Page 301, line 15. *For of read to.*

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IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-33.

November 17, 1906

SOME TEXTUAL CRITICISMS ON THE  
EIGHTH BOOK OF THE DE VITA  
CAESARUM OF SUETONIUS

BY

WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER

BERKELEY  
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## PREFACE.

In March, 1906, I submitted to an examining committee of the University of California faculty a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy entitled "Adversaria Critica in Suetonii de Vita Caesarum Librum Octavum." Some of the decisions reached in the original dissertation have been reversed in the light of further investigation and reflection, and additional evidence has been accumulated on those points where there has appeared to be no good reason for change, but on the whole the material collected for the thesis supplies the bulk of the present essay. A statement of the passages considered in it will be found on the following page.

I desire to acknowledge here with much gratitude my indebtedness to Professor H. C. Nutting of the University of California for his close criticism of my thesis and his friendly suggestions for its betterment.

WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER.

Western University, London, Ontario,  
June, 1907.



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INDEX OF PASSAGES.

(The figures in brackets refer to the page and line of Roth's edition of Suetonius in the Teubner series.)

1. Vesp. 2 (225, 24). Read *tribunus militum*.
2. Vesp. 4 (226, 15). Retain *amici*.
3. Vesp. 12 (231, 25). After *potestatem* supply *aut*.
4. Vesp. 15 (232, 23). After *unquam* supply *laetatus est et quamquam*.
5. Vesp. 23 (234, 21). Read *satis ut et de*.
6. Vesp. 23 (235, 7). Read *ponerent*.
7. Tit. 2 (236, 16). Omit *-que*.
8. Tit. 8 (238, 38). After *superioribus* read *a se concessa* and (239, 1) omit *principibus*.
9. Tit. 8 (239, 30). Read *nihil publice nisi sibi perisse*.
10. Domit. 1 (241, 26). Read *variae*.
11. Domit. 3 (242, 37). For *filium* read *filiam*, and after *alteroque anno* supply *principatus filium, eodem illo anno*.
12. Domit. 4 (244, 8). Read *sacro, cum quidem*.
13. Domit. 14 (250, 4). Read *σοί, κάπρε, θουμένω*.
14. Domit. 21 (250, 9). Supply *ac* after *dixit*.

INTRODUCTION.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of these pages is to investigate, chiefly upon the basis of internal evidence, the text of the passages given in the preceding index. Palaeographic arguments will however be used at times, and Ms. authority for all important variants will be indicated and weighed. To facilitate an understanding of so much of the discussion as rests upon the relative value of Mss., a short introduction is necessary, exhibiting the results of the most recent critical work upon the Suetonian codices.

Previous to 1857 there had been no attempt to classify scientifically the Mss. of the *De Vita Caesarum*; there are vague references to "libri optimi," "libri boni," or "libri deteriores," categories formed very much according to the prejudices of individual editors. But in that year C. L. Roth, in his masterly preface to the Teubner Suetonius, pointed out<sup>2</sup> the disadvantage under which the previous editions had labored, and sought to remove it by grouping, in four divisions, constituting a descending scale of merit, the Mss. with which he was acquainted.<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately he was able to collate in person<sup>4</sup> only the Codex Memmianus and the Codex Parisinus 6116, depending for the rest "mainly on the often inaccurate excerpts of the earlier editors;"<sup>5</sup> in consequence his classification of necessity lacked finality, though his wonderful intuition and excellent judgment enabled him to achieve in the construction of his text results which are actually astonishing.<sup>6</sup>

In 1862 Gustav Becker brought forward<sup>7</sup> readings from an

<sup>1</sup> The following are constantly referred to in the foot-notes to the thesis:  
1. C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia rec. C. L. Roth. (Leipzig, Teubner Press, 1904.)

2. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vols. xii (1901) and xvi (1905). Referred to in abbreviated form as H. xii and H. xvi.

3. Troisième Étude sur l'Histoire du Texte de Suétone de Vita Caesarum: Classification des Manuscrits. Par L. Preud'homme. (Brussels, Hayez Press, 1904.) Referred to as Preud'homme T. E. or as T. E. simply.

<sup>2</sup> Introd. v: Verum hoc nondum etc.

<sup>3</sup> Introd. xxiii-xxix.

<sup>4</sup> Introd. xxii and xxvii.

<sup>5</sup> H. xii 19.

<sup>6</sup> Preud'homme, T. E. 3.

<sup>7</sup> In his *Quaestiones Criticae de C. Suetonii Tranquilli de Vita Caesarum libris viii*, Memel.

authority the worth of which had up to that time been practically unrecognized,<sup>8</sup> the Gudianus 268, a Ms. of the eleventh century: though he perhaps overestimated its value,<sup>9</sup> his enthusiasm regarding it served the useful purpose of directing critical attention towards this Ms. of really prime importance in Suetonian text-criticism. Again in 1867 he published<sup>10</sup> an account, strangely incomplete,<sup>11</sup> of the Vaticanus Lipsii (No. 1904), the worth of which Roth had already surmised.<sup>12</sup>

In 1901 and in 1905 Professor Clement Lawrence Smith of Harvard University issued<sup>13</sup> accounts of personal examinations into the relations existing among a number of Mss. of the Lives, chiefly those of later date (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). In 1901 there appeared<sup>14</sup> a study of a certain Parisian Ms. of the *De Vita Caesarum*, No. 5809, by Professor Albert A. Howard, also of Harvard University, in which he showed a disposition to attribute greater weight to Mss. of the fifteenth century than had Roth in his introduction.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, in 1902 M. Leo Preud'homme, member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, published<sup>16</sup> two articles dealing with minor Suetonian problems such as the sources and values of the various excerpta (*Lislaeana*, *Vossiana*, et al.), and in 1904 his *Troisième Étude*,<sup>17</sup> in which he covered with the minutest diligence the whole field of textual criticism as it relates to the *De Vita Caesarum*, and was able in consequence to construct a scheme of relationship among the codices<sup>18</sup> which by its accuracy and definiteness marks a notable advance in our knowledge of the sources of the text of Suetonius. This *Troisième Étude* has been fol-

<sup>8</sup> Roth was entirely unacquainted with it (Preud'homme T. E. 4, footnote 1) and Fr. A. Wolf employed it only in the most slovenly fashion (Preud'homme T. E. 65).

<sup>9</sup> Preud'homme, T. E. 65.

<sup>10</sup> In *Symbola Philologorum Bonnensium* II 687 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> Preud'homme T. E. 65.

<sup>12</sup> *Introd.* xxvii.

<sup>13</sup> H. xii 19-58 and xvi 1-14.

<sup>14</sup> H. xii 261-266.

<sup>15</sup> xxix.

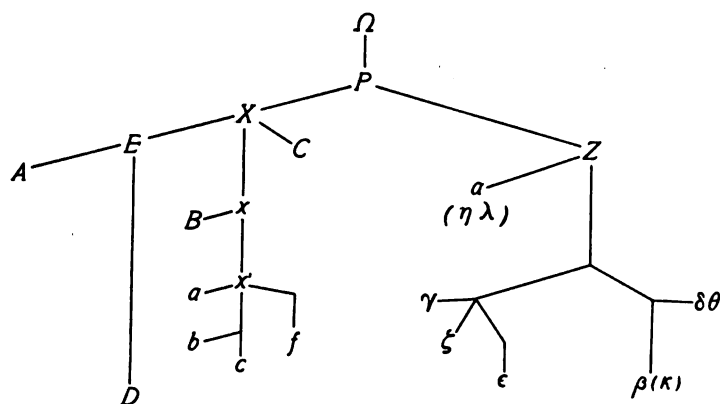
<sup>16</sup> In *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 1902, pp. 299-328 and 544-551.

<sup>17</sup> In vol. lxiii of the Academy's publications (1904), pp. 1-94.

<sup>18</sup> T. E. 61.

lowed by a text<sup>19</sup> founded upon the critical results which it achieved; this stands for the present as the last word on the subject.

The scheme of relationship among the Mss. of the *De Vita Caesarum* is given by M. Preud'homme thus:



Ω. Early ancestor of P, written in capitals, possibly of fifth century.

P. Archetype of all the known Mss. of the *De Vita Caesarum*.

X. Archetype of the Mss. of the first group.

Z. Archetype of the Mss. of the second group.

x. Archetype of B and x'.

x'. Archetype of a b c f.

E. Archetype of A and D.<sup>20</sup>

A. Codex Memmianus, Parisinus 6115, ninth century.<sup>21</sup>

B. Codex Vaticanus Lipsii, No. 1904, eleventh century, containing only the first three Lives and a short portion of the Caligula.

C. Codex Wulfenbuttelanus or Gudianus 268, eleventh century.

D. Codex Parisinus 5804, fourteenth century.

a. Codex Mediceus 68, 7 (called by Roth, after Jac. Gronovius, Med. 3), eleventh century.

b. Codex Parisinus 5801, twelfth century.

c. Codex Mediceus 66, 39 (called by Roth, after Jac. Gronovius, Med. 1), thirteenth century.

f. Codex Montepessulanus 117, thirteenth century.

a. Codex Londiniensis, Brit. Mus. 15 C III, twelfth century.

<sup>19</sup> Leyden, press of G. F. Theonville, 1906.

<sup>20</sup> M. Preud'homme does not give E in his scheme, but I have ventured to introduce it on the strength of his remarks in T. E. 37 regarding the relationship of A and D.

<sup>21</sup> A full description of this and all the following Mss. is given in Preud'homme, T. E., pp. 63-78.

- β. Codex Parisinus 6116, twelfth century.
- γ. Codex Parisinus 5802, thirteenth century.
- δ. Codex Mediceus 64, 8 (called by Roth, after Jac. Gronovius, Med. 2), thirteenth century.
- ε. Codex Suessionis 19, thirteenth century.
- ζ. Codex Cantabrigensis, kk. 5, 24, thirteenth century.
- η. Codex Sionensis, twelfth century.
- θ. Codex Dunelmensis, C III 18, twelfth century.
- κ. Codex Sionensis, twelfth century.
- λ. Codex Londiniensis, Brit. Mus. 15 C IV, thirteenth century.

The existing Mss. fall then into two groups, X and Z, of which the first is the more important upon the whole, since it contains four codices (A B C a) of greater antiquity than any in the second division, and also because the lines of descent are so much better defined in it than in Z: there will of course for all that be places where Z preserves the true reading as against X.<sup>22</sup> It will be observed further that in M. Preud'homme's scheme no account is taken of any Ms. later than the thirteenth century, for the reason that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the study of classical Latin had been revived in Italy, correction and revision of the Mss. solely on the basis of the opinion of this or that scholar was the established practice, the original text becoming in this way farther and farther obscured;<sup>23</sup> and it is interesting to note that in this attitude towards these later Mss. M. Preud'homme, the last student of the Suetonian text-sources, finds himself entirely at one with Roth, the pioneer in the same field.<sup>24</sup> It is doubtful, therefore, whether one should follow Professors Smith and Howard in attaching any importance to the Mss. of the fourteenth and fifteen centuries. It is not denied that these Mss. contain some excellent readings at places where our more authoritative Mss. are weak, but unfortunately suspicion must always attach to the source of these readings.

Now that the relationship of the more important Mss. of the Lives has been outlined, this introduction may be brought to a close by a word upon the general principles of criticism adopted

<sup>22</sup> See a list in Preud'homme, T. E. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Preud'homme, T. E. 60.

<sup>24</sup> Introd. xxix.



for the discussions to follow. The appeal to the *necessary meaning* of a sentence or clause must, it is conceded, be used with caution at all times; it becomes an efficient argument only when a passage still remains unsatisfactory after a very liberal interpretation of the Ms. tradition. Where, however, dissatisfaction admittedly exists, all reasonable latitude should be permitted in emendation and correction, since it is after all of more consequence that a readable text should be established than that an over-refined ideal of truth should be set up. Yet, on the other hand, Ms. authority is to be treated with all respect; departures made from it simply as short-cuts to the solution of knotty problems are to be viewed with suspicion as being ultimately subversive of all sound textual criticism. There is in fine a medial policy possible as between regard for the sense and respect for the Mss.

The suggestions for the filling of lacunae stand of course upon a different footing; there all is uncertainty, and ultimate tests of correctness fail. Still, lacunae in ancient Mss. must have arisen from slips similar to those which occasion them at times in our own experience of written documents; conjectures therefore which deal with them may properly be classified as presenting more or less probability proportionately as they seem to exhibit the error arising from conditions more or less close to those which are generally admitted to be the cause of such mistakes. Another test for determining the proximate worth of such conjectures will be the relation they bear to certain ascertained features of an author's style and vocabulary, or, at any rate, to the general literary character of his age, and of course they must be judged severely on the basis of their germaneness to the apparent thought of the passage they seek to remedy. These standards will not be forgotten wherever in the dissertation the necessity for applying them may arise.

Throughout the thesis it will be the consistent practice to give (1) the form of the text as it stands in Roth, (2) the *variae lectiones* of the Mss., (3) the emendations or suggestions of scholars upon the locus: these items will be followed by a general discussion of the passage from the viewpoint of textual criticism.

## DISCUSSION OF PASSAGES.

## I.

(1) Vesp. 2 (225, 24). *Tribunatum militum in Thracia meruit.*

(2) No Ms. variation till the *deteriores* are reached, when *tribunus* appears. This was approved by Torrentius, Duker, Oudendorp, Bremi, and inserted in the text by Wolf.<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Tribunatu meruit*, Lipsius, suspecting a dittography; so also Casaubon and Ernesti.

*Mereo* in its military sense occurs in the following Suetonian passages: Jul. 3, *Meruit et sub Servilio Isaurico in Cilicia, sed brevi tempore*; Tit. 4, *Tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit*; Gram. 9, *Deinde in Macedonia corniculo, mox equo meruit*; Vit. Hor. (297, 8), *Bello Philippensi tribunus militum meruit*. With these cases may be compared Tac. Ann. II 10, *Nam pleraque Latino sermone interiaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruisset*, where *mereo* is used without object but attended by a nominative of the office, and again Suet. Aug. 2, *Stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit*, and Tib. 9, *Stipendia prima expeditione Cantabrica tribunus militum fecit*, in each of which *stipendia fecit* is a clear equivalent of *meruit*. *Mereo* or *mereor*, so far as information is available on the point, do not, when employed in the military sense, appear to take any object other than *stipendia*: in none of the Suetonian instances cited does *mereo* take any object whatever. These facts may be safely regarded as establishing a certain presumption against the reading *tribunatum*.

If *tribunatum* be an error, there remains the question of its origin as the reading of P. It may perhaps be thus explained; the text in  $\Omega$  stood

<sup>1</sup> See his Suetonius (Leipzig, 1802). He there quotes Ernesti's note ad loc. which reads: "Graevius et Burmannus *tribunatum*, quam (lectionem) Graevius sic interpretatur ut *tribunatum* nactus sit quo in Thracia fungeretur. Sed primum, loca ubi quis tribunus militet non ad nomen dignitatis referuntur sed ad verbum, ut pateat ubi quis honore functus sit: deinde dubito Latinos dicere *tribunatum merere*. Melius alii, Torrentius et Duker, *tribunus militum*. Sic alibi solet Suet. dicere in tali re, et id bene consentit sequenti, *Quaestor...cepit*." Wolf adds: "Hoc in ipso textu correxi propter evidentiam quam optime demonstravit Bremius."

TRIBVNVS MILITVM IN THRACIA MERVIT.<sup>2</sup>

Through some accident the final stroke of the N was not clearly attached to the preceding part of the letter, and the copyist as a result transmitted the following form of text,

TRIBVATVS MILITVM IN THRACIA MERVIT.

A later hand entered a correction above the line thus,

N  
TRIBVATVS MILITVM IN THRACIA MERVIT,

and either the same or some subsequent hand made what now appeared a necessary emendation, *viz*, the altering of *tribunatus* to an accusative to serve as the object of *meruit*.

## II.

(1) Vesp. 4 (226, 12). *Medium tempus ad proconsulatum usque in otio secessuque egit, Agrippinam timens potentem adhuc apud filium et defuncti quoque Narcissi amici perosam.*

(2) *Amici*: so all the Mss. of the scheme.

*Amicos*: only the deteriores and Edd. Rom. 1 and 2.<sup>3</sup>

(3) The majority of editors and critics have read *amicos*, and so most recently Madvig, Adv. II 570. Roth however (1857) and Preud'homme (1906) retain *amici*. Modderman proposes *amicitiam periculosam* as a substitute for *amici perosam*.

This is a case where one would instinctively pronounce *amicos* untenable, but the consensus of all the important Mss. on the reading indicates it as the lection of P; it deserves in consequence a full investigation.

Those who accept the alteration *amicos* consider the meaning to be "fearing Agrippina, who still held dominant influence over her son and hated the friends of the dead Narcissus as well." But with *amici* retained it is possible to offer an explanation at least equally satisfactory, "fearing Agrippina, who still held

<sup>2</sup> M. Preud'homme seems (T. E. 88) to offer reasonable proof that Ω was written in capitals (presumably rustic).

<sup>3</sup> Edd. Rom. 1 and 2 are these: editio Ant. Campani 1470, and editio Io. Andreae 1470.

dominant influence over her son and hated as well the dead Narcissus, his (Vespasian's) friend." Two objections to this interpretation may be considered.

(1) *Timens . . . potentem . . . perosam* are not, properly speaking, parallel in point of time as the above translation makes them, *perosam* referring to a past hatred terminated by Narcissus's death, and *timens* and *potentem* to circumstances contemporaneous with the main verb *egit*. But (*a*) it may be doubted whether in a person of Agrippina's temperament there would be any real cessation of the feeling simply because its original provocative was removed from the scene, and (*b*) if it be thought necessary to treat *perosam* as a *past* participle, indicating time antecedent to *timens* and *potentem*, justification for that course may be had from Livy III 39, *superbiam violentiamque tum perosos regis*, where *perosos* clearly relates to a time previous to that indicated by the controlling participle *admonentem* which precedes.

(2) *Defuncti Narcissi amici* as an object of *perosam* is untenable, as *perosus* elsewhere governs only the accusative. Boethius, Cons. Phil. II 4 contains however the following sentence,

*Vivit, inquam, tibi que tantum, vitae huius exosa, spiritum servat,* in which the participle of identical meaning, *exosa*, is construed with the genitive; and, if it be argued that Boethius is rather far down the course of Latinity to be cited in the discussion, there is the Ciceronian passage, Ep. ad Att. VIII 4, 1,

*Dionysius quidem tuus potius quam noster . . . ne tui quidem testimonii quod ei saepe apud me dederas veritus, superbum se praebeuit in fortuna quam putavit nostram fore,*

with its strange-sounding phrase *ne tui quidem testimonii . . . veritus*. With regard to the latter it is true that in the earlier language traces are found of *vereor* with the genitive, but it would surely be making a very great assumption to assert that the Ciceronian example is a deliberately affected archaism. It is rather the case that in each of the three passages now under consideration the participle has for the moment in the mind of the writer dropped its participial character and become purely adjectival, so that *perosus* means "full of hatred against," *exosus*

“contemptuous of,” and *veritus* “regardful of.” Once the change from the participial nature to the adjectival has occurred, the complementary case shifts as well; as with each of these words in its verbal value the accusative is proper, so with each in its adjectival capacity objective relations are expressed by the dependent genitive. This has been noted frequently for the present participle;<sup>4</sup> it appears that any statement made regarding it should be sufficiently extended to include the peculiar cases collected above and others of a similar character which undoubtedly exist in the literature.

To recapitulate, (1) *amici* has unanimous Ms. endorsement so far as the superior Mss. are concerned, (2) it is the harder reading, and as such must be retained if at all defensible, (3) there are not wanting analogies to show that it is probably sound syntax, though rather unusual and reflecting only a momentary phase of the writer’s mind rather than a generally accepted principle of the language. For these reasons it will be safe to maintain the Ms. tradition against change.

### III.

(1) Vesp. 12 (231, 24). *Ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem \* \* \* patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit.*

(2) All the Mss. of the scheme show a lacuna after *potestatem*, except C which has *nec patris patriae*. The *deteriores* have *et patris* or *patrisque*.

(3) Roth proposed *aut*, but did not insert it in his text. Professor C. L. Smith and M. Preud’homme incline to the reading of C, viz, *nec*, but the latter has not inserted it in his text. Hirschfeld, suspecting an extended haplography, ingeniously proposes *potestatem statim*.

*Neque (nec)* as a continuation of *ne...quidem* is confined apparently to the writings of Livy,<sup>5</sup> and the testimony of C on such a point is vitiated by the obvious intention to correct which is seen in that Ms.<sup>6</sup> When external evidence quite fails us, the most satisfactory plan will be to collect the examples in Suetonius

<sup>4</sup> Gildersleeve, *Lat. Gr.* (1894) § 375.

<sup>5</sup> Draeger, *Hist. Syn.* II 75 (§ 318, 13).

<sup>6</sup> Preud’homme, *T. E.* 34-35.

bearing upon connectives after *ne...quidem*, and to form from this internal evidence some idea of the possibilities for remedying the text at a given point.

There are 30 examples<sup>7</sup> of the kind in question to be found in Suetonius and these may be classed as follows:

*Ne...quidem* is followed by

(1) Connectives.

*ac (atque)*: Tib. 32, 61; Calig. 52; Tit. 7, 11; Domit. 13.

*nedum*:<sup>8</sup> Tit. 1; Gram. 1.

*et*: Aug. 10.

*-que*: Tib. 10.

(2) Adversatives.

*sed*: Jul. 55, 78, 80; Aug. 78; Tib. 52; Calig. 50; Otho 8; Tit. 9.

*verum*: Aug. 16.

(3) Disjunctives.

*aut*: Aug. 25, 53; Tib. 15, 72; Calig. 24; Nero 44; Vit. 2, 13; Gram. 4.

*-ve*: Vesp. 16.

In the above classification one case really overlaps Vit. 2, but this in no way affects the course of the argument.

From the sense of the passage *ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem... patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit* it is readily inferred that the two offices mentioned are not in any way to be opposed to each other, and so for purposes of this investigation the conjunctions of (2) have no further significance. Again in list (1) *nedum*, which lays the weight of emphasis upon the second member of a combination, would be inappropriate here where the more important office of tribune is mentioned first. The issue then lies between predication in connection as represented by *et*, *-que*, *ac*, and predication by distribution as championed by *aut*. A tabular statement of the way in which these conjunctions are used in combination with *ne...quidem* follows. In all the passages indicated in this table *ne...quidem* introduces the first of the two elements to be brought into connection with each other, and *et*, *ac*, *-que*, or *aut* the second.

<sup>7</sup> Excluding two apparent cases in Claud. 3 and 11.

<sup>8</sup> For this classification of *nedum* see Gildersleeve, Lat. Gr. § 482, R. 2.

## (1) Nouns.

(a) Governed by prepositions.

*aut*: Aug. 25, 53; Calig. 24; Vit. 13; Gram. 4.

(b) Ablatives absolute.

*aut*: Nero 44.

(c) Objects in the accusative.

*aut*: Tib. 15, 72.

(d) Indirect objects.

*-ve*: Vesp. 16.

(e) Local ablatives.

*ac*: Domit. 13.

## (2) Adjectives.

*ac (atque)*: Calig. 52; Tib. 61; Tit. 7, 11.*et*: Aug. 10.

## (3) Verbs.

*-que*: Tib. 10; Nero 37.*ac*: Tib. 32.

## (4) Adverbs.

*aut*: Vit. 2.

From the results here obtained it appears that in Suetonius *aut* is used almost exclusively after *ne...quidem* in cases where nouns in their various relations are to be brought together, and, as the problem in the passage under consideration is the effecting of a junction between *potestatem* and *appellationem*, there is at least a strong probability that *aut* is the missing word.

## IV.

(1) Vesp. 15 (232, 22). *Ceterum neque caede cuiusquam unquam \* \* \* iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit etiam et ingemuit.*

(2) The lacuna existed in P. The *deteriores* with Edd. Rom. 1 and 2 read *unquam laetatus*; this is also given by the manus secunda of  $\delta$ .

(3) The later editors followed Edd. Rom. down to Roth, who suggested *laetatus est et*.

The editors before Roth seem to have felt that *neque* might stand as the equivalent of simple *non*, and hence, reading *laetatus*,

they punctuated directly after it, making *ceterum...laetatus* a participial phrase. But can *neque* fulfill that function? Numerous instances are adduced by H. A. J. Munro in his note on Lucr. II 23, and again by Harpers' *Lex.* (s. v. *neque*), of *nec* = *non*, more particularly in ante-classical Latin; it appears however in the classical period also as the equivalent of the simple negative, but only in certain formulas and other stereotyped expressions. But examples of *neque* with the simple negative value are not in evidence, Munro's instances from Lucretius being open to question. Hand's distinction<sup>9</sup> that *nec* is adverbial, emphasizing the negation, and *neque* conjunctive, emphasizing the connection, seems thoroughly valid. There is not a single instance in Suetonius apart from the conventional *neque enim* where *neque* means *non*; on the other hand *nec* carries that value in possibly all of the following passages, Jul. 28, 78; Calig. 6; Claud. 43; Nero 26, 34; Otho 9, 12; Domit. 15, 20, while in some of them it does so indisputably. Neither the language in general then nor the examples afforded by Suetonius in particular give any ground for regarding *neque* as performing an adverbial function, and, with the fall of that hypothesis, the reading which makes *ceterum...laetatus* a participial phrase becomes untenable. *Neque* is therefore conjunctive, and should find its corresponding connective among those words lost in the lacuna; another *neque* might naturally be looked for, or, more probably in post-Augustan Latin, an *et*. The probability therefore is, as Roth saw, that the gap contained the first principal verb of the sentence and the conjunction which introduced the second.

But there is one point in which Roth's suggestion is unsatisfactory; it contains nothing which would serve to explain the origin of the lacuna. What was it that caused the scribe of P to omit *laetatus est et* or words of similar meaning? The occurrence of *quamquam* immediately after the conjunction *et* might afford a solution of the problem, since the scribe, upon returning to his copy after completing the word *umquam*, having before him the text:

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<sup>9</sup> Tursellinus IV 94.



*umquam laetatus est et quamquam iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit* resumed, not as he should have done after *umquam*, but after *quamquam*, being deceived by the homoeoteleuton of the two words.<sup>10</sup>

The construction of *quamquam iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit* may be regarded from two standpoints.

(a) The *iustis suppliciis* is an ablative absolute introduced by *quamquam*, a favorite Suetonian construction, found for example in Jul. 1, 70; Aug. 66, 97, 98 (ad fin.); Claud. 46; Vesp. 2; Tit. 3; Gram. 4, 21. *Suppliciis* is plural because of the plural implication in *caede cuiusquam* preceding. The rendering will be, "and, although the punishments (*viz.*: the various *caedes*) were just, he even shed tears over them."

(b) The *suppliciis* is a causal ablative with *inlacrimavit*, modified by *iustis*, which is itself prefaced by *quamquam* to establish the proper contrast between *iustis* and *inlacrimavit*. From this point of view *suppliciis* does not specially refer to *caede cuiusquam* preceding, but is general in its application, the rendering being, "and shed tears over punishments, however just." The peculiarity of order<sup>11</sup> which this explanation would seem to involve, *viz.*: *quamquam iustis suppliciis* for *suppliciis quamquam iustis*, is no barrier to the acceptance of the reading, as the following passages will show:

Domit. 17: *Puer . . . narrabat . . . illum interim, arrepto deductoque ad terram Stephano, conluctatum diu dum modo ferrum extorquere, modo, quamquam laniatis digitis, oculos effodere conatur.*

Here *digitis* may fairly be considered an instrumental ablative, and it will be observed how the *quamquam* plus the participle

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Madvig's emendation of Hdt. I 167: τῶν δὲ διαφθαρσιῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀνδρας οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πλείους καὶ κ.τ.λ. where he proposed οἱ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ διετίμαντο καὶ οἱ Τ., and, more particularly, his shrewd correction of Seneca, De Tranquil. Animae V 5, *Curius Dentatus aiebat malle se esse mortuum quam vivere*, to *Curius . . . quam <nequam> vivere*.

<sup>11</sup> It has been suggested to me that, if the reading were *quamvis iustis*, there would be no difficulty as to the order. Now in silver Latin the tendency is for *quamquam* to take the place of *quamvis*, and it is probably through a recognition of this tendency that the matter of the word-order in the proposed reading may be most satisfactorily dealt with.

precedes the noun, though in English one would say "with his fingers, cruelly lacerated though they were."

Gram. 21: *Cui, cum se gratum et acceptum in modum amici videret, quamquam asserente matre, permansit tamen in statu servitutis.*

Here the whole *quamquam* construction looks forward to the *permansit*, which it modifies in a manner closely analogous to that in which *quamquam iustis* will, in the proposed reading, limit the expression *suppliciis inlacrimavit*.

The copyist's liability to error at this point would be increased if the form of  $\Omega$  were as follows:

CAEDECIVS QVAMVMQVAM  
LAETATVSESTETQVAMQVAM  
IVSTISSUPPLICIIS, etc.

where there would be an homoeoteleuton of successive lines as well as of adjacent words.

#### V.

(1) Vesp. 23 (234, 21). *Utebatur et versibus Graecis tempestive satis et de quodam procerac staturae improbiusque nato μακρὰ βιβίās, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, et de Cerulo liberto ὁ Λάχης κ.τ.λ.*

(2) X gives *et de* (following *satis*);  $\epsilon$  gives *ut de*;  $\alpha\beta\gamma$  give *et ut de*. The reading of X is followed by Burmann, Oudendorp, Ernesti, and Wolf, the reading of  $\epsilon$  by Casaubon, Baumgarten-Crusius, Madvig (Adv. II 570), and Preud'homme.

(3) Preud'homme in the T. E. 9, foot-note 2, writes: "peut-être faut-il écrire *ut de* d'après  $\epsilon$ , ou bien *ut et de*."<sup>12</sup>

The evidence afforded by the employment of the imperfect tense *utebatur* and by the general sense of the passage makes strongly against *et de quodam*, despite the fact of its being the reading of X. *Utebatur*, like all the imperfects from the beginning of chapter 21 down,<sup>13</sup> suggests the habit, the general course of action. If therefore the reading of X be retained, the passage

<sup>12</sup> This emendation *ut et de* I reached independently, being not then in possession of M. Preud'homme's excellent treatise.

<sup>13</sup> *Evigilabat, admittebat, calciebat, amiciebat, vacabat, transibat, transigebat.*

carries this meaning: "he was in the habit of using Greek lines rather seasonably both as regards a certain individual. . . . μακρὰ βιβία, and also as regards Cerulus, a freedman, & Δάχης." Such a statement implies that the unfortunate *quidam* and Cerulus were the constant butts of his raillery, and that he always used the same jest upon them. But what is manifestly designed is that there shall appear after *tempestive satis* a couple of specific instances of the habit already indicated by *utebatur*, and the limitations of language demand that these examples be preceded by a cautionary word, for, if the cautionary word is omitted, then at once the general statement is made to apply to specific instances with resultant confusion of entirely distinct forms of thought. This cautionary word, conformably to Latin usage, is *ut*.<sup>14</sup>

It is probable that in P the text stood thus,

*ut*  
*tempestive satis et de quodam etc.*

the *ut* having been omitted in the first transcription and afterwards entered above the line and almost directly over *et*. The copyist of X ignored the added word and transmitted *et de quodam*; the scribe of Z may be conjectured to have transmitted *et ut de quodam*, writing both words but inserting *ut* in the wrong place. This was corrected in ε by the omission of *et*.<sup>15</sup>

## VI.

(1) Vesp. 23 (235, 5). *Nuntiantis legatos decretam ei publice non mediocris summae statuam colosseam iussit vel continuo ponere, et cavam manum ostentans et paratam basim dicens.*

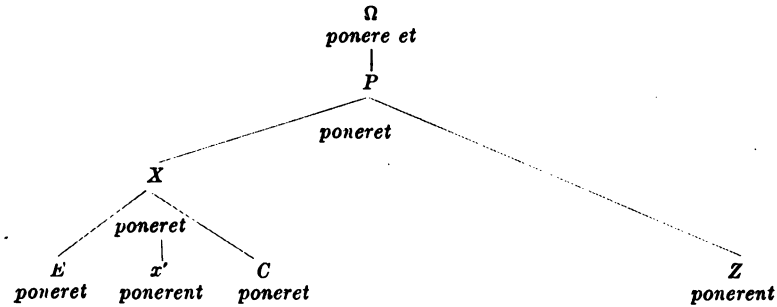
(2) ADC: *poneret*. Zx': *ponerent*.

(3) *Ponere et* is Roth's emendation upon the *poneret* of A. Preud'homme has followed him, inserting it in his text. Ernesti and Burmann edited *ponere* simply.

Let us first suppose that the reading of Ω was *ponere et*. In that case our scheme of Ms. relationship stands thus:

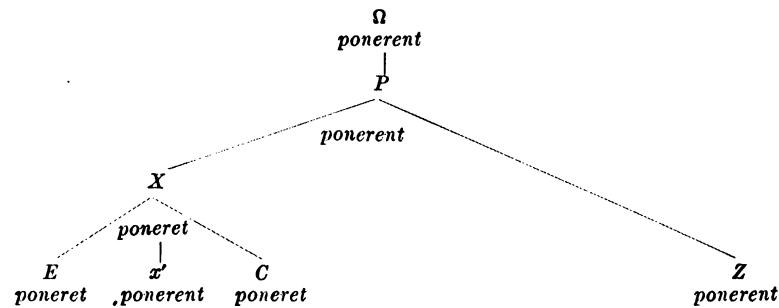
<sup>14</sup> Cf. in Suetonius, Aug. 67; Tib. 37; Calig. 16; Gram. 2, 4.

<sup>15</sup> Preud'homme, T. E. 44: "Il (ε) est, avec γ, le plus altéré de nos quatre manuscrits (αβγδ)." It is from these four that Z is determined.



We shall then have to assume that all the Mss. now in our possession are wrong, ADC by correctly representing P, x' and Z (i.e.,  $a\beta\gamma\epsilon$ ) by altering the form of P to something that is even more remote from the truth than is the reading of P. The alteration moreover is not a particularly easy one; a more natural correction would have been to omit the *t*, and if x'Z have been guilty of emending, it is strange that neither of them took the simpler method.

Now assume that the reading of  $\Omega$  was *ponerent*.



It is now necessary to suppose only E (i.e., AD) and C absolutely wrong; Z on the other hand (i.e.,  $a\beta\gamma\epsilon$ ) maintains the genuine reading, and x' is either an emendation or the result of a contamination from the Z group. Or again, it may well be that X read *ponerent*, and that E and C fell into the same species of error in omitting *n*, as they have done for instance in Aug. 21 (46, 29), where they agree in giving *abim* as against BZ. On the whole there does not seem to be any good reason why *ponerent*

should not, as far as Ms. evidence is concerned, be entitled rather more than *ponere et* to be regarded as the reading of  $\Omega$ .

Examining now the reading *ponerent* from the syntactical point of view we shall find sufficient justification for retaining it. Of course in the very great majority of Suetonian instances *iubeo* takes the normal construction of the classical period, the accusative and the infinitive, yet there are two undisputed places where it is construed with a dependent subjunctive, the one Tib. 22, *Hunc tribunus militum custos appositus cecidit, lectis codicillis quibus ut id faceret iubebatur*, the other Vitell. 14, *Exacerbatus quod post edictum suum quo iubebat intra Kal. Oct. urbe Italiaque mathematici excederent, statim libellus propositus est, etc.*

The first of these bears directly on the passage under consideration; it is deducible only from a sentence which employs *iubeo* in the active, thus:

*lectis codicillis qui eum iusserunt ut id faceret.*

If therefore Suetonius does not happen to supply any second example of *iubeo* with an accusative preceding and a subjunctive following, he at least furnishes an instance from which the construction to be justified is a clear inference. The second citation, Vitell. 14, is of value as showing indifference in the employment or omission of the conjunction in noun clauses. Fortunately then from this somewhat meagre material the grammatical correctness of *nuntiantis legatos...iussit...ponerent* is absolutely assured, and any change made upon the ground of syntactical difficulty is purely gratuitous.

## VII.

(1) Tit. 2 (236, 14). *Erant autem adeo familiares ut de potione qua Britannicus hausta periit, Titus quoque iuxta cubans gustasse credatur gravique morbo adflictatus diu.*

(3) Oudendorp suggested the loss of *sit* after *diu*.

It is strange that this passage should have escaped all criticism except what is implied in Oudendorp's suggestion. Can it be that Titus was believed to have tasted of the fatal draught and to have been afflicted for a long time with a severe illness?

Surely there is an improper association of ideas here set up; the first item (*gustasse*) may well have been purely a matter of belief, but the second (*gravique morbo* etc.), not being sudden or momentary, was a point of ascertainable information. The belief expressed in *gustasse credatur* evidently depended upon the certain fact in the possession of the people, viz, *morbo diu adflictatus*; he was believed to have partaken of the fatal draught because he was long visited with illness.

It appears then that *-que* is unsatisfactory when considered as a connective of *gustasse* and *adflictatus* (*esse*); the only other relationship that could be set up is *iuxta cubans...gravique...adflictatus*, where each of the participles advances a reason for *credatur*, but against this view the word-order raises an objection. Both participles connected by *-que* might have stood on either side of *gustasse credatur*; when they are separated so that one falls on each side, the *-que* is not only unnecessary but is from the point of view of style an actual blemish of a rather gross character. *-Que* should then be regarded as an interpolation.<sup>16</sup>

### VIII.

(1) Tit. 8 (238, 37). *Natura autem benevolentissimus, cum ex instituto Tiberi omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus aliter \* \* \* non haberent, quam si eadem isdem et ipsi dedissent, primus praeterita omnia uno confirmavit edicto, nec a se peti passus est.*

(3) Egnatius supplied *rata*, which Duker, Oudendorp, Burmann approved.

It has been unanimously assumed by editors and critics that the gap in the sense occurs after *aliter*; it is possible however that the fault lies elsewhere. I suspect that the original text stood thus:

<sup>16</sup> Very analogous is the case in Claud. 1 (148, 4), where Polak rejects the *-que*: *Fuisse autem creditur non minus gloriosi quam civilis animi, nam ex hoste super victorias opima quoque spolia captasse summoque saepius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie insectatus.*

It is an interesting circumstance that in both cases *quoque* occurs so near the suspected conjunction. I believe that *-que* should be secluded in the following passages also: Domit. 12 (248, 37), where a lacuna would be disposed of, and Domit. 15 (250, 36).

*omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa <a se concessa> aliter non haberent quam etc.*

At some early point in the Ms. tradition the repetition of the word *concessa* gave rise to an easy error; the scribe in returning to his copy upon completing the first *concessa* resumed after the second, thus losing the words *<a se concessa>* entirely. The text now stood in this form:

*omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa aliter non haberent quam etc.*

Some reviser, finding *superioribus* in the sense of "predecessors" difficult upon his first reading, added *principibus* as a gloss upon reaching the end of the phrase *a superioribus concessa*; eventually it crept into the text proper and was so copied in P.

It would also be possible to regard *principibus* as part of the original text standing in apposition to *<se>*, the meaning being, "all the Caesars thereafter declined to recognize the favors conferred by their predecessors as granted by themselves in their capacity of principes unless etc."

## IX.

(1) Tit. 8 (239, 30). *Urbis incendio nihil publice perisse testatus, cuncta praetoriorum suorum ornamenta operibus ac templis destinavit.*

(2) X: *nihil publice nisi perisse testatus.*

Z. *nihil nisi sibi perisse testatus publice.*

The deteriores omit *nisi*.

(3) Roth as above; Preud'homme prints *nisi* in his text in brackets. Baumgarten-Crusius read *nihil nisi sibi publice perisse testatus*; this had long before been given by Egnatius in the Aldines of 1516 and 1519.

Something may possibly be achieved for the passage by a careful comparison of the readings of X and Z. The variation in the placing of *publice* is a point at once conspicuous; perhaps the form of P was as follows:

*nihil*  
*publice*

*nisi sibi perisse testatus*

with *publice*, originally omitted, added later in the right-hand

margin, but in such a position as to have been copied after *nihil* by the scribe of X and after *testatus* by the scribe of Z. The accidental omission of *sibi* by the copyist of X was a mistake not shared by the scribe of Z. This conjecture involves the assumption that the length of the line of P was 23 letters (*nisi... testatus*), and this, interestingly enough, is the conclusion also reached by M. Preud'homme on other evidence.<sup>17</sup>

Apparently then the reading of  $\Omega$  was

*nihil publice nisi sibi perisse testatus,*

a form remarkably like the Aldine lection of Egnatius, differing only in the placing of the word *publice*. The question will now be raised; what is the meaning of these words so read and arranged? Baumgarten-Crusius's explanation of the Aldine will serve for answer. Under ordinary circumstances and under ordinary emperors the restoration of the destroyed state-buildings<sup>18</sup> would inevitably involve extra tax-levies on the unfortunate citizens already in desperation over private losses. But Titus, the munificent, the "delight and darling of the human race," hastens to restore the dejected spirits of the Romans by assuring them that there will be no demand upon *them* for the rebuilding of the ruined edifices, as he himself will shoulder the entire burden. The expression is then to be rendered, "nothing had perished in a public way save only so far as he was concerned," and this interpretation is justified by the statement immediately following, where we are told how he stripped his palaces and applied the wealth thus obtained *operibus ac templis*.

#### X.

(1) Domit. 1 (241, 26). *Mane Isiaci celatus habitu interque sacrificulos vanae superstitionis cum se trans Tiberim ad discipuli sui matrem comite uno contulisset, ita latuit ut...deprehendi non potuerit.*

(2) P had *variae*, approved by Turnebus, Adv. xxii 16. The *deteriores* and Edd. Rom. 1 and 2 with Ed. Ven. 1 give *vanae*, and so all the editors including Roth and Preud'homme.

(3) *Phariae*: Jac. Gronovius.

<sup>17</sup> See T. E. 83-84; Suetonius, praef. v.

<sup>18</sup> For the long list see Dio Cass. 66, 24.



Were the existing conditions reversed so that VANAE were the reading of P and VARIAE the presumable reading of  $\Omega$ , the alteration from an original VARIAE to a later VANAE could be understood, as a poorly formed R followed by an I might in rustic capitals possibly be mistaken for an N; but the process of evolution from a capital N, which is usually on account of its straight lines a strongly formed letter, to RI, is not quite so easily grasped.

The internal evidence may now be examined; this will deal with (a) the usage of the word *varius* as a singular adjective in Suetonius, (b) the general sense of the passage.

(a) *Varius* as a singular adjective appears in Suetonius with the following values:

A—With *genus* to denote “many kinds,” “many sorts.” So in Jul. 39, 81, Aug. 85, Calig. 18, 38, Vitell. 14, Domit. 19, Rhet. 6.

B—With miscellaneous abstracts to denote “various,” “many-formed,” “many-sided,” as follows:

1. *Animus*: Claud. 16, “changeable.”
2. *Caedes*: Vesp. 9, “repeated.”
3. *Causa*: Tib. 8, “different.”
4. *Doctrina*: Gram. 10, “many-sided” (joined with *multiplex*).
5. *Eruditio*: Aug. 89, Gram. 6, “manifold, diverse.”
6. *Fama*: Jul. 79, “persistent.”
7. *Fraus*: Tib. 54, “of one kind and another.”
8. *Modus*: Rhet. 1 med., “diverse.”
9. *Usus*: Gram. 2 fin., “many-sided.”

Of the examples in the above list Nos. 4, 5, and 9 bear most directly on the point at issue. If learning and erudition may be many-sided,—observe the parallel *multiplex* in No. 4,—it is not assuming too much to claim that a *superstitio* may likewise have its diverse aspects, particularly when it is an oriental belief to which reference is made. “The polytheist,” writes Gibbon in his chapter on Mahomet, “is oppressed and distracted by the variety of superstition.”

(b) As for the general sense of the passage, *variae* is quite coherent with the context when considered as indicating another feature contributing towards Domitian’s escape. He was in the

first place clad in the garb of a priest of Isis, and in the second he made his way across the Tiber in the midst of the throng of sacrificial attendants connected with a *varia superstitio*, which by reason of the very diversity demanded the presence in the ritual it followed of a great number of priests, sub-priests, and acolytes.<sup>19</sup> Domitian then is represented as availing himself of those two well-established artifices of the fugitive from either just law or oppressive violence, *viz*, disguise of the person, and disappearance into some large body of people where search is difficult. This explanation seems reasonable.

Those who read and defend *vanae* will say of course that it adds another circumstance to the humiliations experienced by Domitian at this time; it will be urged also that the epithet *vana* is in clear accord with the Roman attitude toward the greater number at any rate of the religions of the East, an attitude made clear enough to the reader of Suetonius by such passages as Aug. 93, Tib. 36, and Otho 12. But these arguments are at least balanced by the evidence which has been assembled on behalf of *variae*, and the burden of proof, as far as the Mss. are concerned, rests upon the champions of *vanae*.

## XI.

(1) Domit. 3 (242, 36). *Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat \* \* \* alteroque anno consulavit Augustam; eandem, Paridis histrionis amore deperditam, repudiavit.*

(2) *consulatu filium ///// vit* (in marg.: *deest aliquid*): A  
*consulatus filium et*: C βγϵ  
*consulatu filium et*: α  
*consulaverat ut*: x'

(3) Emendations and readjustments of the passage abound:  
*a.*—Lipsius: *Deinde uxorem. . . tulerat, alteroque anno a consulatu filiam, Augustam eandem repudiavit.*

*b.*—Graevius: *Deinde uxorem. . . tulerat, alteroque anno ab hoc consulatu filiam etc.*

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the *sacerdotes primi*, *sacerdotes secundo loco*, and *consacerdotes* in the worship of the Magna Mater, C. I. L. ix 1538, 1540, 1541.

c.—Ernesti: *Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo consulatu filium tulerat, alteroque anno suo consalutaverat Augustam etc.*

d.—Oudendorp: *Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filiam tulerat alteroque anno filium, ac consalutaverat etc.*

This is approved substantially by Wolf and Baumgarten-Crusius.

e.—Roth as given above, and so Preud'homme.

f.—Mommsen: *alterumque <imperii altero> anno etc.*

g.—Ihm: *anno <principatus (vel <quam imperium adeptus est) amisit> etc.*

The variety of the emendations given above is a sufficient index of the desperate condition of the passage, for which it seems scarcely possible to offer any remedy which will be generally satisfactory. However, the reading of P is best gathered from A; a I take to approximate very closely to P, the *et* being an attempt to better the hopeless *vit*, while  $\beta\gamma\epsilon$  and C represent the same reading as a with a further attempt at improvement, viz, the making of *consulatu* a dependent genitive to *anno*. The reading of x' is obviously the emendation of a later hand.

P then perhaps read

*Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat alteroque anno consulatu filium vit Augustam etc.* Now in view of the mention of the title *Augustam* and the common use of the verb *consaluto* in connection with names of honor and distinction,<sup>20</sup> it is to be assumed as certain that *consulatu. . . vit* is nothing but the dismembered verb-form *consalutavit*. How then did the word *filium* obtrude itself between these two parts? Probably because *consaluta* concluded one line of  $\Omega$  and *vit* began the next: *filium* was a marginal word, in reality belonging to the line above that in which *consaluta* stood, thus:

FILIVM

CONSALVTA

VITAVGVSTAM etc.

This was transcribed *consulatu filium vit etc.*, the change from

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Aug. 58. Tit. 5. Domit. 1.

*consaluta* to *consulatu* being all the easier because of the obtrusion of the marginal word. The appearance of  $\Omega$  then was perhaps

1 CONSVLATVFILIVMTVLERAT  
2 ALTEROQ.ANNO  
FILIVM  
3 CONSALVTA  
4 VITAVGVSTAM etc.

The question now is: What completed the second line and began the third, and why were these parts of successive lines lost? The answer must of course be purely conjectural, but it is at least plausible that below ANNO of line 2 the same form occurred again, and that the copyist of P in returning to his original proceeded from the second ANNO rather than from the first, an hypothesis supported by the fact that he likewise copied the marginal FILIVM with line 3 rather than line 2, as if he had completely lost sight of the conclusion of 2. As to the remainder of the lacuna thus caused, PRINCIPATVS easily suggests itself for the conclusion of line 2 as being the proper defining term for *alteroque anno*. Now if the cause assigned above for the origin of the lacuna be correct, *anno* preceded *consalutavit*; what limiting words to *anno* opened the third line? Here we have two circumstances to guide us, (1) the fact that the Eusebian Chronicle places the conferring of this honor upon Domitia in the second year of Domitian's principate;<sup>21</sup> (2) that this second year has already been mentioned in the words *alteroque anno* <*principatus*>; in view of these *eodem illo* would be a proper limitation upon *anno*.

We have now reconstructed  $\Omega$  in this form,

*Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat alteroque anno* <*principatus filium, eodem illo anno*> *consalutavit Augustam etc.*

in which the repetition of *filium* is the one disturbing feature to be explained. It is probable that this already corrupt passage is still further corrupted in the first *filium*, where for FILIVM

<sup>21</sup> See Ernesti's excursus ad loc. in Fr. A. Wolf's ed. (1802).

should be read *FILIAM*, *filiam*. The passage as finally emended stands then

*Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filiam tulerat alteroque anno <principatus filium, eodem illo anno> consalutavit Augustam; eandem etc.*

It will be asked: What is the evidence regarding the children of Domitian? It is certainly of a very slight character, consisting (1) of a coin, bearing on one side the figure of a child seated upon a sphere and surrounded by stars with the legend *F. DIVVS CAESAR IMP. DOMITIANI*, and on the reverse a seated figure with right hand resting upon a smaller figure's head, the legend being *PIETAS AVGVST*;<sup>22</sup> (2) of two epigrams of Martial, IV 3 and VI 3. The last mentioned (VI 3) has not been satisfactorily explained, and will be of no value to us here. The other refers to the falling of snow during the celebration of the games in the year 88, and the poet suggests that the snow-storm is a jest of the young Caesar, now deified, at his father's expense; this is quite of a piece with the inference to be made from the coin described above. This much then is certain, that Domitian in 88 had lost a son who had been accorded deification; from the exceedingly small amount of information we have regarding him it may be gathered that he died very young, and this will agree excellently with the reading *alteroque anno <principatus filium>*. The second year of Domitian's reign begins with the 13th Sept. 82; at the very most then the boy would not have been more than five or six at the time of his death. As for the *filiam*, everything is of course conjecture; that we know nothing of her is no argument against the probability of the reading, as she was born during the years of her father's ignominious retirement and very probably died in infancy.

It should be noted in behalf of the reading proposed that it brings the birth of a son and the conferring of the title of Augusta upon the mother in the same year, doubtless a case of cause and effect in view of the great importance attached by dynasties to the continuation of the male line.

In fine, this reading appears to adjust itself better to (1) our

<sup>22</sup> In the Burmann Suetonius (Amsterdam, 1736), vol. II, Table of Coins, No. 32, fig. 3.

mutilated Ms. evidence, (2) the usual theories of probable error in the copying of Mss., (3) such knowledge as we have from other sources regarding Domitian's domestic affairs, than any which has been offered up to this time.

## XII.

(1) Domit. 4 (244, 6). *Congiarium populo nummorum trecentorum ter dedit, atque inter spectacula muneris largissimum epulum. Septimontiali sacro quidem senatui equitique panariis, plebei sportellis cum obsonio distributis, initium vescendi primus fecit.*

(2) P: *sacrorum quidem etc.* *Sacro quidem* is found only in some of the deteriores; others of this class have *sacrorum quidem die*.

(3) a.—Torrentius: *septimontiali sacro quondam.*

b.—Politian: *septimontiali sacro senatui quidem*, accepted by Baumgarten-Crusius.

c.—Oudendorp: *septimontiali sacro primoque die*, and so very similarly Ernesti: *septimontiali sacro, primo quidem die etc.*

d.—Jac. Gronovius: *septimontiali sacro, cum quidem etc.*

It is stated in this passage that Domitian entertained a vast throng of spectators at an *epulum* during the progress of a *munus gladiatorium*, a singular statement which appears to call for some explanation. Roth's text however ignores this fact; he chooses rather to consider *inter... (dedit)* and *septimontiali... fecit* as independent and isolated statements, though *septimontiali etc.* following certainly looks like an attempt to shed further light upon *inter spectacula muneris largissimum epulum*. Again, Roth's text suggests no reason for the intrusion of the final syllable in *sacrorum*; yet P is surely to be followed as closely as possible.

The demands of the sense of the passage as suggested above and of loyalty to P, the archetype, seem on the other hand to be adequately met by the emendation of Jac. Gronovius. From SACROCVVM to SACRORVM is an easy passage; if the error does not explain itself through resemblance in the shape of the letters, there is the immediately preceding R to suggest insensibly

to the copyist's mind the slip which he may be presumed to have made here. It cannot be said at any rate that there is any inherent improbability in the emendation from the palaeographic point of view.

Turning now to the sense of the passage, we find at once that Gronovius's reading not only avoids the objections just offered to Both's text, but, by making *cum...fecit* a dependent part of the sentence *congiarium...epulum septimontiali sacro* gives that more detailed explanation of *inter spectacula...epulum* which it is reasonable to expect.

Is there any evidence in Suetonius for *cum quidem* followed by the indicative as the medium of introducing a further detail of description for an action already stated in the leading clause? Jul. 50 (med.) seems to meet the conditions:

*Sed ante alias dilexit Marci Bruti matrem Serviliam cui... bello civili super alias donationes amplissima praedia ex auctio- nibus hastae minimo addixit, cum quidem, plerisque vilitatem admirantibus, facetissime Cicero, Quo melius, inquit, emptum sciatis, Tertia deducta.*

Here the leading statement, so far as the *cum quidem* clause is concerned, is *amplissima praedia minimo addixit*; the whole idea introduced by *cum quidem* forms the commentary on *minimo*. In the same way in the passage under discussion the leading statement is *epulum inter spectacula dedit*; the *cum quidem* clause is the commentary on *inter spectacula*. Observe too the similarity of grammatical structure in the two passages.

In view of (1) the Ms. suggestion, (2) the logic of the circumstances dealt with, (3) the fact that Suetonius has in at least one other passage employed *cum quidem* in a manner parallel to that called for by the suggested reading, it would appear that the reading of Gronovius might reasonably be accepted.

### XIII.

- (1) Domit. 14 (250, 3-4).

Κάν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω  
Ἕοσσον ἐπισπείσαι σοι, τράγε, θνομένῳ.

- (2) According to Preud'homme P exhibited this form:

ΚΑΙΜΗΦΑΓΗCΕΤΡΙΖΑΝΟΜΟC  
 CΕΠΙΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΕCCHCΟCCON  
 ΕΠΙCΠΕΙCΕCCOΙΚΑΡΘΕΟΥ  
 ΛΟΜΕΝΩ

## (3) Politian:

Κῆν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ρίζαν, ὁμῶς ἔτι καρποφορήσω  
 Ὅσον ἐπισπέσαι Καίσαρι θνομένῃ.

Bentley anticipated the reading as given in Roth.

There is one point here that seems to merit some further investigation; it is not easy to see just what ground COIKAPΘE gives for reading σοί, τράγε, acceptable though the word τράγε may be from the standpoint of the general meaning. Possibly then some word other than τράγε is hidden in ΚΑΡΘΕ of P.

I venture the suggestion that the word is κάπρε; thus the latter half of line 2 in uncials would stand in the original—COIKΑΠΡΕΘΥΟΜΕΝΩΙ. The first step in the corruption of κάπρε was the loss of Π<sup>23</sup>; the next was the development, under the influence for confusion exerted by ΕΘ of a θ after the ρ and before the ε. Thus it seems possible to establish a palaeographical connection between κάπρε and the corrupt ΚΑΡΘΕ at least less remote than any which could be devised to relate τράγε and ΚΑΡΘΕ.

Exception will be taken on the score that the verses as written by Euenus contain τράγε; so too Ovid's obviously borrowed lines (Fasti I 357-8)

*Rode, caper, vitem; tamen huic, cum stabis ad aram,  
 In tua quod spargi cornua possit, erit*

contain *caper*, the equivalent of τράγε. But Suetonius may have misquoted, particularly in a place where the Greek τράγε would suggest the Latin *caper* with a natural reflex again to the Greek κάπρος, or an alteration in the original may have been made designedly by those who scattered abroad the defamatory 'libelli,' to emphasize some point the meaning of which is now obscure. There is no finality in the appeal to the Euenian original; indeed the very essence of a successful lampoon lies often in the employ-

<sup>23</sup> Observe by reference to the form of the text in P an accident of this sort which has befallen the preposition ἐπὶ before ρίζαν.



ment of a well-known verse or couplet with the alteration of a single word or phrase.

It may perhaps be fairly asked whether *κάπρε* fits the sense of the passage, for of course, if it does not, the theory of a possible substitution of *κάπρε* for *τράγε* fails utterly. The distich is evidently a threat addressed by the vine to its would-be destroyer; is the boar known as a matter of fact to damage the vine, and especially by assailing it at the root? In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s. v. Boar, these words occur relating to the habits of the animal: "Its food is chiefly of a *vegetable* nature, consisting of *roots* which it ploughs up by means of its broad, muscular snout." This refers specifically to attacks by the boar upon the roots of plants; as for its hostility to the vine we have the testimony of Psalm LXXX:

"Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt, thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it. . . . She sent out her boughs unto the sea and her branches unto the river. Why hast thou then broken down her hedges so that all they which pass by do pluck her? *The boar out of the wood doth waste* it and the wild beast of the field doth devour it." Compare too Ovid *Metam.* VIII 294. It does not seem to admit of doubt then that the *κάπρος* was quite as inimical to the vine as the *τράγος* and in much the same way.

For mention of the boar as an animal for sacrifice cf. *Iliad* xix 196-7

Ταλθύβιος δέ μοι ὄκα κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὴν Ἀχαιῶν  
κάπρον ἐτοιμασάτω, ταμίειν Δί τ' Ἡελίφ τε.

Again, Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 202-4,

Καταθείσα ταύτην προσλαβοῦ μοι τοῦ κάπρου.  
δίσποινα Πειθοῖ καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία,  
τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναῖξιν εὐμενής.

To recapitulate, (1) *κάπρε* is nearer the mutilated Ms. reading than is *τράγε*, (2) the habits of the boar in relation to the vine are such that *κάπρε* could be substituted for *τράγε* without any violence to the sense, (3) it is possible that the change from an original *τράγε* to *κάπρε* is due to misquotation, or is even perhaps an intentional alteration.

## XIV.

(1) Domit. 20 (253, 6). *Sermonis tamen nec inelegantis, dictorum interdum etiam notabilium, Vellem, inquit, tam formosus esse quam Maetius sibi videtur; et cuiusdam caput, varietate capilli subrutulum et incanum, perfusam nivem mulso dixit; condicionem principum miserrimam aiebat quibus de coniuratione comperta non crederetur nisi occisis.*

(3) In the Stephanus ed. (1543) *condicionem* etc. is made to begin a new paragraph; so too in the edition of Fr. A. Wolf (1802). Roth, who follows the paragraphing of A,<sup>24</sup> kept these words where they appear in his text, but, suspecting a lacuna, suggested *dixit et condicionem*. The conjunction was not however inserted in the text, nor has Preud'homme included it in his.

It is obvious from the sense that the words *condicionem... occisis* do not belong with what follows, but we have besides the direct evidence of A, the paragraphing of which Roth judged to be inherited from some very ancient source. It would seem then from all considerations that *condicionem... occisis* belongs among the *dicta notabilia*, and, such being the case, Roth's hypothesis of a missing conjunction between *dixit* and *condicionem* appears highly probable, as otherwise *condicionem... occisis* hangs strangely disconnected from the preceding clause.

Palaeographically the *et* suggested by Roth commends itself; after the *it* of *dixit* the *et* would, especially in rustic capitals, be easily lost. There may be some interest however in examining the internal evidence on the point for the purpose of ascertaining how far it corroborates Roth's view.

(a) The conjunction *et* occurs as the introductory word for the last element in groups of three 76 times in Suetonius; of these 76 instances only those have been considered in which there occurs a series of principal verbs parallel to the *inquit... dixit... aiebat* of the passage under discussion, 23 in number. The subjoined statement shows exactly the way in which elements I and II are introduced in these 23 cases, element III being always introduced by *et*.

<sup>24</sup> Introd. xii.

ELEMENT I		ELEMENT II		
No conjunction	<i>Et</i>	<i>Et</i>	<i>-Que</i>	<i>Atque</i>
Jul. 55, Aug. 18 Calig. 14, Claud. 21, 45, Ne. 19, 22, 47, Galb. 4, Otho 11 (bis), Vit. 12, 17, Vesp. 14, Tit. 4, Domit. 4, Gr. 8, 17	Jul. 31, 71 Aug. 32, Tib. 25, Claud. 46, Otho 11 (bis)	Jul. 31 Aug. 32 Tib. 25 Claud. 46	Jul. 55, 71 Aug. 18, Calig. 14 Claud. 21, 45 Ne. 19, 22, 47 Galb. 4, Otho 11 (bis), Vit. 12 Vesp. 14, Tit. 4 Domit. 4, Gr. 8, 17	Vit. 17

This table reveals the curious fact that in every case where *et* as the introductory word of element III is preceded by another *et* serving in the same capacity for element II, there is also a third *et* found introducing element I. This argument is of course not conclusive against Roth's reading, but it indicates at least one objection to it.

(b) The conjunction *ac* occurs as the introductory word for the last element in groups of three 52 times in Suetonius; of these 52 instances only 19 serve in this discussion in view of the restriction explained above. The subjoined statement shows exactly the way in which elements I and II are introduced in these 19 cases, element III being always preceded by *ac*.

ELEMENT I		ELEMENT II			
No conjunction	<i>Et</i>	<i>Et</i>	<i>-Que</i>	<i>Ac</i>	<i>Item</i>
Jul. 19, Aug. 38, 100, Tib. 17, 23, Calig. 15, Claud. 18, 36, 42, Vit. 15, Domit. 2, 16, Gram. 2, Rhet. 6	Jul. 79 Jul. 81 Aug. 17 fin. Aug. 24 Aug. 60	Jul. 79 Jul. 81 Aug. 17 Aug. 24 Aug. 60 Claud. 42	Jul. 19, Aug. 38, 100, Tib. 17, 23, Calig. 15, Claud. 36, Domit. 2, 16, Gram. 2, Rhet. 6	Claud. 18	Vit. 15

From this table it is ascertained that, when element III is introduced by *ac* and element I has no introductory word, there is at least one instance where *et* is the conjunction of the second member, *viz.* Claud. 42. This passage is extraordinarily like the one under consideration as its citation in full shows.

*Cuidam barbaro Graece ac Latine disserenti, Cum utroque, inquit, sermone nostro sis paratus; et in commendanda patribus conscriptis Achaia, gratam sibi provinciam ait communium studiorum commercio; ac saepe in senatu legatis perpetua oratione respondit.*

This sentence is a triple example of the statement which precedes it, *Nec minore cura Graeca studia secutus est, amorem praestantiamque linguae occasione omni professus*, and in precisely the same way the passage in the Domitian from *Vellem, inquit* to *occisis* is a three-fold demonstration of the words directly before it, *Sermonis tamen nec inelegantis dictorum interdum etiam notabilium*.

(c) The conjunction *-que* occurs as the introductory word for the third element in groups of three 67 times in Suetonius; under the same limitations as were prescribed for *et* and *ac*, of these 67 there are 26 which bear on the present passage. A table follows:

ELEMENT I		ELEMENT II		
No conjunction	<i>Et</i>	<i>Et</i>	<i>Ac, atque</i>	<i>-Que</i>
Jul. 35, Aug. 31, 52, 100, Tib. 4, Calig. 34, 46, 47, Claud. 17, Ne. 6, 21 (bis), 41, 42, 48, Vit. 11, Vesp. 5 (bis) Vesp. 8, Domit. 21	Aug. 21 Tib. 14 Tib. 25 Tib. 33 Oth. 12 Tit. 6	Aug. 21 Tib. 14 Tib. 25 Tib. 33 Calig. 46 Ne. 21 (1) Ne. 48 Tit. 6	Jul. 35, Aug. 31, 52, Ne. 41 100, Tib. 4, Calig. Ne. 42 34, 47, Claud. 17, Ne. 6, 21 (2), Otho 12, Vit. 11, Vesp. 5 (bis), 8, Domit. 21	

This statement shows three cases, Calig. 46, Ne. 21 (1), Ne. 48, in which element I lacks a conjunction, element II is introduced by *et*, and element III shows *-que*. From a merely numerical point of view therefore the best showing for the third place in a series beginning —, *et*, is made by *-que*, but as a matter of fact no one of the three examples developed under it shows any resemblance to the passage in the Domitian.

In conclusion it may be observed that the series —, *et*, *et*, develops no internal evidence in its favor, and that as between the series —, *et*, *ac*, and —, *et*, *-que*, the greater *mass* of evidence is for the latter. When however the *quality* of the evidence is taken into consideration, it may fairly be said that the series —, *et*, *ac*, is easily sustained over —, *et*, *-que*, and one may feel some confidence on the basis of the parallel in Claud. 42 in remedying the asyndeton of the sentence by inserting *ac* between *dixit* and *condicionem*. The doubled *c* arising by the presence of *ac* in the text before *condicionem* would also entail a possibility of error in the process of copying.





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CICERO'S KNOWLEDGE OF  
LUCRETIUS'S POEM

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

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CICERO'S KNOWLEDGE OF  
LUCRETIUS'S POEM

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

The perfunctory remark in Cicero's letter to his brother Quintus (ad Quintum Fratrem II, 9, 3) "Lucretii poemata ut scribis ita sunt multis luminibus ingenii multae tamen artis," and the statement by St. Jerome in his continuation of Eusebius's Chronicle for the year of Abraham 1922, "Titus Lucretius—cum aliquot libros—conscribisset quos Cicero emendavit," have for obvious reasons been the subject of inquiry as to whether there is any further evidence of Cicero's acquaintance with the poem. Many scholars have touched upon the question, as Behncke;<sup>1</sup> Tyrrell,<sup>2</sup> who says that Cicero's philosophical works undoubtedly show acquaintance with the *De Rerum Natura*; Weissenfels,<sup>3</sup> who maintained that there is not the least trace in the poem of the correcting hand of Cicero; Castellani,<sup>4</sup> who thought it impossible that Cicero could have published a work of a philosophical system to which he was so bitterly opposed; Krische,<sup>5</sup> who remarked that Cicero from reading Lucretius was plainly indebted to a greater degree than had been previously recognized. Munro in his notes to Lucr. 2, 1092, 3, 983, 6, 396, declared that Cicero's works afford many proofs that he was familiar with the language of the poem; Woltjer<sup>6</sup> maintained that Cicero

<sup>1</sup> *De Cicerone philosophiae existimatore et iudice.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cicero's Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> *WKP* 13, 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Qua ratione traditum sit MTC Lucretii carmen emendatorem fuisse*, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> *Theologische Lehre der Griechischen Denker*, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> *Lucretii philosophia cum fontibus comparata*, p. 7.

vix aut numquam Lucretii opus legisse, aut si legit, ne imbutum quidem esse iis quae legit; Giussani in his edition of Lucretius Vol. 1, p. xvii, thought the dependence of Cicero highly uncertain; and Hirzel<sup>7</sup> says that if Krische thought there were visible evidence of Lucretius in Cicero's *De Deorum Natura* I, he himself was blind. In order to come to an independent opinion in this much debated question I have lately read the entire works of Cicero with close comparison of Lucretius's poem.

To begin, there is an antecedent improbability in Cicero's use of Lucretius's poem. His contempt for the school and for its doctrines was extreme, as may be seen from such passages as *Fin.* 2, 49; *Tusc.* 1, 48, 55; 2, 7; 5, 73; *ND.* 2, 46; *Fato* 38; *Div.* 1, 62; *Off.* 3, 39; *Fam.* 13, 1, 4. From time to time he names his authorities for Epicureanism: Epicurus himself in *Piso* 59, *Fin.* 2, 99, *Off.* 3, 117; Timagoras in *Acad.* 2, 80; Zeno in *Fin.* 1, 16, *Tusc.* 3, 38; Phaedrus in *ND.* 1, 93, *Fin.* 1, 16; and he was familiar with Catus Insuber in *Fam.* 15, 16, 1-2. Furthermore, his contempt for Latin writers of the Epicurean system was so great that in *Tusc.* 2, 7 he says that he does not despise the Latin Epicureans because he has never read their works, and only their own sectaries read the stuff. We shall not be justified in inferring a knowledge of Lucretius unless the parallels in Cicero are so convincing that no other conclusion is possible.

**De**  
**Inventione** 2 The *De Inventione* was written long before the poem was published, and in the second section of that treatise there is a sketch of primeval society that has some correspondence with Luer. 5, 925-1010, and in  
**Pro Sestio**  
91 *Pro Sestio* 91 there is the same thought. Aside from the fact that Lucretius's account probably goes back to Euphorion, Dicaearchus, or Diodorus Siculus, the precedence in time of the *De Inventione* precludes any indebtedness. There is no other parallel in the Rhetorical Works  
**Rhetorical Works**  
**Orations**  
**Piso** 59 In the Orations there is no trace whatever of acquaintance. Only in *Piso* 59 is a reference to the indifference of the Epicurean gods, corresponding to 2, 650 sq., but the sentiment had become trite from Epic. *Sent.* 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Untersuchungen zu Ciceros Philosophische Schriften*, I, 9.

**Philosophical Works**

In the philosophical works we should expect, if anywhere, to find traces of Cicero's acquaintance. Yet here it must be remembered that common Epicurean doctrines were a matter of public knowledge among Cicero's contemporaries, that Cicero had become acquainted with the leading principles of the Epicurean philosophy both from the lectures of Zeno and Phaedrus (*Fin.* 1, 16) and also from the controversial work of the Stoics and Academics. We therefore should infer Lucretius's poem as a source only when other

**Academica**

1, 27

2, 19, 79-82

2, 88

2, 120

2, 121

2, 105

sources are improbable. In the *Academica* Cicero touches here and there on questions that Lucretius also discusses. Thus in 1, 27 he speaks of the indivisibility of matter (1, 748) and in 2, 19, 79, 80, 81, 82 we have the stock illustrations of the tower, the bent oar, dove's neck, double vision, ship's movement, size of sun (4, 387, 599, 477, 465; 5, 564). These illustrations were usual among the ancient physicists; they are found in various writers of different schools both before and after Cicero's time—Sextus Empiricus, Seneca, Plutarch, Alexander Aphrodisias, Aristotle; and some of them can be found in the school books of this year of grace. In *Acad.* 2, 88 Ennius saw Homer's shade (1, 124) and in 2, 120 he touches on the controversy about the beneficent creation of vipers (5, 195 sq.), a theodicy discussed by Seneca, Pliny, Lactantius, and Epictetus. In 2, 121 is a remarkable array of adjectives describing the shape of the atoms—exasperis, levibus, hamatis, uncinatisque corporibus concreta—and at first sight these might seem to be taken from Lucretius's vocabulary (2, 394, 402; 404), but uncinatis is inadmissible in the hexameter and probably both Lucretius and Cicero are translating from the Greek. In 2, 105 mare albescit and in *Lucr.* 2, 767 the sea vertitur in canos fluctus—a mere coincidence.

**De Finibus**

1, 14

In the *De Finibus* much common ground is covered. In 1, 14 there is a panegyric on Epicurus which

- is no real parallel to the Lucretian laudes Epicuri; and in 1, 49 is the commonplace of ancient ethical philosophers that the fear of death brings about decay of character and even suicide (3, 85, 79, 830 sq., 938).
- 1, 57 In 1, 57 the simple and plain ethical system of Epicurus is praised (6, 27), a commonplace of the school.
- 1, 60 In 1, 60 Cicero makes death impend like the rock over Tantalus, while Lucretius (3, 979) compares it to superstition. Munro (on 3, 983) says Cicero may well have been thinking of Lucretius here because in *Tusc.* 4, 35 he draws a different moral from some tragic poet. That may well be, but considering the haste with which Cicero wrote these works under the guidance of his Greek authorities, it is not strange that the same illustration should have had different applications. In 2, 100 it is plain that a common source may have been expressed in the same Latin words: Cicero—scripsit [Epicurus] in eo libro quem modo nominavi mortem nihil ad nos pertinere etc.; Lucr. 3, 830 nil igitur mors est neque pertinet hilum.
- 2, 102 In 2, 102 Epicurus traversed innumerable worlds as also in Lucr. 1, 74, but in *Tusc.* 5, 114 Cicero says the same thing of Democritus; as usual there was a common Greek source, and with this goes the rhetorical commonplace of Xerxes walking the sea and sailing the land, 2, 112 (3, 1029); cf. Mayor on Juv. 10, 173-184.

**Tusculan Disputations** Passing on to the *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero's superb contempt for all his predecessors in philosophical exposition is most remarkable. In *Tusc.* 1, 5 he says: philosophia iacuit usque ad hanc aetatem nec ullum habuit lumen literarum Latinarum; quae illustranda et excitanda nobis est; and then he continues that he will have to work all the harder because many books in Latin are said to be carelessly written by excellent men but uneducated—meaning of course Catus and Amafinius. It is hard to understand Cicero's silence about Lucretius here; the decade since

Lucretius's death ought to have removed any jealousy. In sections 10 and 11 there are some commonplaces about Hades that have no vital connection with *Lucr.* 3, 978 sq. Munro on 2, 1092 thought *Tusc.* 1, 48 was written with reminiscence of Lucretius. There Cicero wonders at the conduct of some philosophers who lay such stress on physics, and give exultant thanks to Epicurus and worship him as a god because they have been freed by him from fear by day and night; and certainly *Lucr.* 1, 66, 3, 37 sq., 5, 8 have the same thought; but the few fragments of Epicurus's letter to Colotes (Usener, *Epicurea, Fragm.*, 140 sq.) show that the turn of thought was traditional in the school, and that Cicero's strictures were aimed at the school as a whole. In *Tusc.* 1, 52 occurs the comparison of the body to a vase—*Lucr.* 3, 440; 6, 17, and a common simile in other schools. The argument in *Tusc.* 1, 79 that pain implies destruction—*Lucr.* 3, 460—is a mere coincidence. The anticipatory sorrow over the loss of the pleasures of life—*Tusc.* 1, 83—*Lucr.* 3, 898; the equality of non-existence before birth and after death, *Tusc.* 1, 91—*Lucr.* 3, 831; the occupancy and not the ownership of life—*Tusc.* 1, 93—*Lucr.* 3, 971, are all commonplaces of the condolence literature. The reference to modes of sepulture as affecting the body, *Tusc.* 1, 108—*Lucr.* 3, 888 is also a commonplace.

As if to put us on our guard against supposing that he had any opinion or knowledge of Lucretius, in *Tusc.* 2, 7 Cicero publishes a manifesto: there are some so-called philosophers who have written in Latin; but he has no opinion of them because he never reads them, because it is not necessary; and by this he means that a sufficient knowledge of Epicureanism could be gained from Greek sources. In *Tusc.* 3, 56 is the commonplace that nature asks but little—*Lucr.* 2, 20, 17,—that is no more sectarian than our "Man wants but little here below"; and the precept in 4, 75—

Lucr. 4, 1070, that change is good for many complaints and one love can drive out another, needs no authority and might have occurred to any one. In the opening of the fifth book of the *Tusculans* (5, 5) Cicero gives a beautiful tribute to philosophy as the bestower of peace and the comforter in the presence of human ills; a book where the expression of Stoic ἀπαθεία is very near the Epicurean ἀταραξία, but where his contempt for Epicureanism is most outspoken; and if Lucretius, in the prooemia of Books 5 and 3 (5, 9; 3, 37) gives the same praise to Epicurus as the discoverer of philosophy, it is a proof, not that Cicero had knowledge of Lucretius, but that both the new-academic eclectic and the epicurean had the same ultimate object in the conduct of life. In *Tusc.* 5, 97 there is another reference to contentment with a little.

**De Natura  
Deorum**

Passing to the *De Natura Deorum*, we should expect there, if anywhere, to find Lucretian arguments placed in the mouth of the Epicurean Velleius, and yet I have noted fewer similarities than in the *De Finibus* and the *Tusculans*. In 1, 56 Epicurus is said to have freed his followers from μαντική and Lucr. 1, 102 refers to intimidation by the seers—surely a commonplace of Epicureanism. In 1, 108 Cicero discusses the doctrine of simulacra as affecting sensation, and particularly denies the existence of Chimaeras as Lucretius does in 2, 705. Woltjer<sup>8</sup> well insists that Cicero could not have discussed the general subject in the way he did if he had read Lucr. 4, 736, 761, 780; but I fear that in Epicurean doctrine Cicero preferred to be blind. But certainly his discussion is altogether independent of that of Lucretius. In the second book the reference to the existence of fauns in sec. 6—Lucr. 4, 581—proves nothing. The natural means of defense of the lower animals—horns, teeth, flight, hiding—mentioned in 2, 127 correspond to Lucr. 3, 741 sq. and occur also in the *Anacreonta* 24; this was doubtless a familiar bit of natural history.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 7.



**De Divinatione** Next comes the treatise on Divination, and in sections 17, 19, 20 of the first book there is a long quotation from Cicero's *De Consulatu* in which there is much evidence that Lucretius used Cicero; for there is no doubt that the great poet studied closely the great orator's verse, as has been shown by many scholars. Little weight can be attached to *caelum discessisse* 1, 97—*Lucr.* 3, 16. Passing to the second book

1, 97  
2, 44  
2, 49

Munro thinks that in sec. 44 where Cicero discusses the cause and effect of lightning he "had Lucretius's lines in his memory" from *RN.* 6, 396 sq. It seems to me rather that there was a common authority—ultimately Epicurus himself. In 2, 49 like Aristophanes, Cicero saw lions and centaurs in the clouds as did Lucretius 4, 136 sq.

**De Fato** In the *De Fato* there is much about declination of the atoms—secs. 18, 21, 46,—and of course Lucretius discusses the question, in 2, 216 sq.; but here, no more than in *Fin.* 1, 18 and *ND.* 1, 69 do I see any evidence of Cicero's acquaintance. In a subject that he did not understand and consequently subjected to such ridicule, it is not probable that he got his information from Lucretius—rather from Carneades through Zeno.

18, 21, 46

**Cato Maior** In the *Cato Maior* I have noted but one case of similarity—83 *decurso spatio*—*Lucr.* 3, 1042 *decurso lumine vitae*, that is merely an agreement in a metaphor. There is nothing in the *Laelius*. In the *De Officiis*

83

**De Officiis** in 1, 158 Cicero traces the origin of society from mutual need and help; a theorizing like that in *Lucr.* 5, 1019 and common to the post-Socratic schools. To this may be added the theory of monarchy—2, 41—5, 1109—and the use of cities as strongholds, 2, 73. In 2, 102 there is a quotation from Epicurus's *κύρια δόξα*. In the letters *ad Familiares* there is little. In *Fam.* 5, 16, 2-4 occur trite consolations about death a *sapientissimis viris usurpatae*, and also in 5, 21, 4-5, commonplaces like those in *Lucr.* 3, 820 sq. In 7, 12, 2 he rallies Trebatius on his Epicu-

1, 158  
2, 41  
2, 73, 102  
**Ad Familiares**  
5, 16, 2-4  
5, 21, 4-5

rean principles, and in 9, 25, 2 in his controversies with Epicureans he used the aid of M. Fadius.

**Ad Atticum** I find nothing whatever in the letters to Atticus, **Fragments** which is somewhat remarkable. In the fragments in Vol. 11 of the Baiter and Kayser edition there is nothing subsequent to the publication of the poem.

Another matter should be considered in this comparison and that is the scope of the treatment by Lucretius and Cicero. There is, after all, not much in common between the two so far as Epicureanism is concerned. Usener in his *Epicurea* gives from Lucretius as the principal source of our knowledge, in the *De Rerum Natura* only 3, 294; 5, 52, 1117, 1127, 1152 and 6, 9; while for Cicero there are the following numerous citations (94 in all): *Orations*, *Piso* 42, 59, 65, 66, 68; *Sest.* 23; *Brutus* 292; *Acad.* 2, 19, 45, 83, 97, 101, 140, 142, 279; *De Finibus* 1, 17, 18, 21, 22, 29-62; 2, 3, 6, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37, 41, 48, 51, 68, 80, 82, 84, 88, 90, 98, 100, 104; 3, 3; 4, 29; 5, 80, 85, 93; *Tusc.* 2, 15, 17, 28, 44; 3, 28, 32, 38, 46-49; 4, 70; 5, 26, 31, 73, 75, 89, 93, 94, 95, 97, 102, 103, 110-117; *De Natura Deorum* 1, 18-23, 43-56, 67, 69, 70, 72, 93, 95, 113; 2, 46, 162; *De Divinatione* 1, 5; 2, 40, 103; *De Fato* 18, 21, 22, 23, 46; *Laelius* 86; *De Officiis* 3, 117; *ad Familiares* 7, 12, 26; *ad Atticum* 5, 2, 4; 14, 20, 5. In this connection it may be noted that Usener in the preface to his *Epicurea* p. lxx sq. comments on Cicero's superficial treatment of philosophical subjects from brief abstracts, and is silent on Lucretius as a possible source.

I have not compared similarities in diction and metaphor in the two authors; as they both wrote in Latin it would be easy enough to find parallels in unimportant phrases, but as for any indication that Cicero was influenced in the slightest degree by Lucretius's poem I find not a scintilla of evidence. Cicero approached the subject from a different point of view and exposed the philosophy in a journalistic, although pleasing, style; his treatment is that of a dilettante to satisfy a mild curiosity in a matter of no vital interest. Lucretius was an enthusiastic preacher of a new gospel, and in this his whole being was absorbed. The two men had little in common in character, in literary sympathy, or in the valuation of life. I doubt very much whether Cicero ever read the poem.

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THE CONSPIRACY AT ROME, IN 68-65 B.C.

BY

H. C. NUTTING

BERKELEY

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## THE CONSPIRACY AT ROME IN 66-65 B.C.

BY

H. C. NUTTING.

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The spectacular conspiracy of Catiline in 63-62 B.C. has naturally enough somewhat overshadowed the less conspicuous disturbance of three years before. At first sight, too, the earlier conspiracy seems to afford a somewhat unpromising field of investigation. The mere fact that the movement never culminated in overt act gave excellent opportunity for the birth of conflicting rumors; and as these were circulated in part at least by persons of known prejudice, the problem of detecting the truth may well appear difficult. Closer inspection, however, shows that the contradictions and obscurities of the testimony really concern secondary details mostly, whereas the essentially important features of the conspiracy can be determined with a very satisfactory degree of certainty.

I therefore feel somewhat discontented with the position of Boissier, who holds that the earlier conspiracy was a more or less insignificant and isolated disturbance, and excuses himself from probing into its inner history on the ground that the obscurities in the evidence preclude the possibility of reaching any definite conclusion.<sup>1</sup> And, at the same time, I am inclined to distrust somewhat the customary procedure of the professed historian, who, making wide generalizations and reading backward from later events to the earlier, is apt to put upon an episode such as the earlier conspiracy an interpretation that will fit with or sup-

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<sup>1</sup> *La Conjuration de Catilina*, Paris 1905, p. 50 ff.

port some more general theory. I would not belittle the benefits of a large perspective, but, while enjoying these, one ever needs to be on his guard against imputing to far-sighted human purpose results which as a matter of fact grew out of situations whose outcome was problematical to the persons concerned in them.

It seems therefore worth while to consider once more the evidence bearing on the earlier conspiracy. Among the witnesses Cicero clearly holds first place; for surely no other among them had a stronger motive or better opportunity to sift the matter to the bottom. Of course on this subject, as elsewhere, Cicero's testimony is apt to be colored by the circumstances under which he speaks; but this fact usually very thinly screens his real convictions. Unfortunately the greater part of his testimony touching the earlier conspiracy is either lost or to be had only at second hand; in fact the speech *pro Sulla* is the only complete extant document in which he communicates any considerable amount of information on this subject. Asconius has preserved important fragments of the speeches *pro Cornelio* (65 B.C.) and *in Toga Candida* (64 B.C.), and here and there in other writings Cicero incidentally touches on the events of the years 66-65; but we must ever regret the loss of his systematic historical treatises. It may perhaps be questioned whether the work *περι Ἱππερίας* (*de Consulatu Suo*) contained much in the way of direct reference to the earlier conspiracy. But the treatise known as *Ἀνέκδοτα* (*de Consiliis Suis*) seems very clearly to have included utterances bearing directly on the subject.<sup>2</sup> This latter work was published late, being withheld from circulation until a time when considerations of diplomacy no longer precluded a frank expression of opinion on Cicero's part. For our present purpose therefore its loss is more serious than that of the other treatise. However, Asconius evidently had access to the document, and Plutarch<sup>3</sup> and Dio Cassius<sup>4</sup> seem at least to have known something of its contents.

To Sallust, who represents a more or less independent line of tradition, would naturally be assigned the second place among

<sup>2</sup> See Asconius on *in Tog. Cand.* p. 74 (K. and S.).

<sup>3</sup> *Crass.* 13.

<sup>4</sup> 39. 10.



the witnesses. For he writes of events that occurred during his own lifetime, and his version of the story of the earlier conspiracy is the most systematic and complete account we possess. In Suetonius we seem to have, in part at least, a third line of tradition. At any rate he cites utterances which, antedating the publication of the *Avéδora* and according ill with the prudence of Cicero's earlier statements, are at the same time quite at variance with Sallust's point of view.<sup>5</sup> Livy, too, treated of the earlier conspiracy, and may have contributed something of value, though the report of his epitomist promises little.<sup>6</sup>

The external history of the earlier conspiracy is fairly clear, being somewhat as follows. At the regular consular election held in the year 66 P. Autronius and P. Sulla were successful, defeating L. Cotta and L. Torquatus. The latter, falling back on a practice much in vogue at that time,<sup>7</sup> solaced their injured feelings by bringing a charge of bribery against the successful candidates.<sup>8</sup> As a result of this action the *consules designati* were disqualified,<sup>9</sup> and a new election was ordered. Meanwhile<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Suet. *Iul.* 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Coniuratio eorum, qui in petitione consulatus ambitus damnati erant, facta de interficiendis consulibus oppressa est (Periocha CI).* It is possible that one or two of the minor details cited by Dio Cassius are drawn from Livy's account.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the experience of Murena in 63 B.C., and see *p. Mur.* 24. 48 ff.

<sup>8</sup> I note here that Willrich (*de Coniurationis Catilinae Fontibus*, Göttingen 1893, p. 17) assumes that Asconius could not have learned from Cicero's writings who the accusers were—a somewhat perilous assumption in view of the fact that so much of Cicero's testimony is lost. It would seem too that Willrich had overlooked one or two extant utterances of Cicero which throw some light on this matter. See *p. Sulla* 17. 49: *Tum adflecto P. Sulla consulatus vobis (sc. Torquatis) pariebatur . . . ; ereptum repetere vos clamitabatis, ut victi in campo in foro vinceretis*; also *de Fin.* ii. 19. 62: *te ipsum (sc. Torquatum filium) . . . voluptasne induxit ut adolescentulus eriperes P. Sullae consulatum? Quem cum ad patrem tuum retulisses, etc.*

<sup>9</sup> The verdict was doubtless just. Asconius (p. 66) quotes Cicero as thus expressing himself in *p. Cornelio* regarding this action: *spectaculum illud re et tempore salubre ac necessarium, genere (et) exemplo miserum ac funestum.* In fact in cases of this sort guilt was more or less a matter of course. Even the increasingly strict laws against bribery seem subsequently to have checked the practice little, perhaps partly because it was so easy to escape conviction by the use of more money or by other means. Cf. the strait to which even the most moral and conservative Roman of his day was reduced, Suet. *Iul.* 19.

<sup>10</sup> On the chronology at this point the sources are far less in conflict than one might assume from a hasty reading of John's article in *Rhein. Mus.* xxxi. p. 401 ff.

Catiline, who as propraetor of Africa had been plundering his province in the conventional fashion, returned to Rome and desired to be a candidate at this special election. His request was taken under advisement by the consul L. Volcatius Tullus, who after consultation, ruled that Catiline could not be considered as a candidate at that time because he was even then under indictment for his peculations in Africa. The election resulted in the choice of L. Cotta and L. Torquatus, the persons who, after their defeat at the previous election, had brought charges against Autronius and Sulla.

The disqualified and disgruntled candidates<sup>11</sup> thereupon united in a plot to murder their successful rivals on inauguration day (Jan. 1, 65).<sup>12</sup> This plan, however, was discovered or betrayed, and the attempt was necessarily postponed. In the meantime the trial of C. Manilius,<sup>13</sup> which had been scheduled for the last day of December, was made the occasion of a hostile demonstration<sup>14</sup>—a proceeding all too common at this period in connection with the administration of justice.<sup>15</sup> The plans of the conspirators now converged on February 5, at which time many of the optimates were to be killed along with the consuls. The whole undertaking miscarried, however, through the over-eager-

<sup>11</sup> Not excluding Sulla, despite his acquittal in 62 on the charge of conspiracy. Indeed Cicero's speech of defense at the time of the trial is in itself sufficient to convince any careful reader of Sulla's guilt. An able and ingenious composition it certainly is, but manifestly the work of a man who is uncomfortably conscious throughout of the weakness of his case; cf. there 13. 36 ff. and 24. 67 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Cn. Piso seems also to have been openly identified with the movement; cf. Cic. *p. Mur.* 38. 81; *p. Sulla* 24. 67; Asconius on *p. Cornelio* p. 58, and in *Tog. Cand.* pp. 74, 82-83; Dio Cass. 36. 27 [44]; Sallust 18 and 19; Suet. *Iul.* 9.

<sup>13</sup> The mover of Pompey's military command, now defendant in an extortion case. For details concerning this action see Plutarch, *Cic.* 9, and Dio Cass. 36. 27 [44].

<sup>14</sup> It is to this incident that Cicero refers in *Cat.* i. 6. 15; *Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum scias horum esse neminem qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo?* Cf. also the passage quoted from *p. Cornelio* by Asconius, p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> Indeed this matter had become a crying disgrace. Where bribery failed, the operations of the court could be brought to a standstill by the danger (or realization) of murderous assault; cf. the amazing case of lawlessness at the first trial of Milo (Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* ii. 3. 2); see also *p. Sulla* 5. 15, and Asconius on *p. Cornelio*, pp. 51 and 52.

ness of the leader, it is said, who gave the signal before everything was in readiness.<sup>16</sup>

On one point touching the external history of this conspiracy there seems room for debate, namely the question of the identity of the commanding officer—Who was the man who gave the signal on February 5 by allowing the toga to slip from his shoulder? Cicero pretty clearly assigns this rôle to Catiline. For, after reminding the latter (*in Cat.* i. 6. 15) of his behavior on the day set for the trial of Manilius, he passes on in his questioning to the main business of the conspiracy—(te) manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse?<sup>17</sup>—the last clause referring apparently to the too hastily given signal, thus according exactly with Sallust's more explicit account.<sup>18</sup> Suetonius on the other hand reports a version of the story which assigns to Caesar the business of giving the signal.<sup>19</sup>

In weighing this evidence too much stress perhaps should not be laid on the fact that here (and throughout his account of the earlier conspiracy generally) Suetonius *quotes* rather than affirms; but we may not pass lightly over the fact that he names his authorities, and that they are persons of known animus against Caesar.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand Sallust's anxiety to put Caesar in a favorable light might perhaps seem to some fair reason for questioning whether the charge he makes against Catiline is not in the nature of a blind. But Cicero's position was different, and though at the time his above quoted testimony was written he doubtless felt it expedient to bear lightly on

<sup>16</sup> Suetonius (*Iul.* 9) quotes the divergent account of Tanusius Geminus, who relates that the circumstances on that day were so discouraging that the signal was not given at all.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *p. Mur.* 38. 81 and *in Tog. Cand.* p. 82: Praetereo nefarium illum conatum tuum et paene acerbum et luctuosum rei publicae diem, cum Cn. Pisone socio neque alio nemine caedem optimatum facere voluisti. See also the commentary of Asconius on this passage, comparing the same with his remark on p. 74.

<sup>18</sup> Chap. 18.

<sup>19</sup> *Iul.* 9.

<sup>20</sup> Namely Tanusius Geminus, M. Aetorius Naso, C. Curio pater, and Bibulus.

anything derogatory to Caesar, I am inclined to think that the evidence he offers turns the scale slightly in Catiline's direction; and every general consideration certainly points the same way. For, however much or little Caesar may have been interested in the conspiracy, it is scarcely credible that he would commit himself openly to so rash and doubtful an undertaking. Furthermore the story of the too hastily given signal, if true,<sup>21</sup> comports far better with the impetuous character of Catiline.

Turning now to the question of the inner nature and significance of the earlier conspiracy, the evidence seems to show beyond any reasonable doubt that both this disturbance and the later conspiracy of 63-62 were excrescences upon the surface of one and the same underlying movement. For it will be recalled that throughout the whole period of 66-62 the same political and economic conditions continued practically unchanged. In control of the situation was a rich, well intrenched and self-satisfied oligarchy. Meanwhile intense bitterness prevailed in the hearts of the ruined small farmer, the impoverished debtor, the disfranchised citizen, and the unsuccessful politician who could not force his way into the inner circle. Moreover, old-time veterans settled in various parts of Italy, once gorged with plunder, were now anxious to make more money in the same easy way, and the lazy city proletariat, supported by the bounty of the state, was insolent and ripe for mischief. Given a leader about whom these and other forces of opposition might rally, and the situation at once became acute—less so in the case of the earlier conspiracy because the preparations then made were less careful and extensive. Cicero frequently and clearly records his conviction that the two conspiracies were incidents in one and the same general movement; *e.g.*,

*in Cat. i. 13. 31:*

Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit.

<sup>21</sup> See note 16. The question of Tanusius' reliability concerning this detail cannot well be disassociated from the question of the credibility of the charge he makes against Caesar.

*p. Mur.* 38. 81:

Omnia, quae per hoc triennium agitata sunt, iam ab eo tempore quo a L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone initum consilium senatus interficiendi scitis esse, in hos dies, in hos menses, in hoc tempus erumpunt.

*p. Sulla* 24. 67:

Hic tu epistulam meam saepe recitas, quam ego ad Cn. Pompeium de meis rebus gestis et de summa re publica misi, et ex ea crimen aliquod in P. Sullam quaeris, et, si furorem incredibilem biennio ante conceptum erupisse in meo consulatu scripsi, me hoc demonstrasse dicis Sullam in illa fuisse superiore coniuratione.<sup>22</sup>

In this connection it is also worthy of note that the captains in both conspiracies were men of the same class,—for the most part disgruntled second-rate politicians who had a grudge to satisfy or who hoped to gain an office by force; indeed, to a certain extent, they were identically the same persons, namely Catiline, Cethegus,<sup>23</sup> Vargunteius,<sup>24</sup> Autronius, and Sulla.<sup>25</sup> But of still greater importance as a link connecting the two conspiracies was the presence in the background of Caesar and Crassus—influential accomplices, watching the fray from a more or less safe distance, and spurring on the under dog. That these prominent men took an active interest even in the earlier and less important conspiracy may perhaps seem doubtful to some, and I therefore introduce here a part of the evidence bearing on this point. In Caesar's case it is perhaps fair to allow the interested rumors published by his detractors<sup>26</sup> to be offset by the silence of Sallust; but this still leaves Cicero's testimony to be reckoned with. He, apparently even during Caesar's lifetime, did not hesitate to indicate pretty clearly his view on this subject; cf.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. in *Cat.* iv. 3. 6, and the extract from Cicero's letter quoted in *Suet. Iul.* 9.

<sup>23</sup> *Sallust* 52. 33.

<sup>24</sup> *p. Sulla* 24. 67.

<sup>25</sup> Among the conspicuous leaders whose names first appear in connection with the second conspiracy were two more disgruntled politicians—Cassius, who had been defeated in the consular election of 64 (*Asconius* on *in Tog. Cand.* p. 73), and Lentulus, a man expelled from the senate after holding the consulship, and at that time repeating the *cursus honorum* to regain his lost standing (*Dio Cass.* 37. 30).

<sup>26</sup> *Suet. Iul.* 9.

Suet. *Iul.* 9:

De hac (sc. coniuratione) significare videtur et Cicero, in quadam ad Axium epistula referens, Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo aedilis (i.e., in 65) cogitarat.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, if Suetonius has at all correctly caught the spirit and aim of Caesar's policy, it is a foregone conclusion that no such disturbance as that of 66-65 could be on foot without enlisting the latter's attention and interest. In speaking of happenings as early as the year 78 Suetonius strikes the key-note of Caesar's procedure (as portrayed by him) for the following thirty years:

*Iul.* 3:

Nam Sullae<sup>28</sup> morte comperta, simul spe novae dissensionis, quae per Marcum Lepidum movebatur, Roman propere redit. . . . Lepidi . . . societate, quamquam magnis conditionibus invitaretur, abstinuit, cum ingenio eius diffusus, tum occasione, quam minorem opinione offenderat.

From this time on until the Rubicon was crossed in "defense" of the outraged dignity of the common's officials, the same strain runs through the narrative<sup>29</sup>—a large personal ambition, a deep interest in fomenting opposition to the senatorial oligarchy, and great carefulness not to become too deeply involved in such ventures until the time was ripe. Standing thus in the shadow of the background, watching narrowly for any incident in the contest of parties of which he might make capital for himself, it is in the highest degree probable that Caesar would take an active interest in fomenting the disturbance of 66-65. The testimony of Suetonius therefore strongly corroborates that of Cicero. And in this connection it is fair, without stressing it too strongly, to mention the fact that Sulla appears later as Caesar's lieutenant

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *in Tog. Cand.* p. 83, where Cicero intimates that the backers of Catiline and Antonius in 64 are the same persons who were in league with Piso in 65; cf. too Asconius' comment on p. 74. Again, *l. c.* p. 82, there is possibility of a veiled reference: Praetereo nefarium illum conatum tuum et paene acerbum et luctuosum rei publicae diem, cum Cn. Pisone socio neque alio nemine caedem optimatum facere voluisti. For Cicero's opinion as published later cf. Plutarch, *Crass.*, 13 and Dio Cass. 39. 10.

<sup>28</sup> i.e., the dictator.

<sup>29</sup> See chap. 5 ff.

in the Civil War, commanding the right wing at the battle of Pharsalia.<sup>30</sup>

If Caesar was thus interested in the earlier conspiracy, it would be strange if Crassus, who was also on the ground, did not feel a similar interest. Certain it is that the latter was very generally thought to be behind the movement. Indeed according to Asconius,<sup>31</sup> who apparently is quoting from the *'Ανέκδοτα*, Cicero made this accusation in so many words.<sup>32</sup> Sallust does not touch the matter directly, but his narrative shows that at this time Crassus was scheming and planning and quite wide awake with reference to the advancement of his own interests;<sup>33</sup> and Suetonius reports a version of the story which even exalted Crassus to the chief place in the conspiracy.<sup>34</sup>

In view of these facts, we may well reject the verdict which dismisses the earlier conspiracy as a more or less insignificant and isolated disturbance. At the same time, as indicated above, I find it difficult to subscribe to the view which discerns in the events of 66-62 B.C. the systematic working out of the plans of a closely organized Dreibund, in which all three parties to the compact were working together intelligently and harmoniously to outgeneral Pompey and down the optimates, with the ultimate purpose that, under a new order of things, Caesar and Crassus should have the highest honors, that the commanding officers should receive an office apiece, and that the rank and file should enjoy more congenial conditions of living.

It is true that the dissatisfaction of all parties concerned with the existing oligarchical supremacy formed a tie which gave a certain unity to the movement. But I fail to find evidence of a thoroughgoing and effective organization. For had the matter been put upon a business footing throughout, the planning and directing would certainly have fallen to the really able men interested (namely the more or less silent accomplices Caesar

<sup>30</sup> Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 89. 3.

<sup>31</sup> P. 74; see also Plutarch *Crass.* 13 and cf. Dio Cass. 39. 10.

<sup>32</sup> In this connection it is interesting to recall that Sallust (chap. 48) relates that he personally heard Crassus complain that Cicero was responsible for the charges connecting his name with the later conspiracy.

<sup>33</sup> Chap. 19.

<sup>34</sup> *Iul.* 9.

and Crassus), and every field leader would have known his place and his duty. But one cannot read all the evidence, especially concerning the second conspiracy (the very time when the able accomplices were most deeply interested), without gathering the impression that the field captains did not feel themselves to be in any sense underlings. On the contrary their conduct is marked throughout by a braggart independence and almost an unwillingness to take the trouble to secure concerted action even among themselves.<sup>35</sup>

I am inclined to think, too, that there was considerable insincerity in the relation of the parties concerned in this general movement. The discontented rank and file were ready to follow any leader, if only he was hostile to the existing form of government. It would not be unduly uncharitable, I think, to say that the immediate leaders—certain second-rate and disgruntled politicians—seized upon this situation primarily as a means to even old scores and perhaps to make themselves “great.” And it looks very much as though they in turn were being used in much the same way by their more able accomplices, who, keeping out of the limelight as much as possible, were urging on the strife and standing ready to seize upon any chance for large personal advancement that might result therefrom.<sup>36</sup>

It may be questioned whether Caesar and Crassus desired the conspiracies to succeed, *i.e.*, to culminate in a situation such as some of the field captains seem to have dreamed of. It is true that they appear to have taken a deeper interest in the second conspiracy, and it is also true that at that time a more extensive plan was on foot; but even then it is altogether probable that they were thinking of nothing more than the stirring up of a furor which would give them an opportunity to secure great prestige by “saving” the state.<sup>37</sup> At any rate, it is scarcely

<sup>35</sup> Note Catiline's tone throughout, and the airs assumed by Lentulus after Catiline left Rome.

<sup>36</sup> If this analysis of the situation is correct, it does away with the mooted question whether the conspiracy of Catiline was political or economic in its aims. For, on this hypothesis, it was both—political in so far as the ambitions of the leaders were concerned, economic with respect to the hopes of many of the rank and file.

<sup>37</sup> Note in this connection Pompey's efforts to secure his own recall that he might not miss the fine opportunity for advancement.



conceivable that they had the slightest idea of plunging it into anarchy and ruin.<sup>38</sup>

In closing I call attention to a few events of the period 66-62 B.C. which seem to be connected with the general movement to which the two conspiracies belong. It is a rather difficult matter to untangle the skein and determine the exact bearing of some of these happenings, but they are interesting nevertheless as indicative of the continuity of the movement and the extent of its ramifications. Under this head might be mentioned the organization of Etruria by Manlius and the attempt to enlist the Allobroges, but I pass at once to several less frequently discussed episodes.

First may be mentioned an occurrence which seems to have taken place during the time of the earlier conspiracy, namely the attempt to enlist the fleet of L. Gellius, who was in command of the Tuscan Sea at the time of the Pirate War.<sup>39</sup> Of this move Cicero says

*post red. ad Quir. 7. 17:*

. . . L. Gelli; qui quia suam classem adtemptatam magno cum suo periculo paene sensit, dixit in contione vestrum, si ego consul, cum fui, non fuissem, rem publicam funditus interituram fuisse.

Next in order is the sending of Cn. Piso to Spain with a command *extra ordinem*. It may be, as Sallust says,<sup>40</sup> that some short-sighted senators thought that they were side-tracking a dangerous leader by thus disposing of Piso. But it certainly was a strange disposition to make of a man generally conceded to be able and lately a participant in the earlier conspiracy. When we consider the strategic value of Spain as a base of operations and the important part it played in the Civil War,<sup>41</sup> it is little wonder that Catiline felt<sup>42</sup> that his cause was strengthened by the

<sup>38</sup> I therefore do not feel the force of the argument set forth in Drumann's *Geschichte Roms*, Ed. ii. Vol. iii. p. 138 to prove that Caesar was not a partner in the earlier conspiracy.

<sup>39</sup> See Florus iii. 6. 9.

<sup>40</sup> Chap. 19.

<sup>41</sup> It will be recalled that Caesar felt it more important to subdue Spain than to follow up Pompey's demoralized flight from Italy; and that, after he had conquered the world, his enemies were again in arms in Spain, thus necessitating a second subjugation of that province.

<sup>42</sup> See Sallust 21.

appointment of a former ally to this important post. And, in view of the fact that Crassus was probably implicated in the earlier conspiracy, Sallust's account of this incident<sup>43</sup> is significant, namely that Crassus put through Piso's appointment, his motive being jealousy of the growing power of Pompey. The rumor that the subsequent murder of Piso in Spain was instigated by Pompey<sup>44</sup> fits well with the suspicious nature of the whole episode.<sup>45</sup>

Still again, the movements of P. Sittius of Nuceria present an interesting problem. On the occasion of his damaging plea in behalf of Sulla, Cicero advances what looks like a very labored explanation of the departure of this friend of Sulla's for Spain and Africa.<sup>46</sup> According to Sallust,<sup>47</sup> Catiline regarded this move as the establishment of another base of operations favorable to his cause. And we may not forget that Sittius, as well as Sulla, joined Caesar's standard in the Civil War, rendering valuable service with the forces which he had organized in Africa.<sup>48</sup>

Finally, it would be interesting to know the true inwardness of the consular campaign of 64. Suspicion was rife that Caesar and Crassus were backing Catiline and Antonius for the office.<sup>49</sup> Sallust of course would not mention such a suspicion of Caesar, even though he knew it to be well founded; but he does record the rumor about Crassus,<sup>50</sup> and makes the significant remark<sup>51</sup> that the optimates were so alarmed at the situation that they

<sup>43</sup> Chap. 19.

<sup>44</sup> Sallust (*l. c.*), while professing to leave the question quite unprejudiced, still recites an argument which looks toward the participation of Pompey in this crime.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Suet. *Iul.* 9, and Asconius on *in Tog. Cand.* p. 83: *Dicit (sc. Cicero) de malis civibus: "Qui posteaquam illo (quo) conati erant Hispaniensi pugiunculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non potuerunt . . ."* Hispaniensem pugiunculum Cn. Pisonem appellat.

<sup>46</sup> *p. Sulla* 20. 56 ff. Contrast the tone of *in Cat.* iv. 3. 6.

<sup>47</sup> Chap. 21.

<sup>48</sup> See Caesar, *Bell. Afr.* 25. 2, etc.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. again *in Tog. Cand.* p. 83, where, after charging "mali cives" with ulterior motives in connection with Piso's appointment, Cicero continues: *duas uno tempore conantur in rem publicam siccas destringere*, and Asconius adds the scarcely needed information that Catiline and Antonius are the *siccae* referred to. See also *l. c.* p. 74, and Asconius' comment there.

<sup>50</sup> Chap. 17.

<sup>51</sup> Chap. 23.

secured the election of Cicero, though they relished little the idea of helping forward a novus homo.<sup>52</sup>

Viewed in connection with the general movement of which it was an incident, the earlier conspiracy is not by any means wanting in interest, though, as above intimated, both it and the later conspiracy, in themselves considered, were events of no great importance. As signs of the times they were significant enough, but being left to the mismanagement of incompetent and more or less egotistical captains, they were from the start doomed to failure, at least so far as the dreams of the immediate leaders were concerned.<sup>53</sup> The situations which they promised to precipitate were such as to delight the hearts of the silent accomplices, and it must have been infinitely galling to the latter that, after their long scheming, the state was "saved" by an upstart, while they themselves came off only with badly damaged reputations.

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<sup>52</sup> A similar situation occurred in 60 B.C., when the optimates gravely and officially adopted "campaign methods" to secure the election of Bibulus as a check on Caesar, who also was then a candidate for the consulship and likely to be elected; see Suet. *Iul.* 19.

<sup>53</sup> In the event of large advancement for Caesar they might of course have received some reward. For, whatever other faults he had, Caesar was not careless about remembering old associates when he had any patronage to dispense.

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ON THE CONTRACTED GENITIVE IN  
I IN LATIN

BY  
WILLIAM A. MERRILL

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ON THE CONTRACTED GENITIVE IN  
I IN LATIN.

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

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In Harpers' Latin Dictionary there are listed, exclusive of proper names, 1095 words in -ium, 462 in -ius, 103 in -ion, 3 in -ios; in all 1663. There are many more in the Thesaurus so far as published: under a, 104, under b, 33, under c, up to the word cauterium, 47 that are not in Harpers'. These additional words are found mainly in the inscriptions, the glosses, and in very late Latin literature. In Harpers' Dictionary from a to cauterium there are 244 words; in the Thesaurus, within the same limit, there are 345. If this proportion should be maintained in the forthcoming parts of the Thesaurus, there may be found perhaps 2350 words.

An inquiry concerning the occurrence of the genitive forms of these words meets with many difficulties. I have consulted the principal Latin lexicons, the Thesaurus so far as published, Neue's Formenlehre, Georges' Lexicon of Latin word-forms, the published lexicons to the separate authors, the indices to the important editions, scattered notes in commentaries, grammars, journals and dissertations; and where no lexicon has been made for an author I have surveyed the entire works of that author, and have included all the works named in the list given in Harpers' Dictionary, with some additions. One of the best lists of references on the subject is in Wölfflin's Archiv XIV, 339. The

accuracy of the evidence is impaired by differences in editorial judgment, and also by human limitations; but it may be trusted to show tendencies, if nothing more. The MS. reading in numerous cases is not available, and many editors have passed lightly over the question.

I know of no occurrence of a genitive singular form in the following words, and therefore cite the nominative singular:

abietarius	aequilibrium	anellarius	aquiminarium
abluvium	aestimium	angarium	aquivergium
aborticium	aestuarium	angarius	arborarius
acanthion	aetion	angium	arcarius
accendium	agellarius	angularius	archelion
acceptorius	agonium	animatorium	archisterium
accitulum	alaudarium	annonarius	architriclinium
acclinatorium	alberium	antarius	archium
accubitorium	alcibium	antecenium	arcifnium
acetarium	aleatorjum	antecolumnium	arcion
achasius	alicarius	anteridion	arcisellium
acciarium	alieniloquium	antescolarius	arcisolium
aciarium	alipilarius	anteludium	arction
acion	alluvium	anthracion	arcuarius
aciscularius	altarium	anthyllion	arcuballistarius
acorion	altiliarius	anthyllium	arcubius
acridium	alvearium	antibibulum	arcularius
acrimonium	alvearius	antimenion	argemonium
acrinomium	amasius	antion	argentarium
acrocolion	amatorium	antistitium	armamentarium
acrocolium	ambivium	anularium	armentarium
acrocolefum	ambrosium	apanteterium	armificatorium
acropodium	ambulatorium	apenarius	armoracium
actionarius	amburbium	apertularius	arnion
acuclarius	amicarius	apiarium	aromatarius
acuclarius	amictorium	apiarius	artemonion
acupedium	amphicius	apocrisarius	arterium
acupedius	ampullarius	apolyterium	artisecium
adductorium	amussium	apothecarius	artophacion
adipatarius	anaboladium	apparatorium	arvipendium
admonitorium	anabolicarius	appendicium	arusion
adnuntius	anabolium	appendium	asceterium
adoptaticius	anactorium	applicatarius	asclatium
adundatorium	anacliterium	apnium	asifolium
aegilopium	anaglypharius	apostorium	asinarius
aegrimonium	analentidium	aquaeductum	asphaltion
aecripomium	analogium	aquaelicium	assarius
aequilatum	anaptoterium	aquarium	assipondium
aequilavium	anatiarius	aquifolium	asterion

astrion	biclinium	calcarius	carpesion
astrutium	bigarius	calcatorium	carracutium
asturconarius	binoetium	calceolarius	carrarius
athanuvium	bipalium	calceamentarius	carrucarius
atlantion	bipedalium	calcearius	carthesium
atocium	bisaccium	caldarium	casarius
atramentarium	bisellarius	calefactorium	cassidarius
atramentarius	bivium	caliandrium	castellarius
auctarium	blandiloquium	caliclarium	castimonium
auctionarius	blanditium	caliclarus	catadromarius
auguratorium	blattinium	caligarius	cataphractarius
aviarium	bolarium	calliblepharium	cataractarius
avitium	bolium	calobatarus	catarius
avium	boniloquium	calvarium	catascopium
aularius	bombylium	camelarius	catastolium
aumatium	botularius	camelopodion	catillarius
aurarius 1	bovicidium	canabarius	catonium
aurarius 2	bovilium	canalicarius	cavaedium
aricularius	bracchionarium	cancrarium	cauponarius
aurigarius	bracarius	candelabrarius	causarius
auriscalpium	bractearius	candelabrus	cedrium
automatorium	brattarius	canonicarius	cellarium
automatarius	brephotrophium	cantabrus	cellarius
auxiliarius	breviloquium	cantabrarius	cellarius
	broelarius	capillitium	cellarium
	bubalion	capisterium	celleromarium
baecarium	bubinarium	capistrarius	celtium
baecchion	hubonion	capitilavium	cenacularius
bacterium	bubularius	capitularis	cenarius
ballantion	buecelarius	capnion	cenatorium
ballistarium	bucranion	capnios	cenotaphium
ballistarius	bucranium	caprarius	centenarius
baltearius	buerius	capricius	centipedium
bambilium	budinarius	caprinarius	centonarius
bamborium	buleuterium	capsarius	centumpondium
baptizatorium	hunion	capsarium	ceparius
barbitium	burdonarius	capsarius	cepotaphium
barbitondium	burgarius	captorium	cepotaphius
basilium	buris	capturarius	ceputius
basium	bustuarium	carbatium	cerarium
bastagarius		carbonarius	cerarius
basternarius	caballarius	carcerarius	cerasarius
batrachion	caballion	carchesium	cerasium
battuarium	caburtarius	cardinarius	ceratium
baxiarius	cacurius	carinarius	ceratorium
belion	caeparius	carius	cerearium
beneficiarius	caerimonium	carnarium	cerearius
biberarius	calamanarius	carnarius	cereus
bibonius	calcararius	carnatorium	ceriarium
bicinium			

cerilarium	codicillarius	contumelium	damium
ceriolarium	coementarium	conventicium	dardanarius
ceriolarius	cogitatorium	convicaneus	deambulatorium
cermatium	colepium	cooperarius	dediticus
cerofavium	coliphium	coopertorium	deductorium
ceroferarius	collaeticus	copadium	defluvium
cervesarius	collarium	copiarius	defructarium
cervicarium	collimitium	cordolium	deiurium
cerycium	colludium	corion	delicium
cetarium	collustrium	corius	delicis
cetarius	colluvium	cornicinium	deliquium
chalazion	colobium	cornificium	delirium
chartarius	coloniarius	cornuarius	dentiscalpium
chartularius	columbarius	coronarius	depositarius
chenoboscion	columnarium	corrivium	desultorius
cheramaxium	columnarius	corymbion	devoratorium
choragium	commemoratum	cosmetorium	devortium
chorius	commentarius	cotarius	dextrocherium
ciborium	compendiarium	covinnarius	diabathrarius
cichorium	completorium	cracatus	dietaarius
cimeliarchium	concaedraneus	crambion	diaglaucium
cinctorium	concellaneus	creditaris	diagonium
cinerarium	conchyliarius	creditoris	diarium
cinerarius	conclavium	cremium	diatretarius
circamoerium	concordium	cremutium	dichomenium
circumcisorium	condalium	cribrarius	dicimonium
circumluvium	condicionarius	criobolium	dictobolarium
cirsion	condimentarius	crucifragus	dieterium
cisiarius	confectorarius	crucium	diffugium
cisorium	confectorium	crustularius	diludium
cission	confluis	cryptarius	dinumium
cissybium	confligium	eucumerarium	diplangium
citatorium	confluvium	eucurbitarius	diplomarius
citocacium	conisterium	euleitarius	directarius
citrarius	conopium	eulinarius	discordium
classiarius	conscaplum	eumeularius	discretorium
clavarium	consecretarius	cuparius	disiurgium
clavicarius	consectaneus	cuppedinarius	diverbium
eleonicion	consentaneus	cuppedium	divergium
clepsydrarius	consentium	cursorium	dolabrarius
clibanarius	considium	euseolium	dolatorium
clibanicius	consocius	eustodiarium	doliarium
clidion	consortius	eustodiaris	domiceonium
clinopodion	conspolium	euturnium	domicurius
clysterium	constitutionarius	cybiarius	donarium
coactiliarius	contarius	cyenarium	doryenion
coagmentarius	conticinium	eymbium	draconarius
cocinatorium	contrarius	eymbius	dracontarium
coetuararius	contrullium	eynomorion	dracontion

dracontium	factionarius	glandium	impluvium
dromedarius	faenarius	glirarium	inaniiloquium
duodecennium	faenerarius	glomerarius	incendarius
duplicarius	farfugium	glossarium	incinerarium
dupondarius	farinarium	glutinarium	incomium
dupondius	fatiloquium	glutinium	inconsilium
	femellarius	gobius	inductorium
eborarius	ferentarius	grammatophylacium	indusarius
eclogarium	ferramentarius	granarium	indusium
edulium	ferrariarius	graphium	infectorium
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episcenium	fumigium	helenium	interpondium
episcynium	fundibularius	helioscopium	inter-scalmium
epistolium	funerarius	hemicadium	inter-scapiium
epistomium	fusorium	hemionion	intertignium
epitaphion	fustuarium	hemistichium	interturrium
epitaphius		hemistrigium	interusurium
epithematium	gallicarius	herbarium	intervenium
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epitonium	gallinarium	heredium	itinerarium
epomphalion	gallinarius	heroion	iudicarium
epulatorium	ganglion	hieracium	
equarius	gargarismatium	holerarium	lactarium
equitarius	gaudimonium	horoscopium	lactarius
eremodicius	gaunacarius	horrearius	lacticinium
ergasterium	gemellarium	hypobrychium	lactucarius
essedarius	gemmarius	hypopodium	lacunarium
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exodiarius	gingidion	illicium	laniarius
exodium	gladiatorium	illudium	laniatorium
fabatarium	gladiolum	imaginarium	lanipendium
facitergium	gladiolus	immissarium	lanipendius

lanternarius	lusorium	mercedarius	mutonium
lapsanium	lychnobius	mercedonius	mutonius
laquearium	lyncurium	merendarius	myrmecium
laquearius	lyncurius	meritorium	myropolium
lararium		mesonyetium	myrothecium
lardarius	macellarius	metallarius	
laterarius	machinarius	methodium	nablium
latericium	magiriseium	metopion	nardostatus
laticlavus	magmentarium	milesium	narthecium
latifundium	magnarius	miliarium	natatorium
laturarius	magnificium	mimarius	naticidium
lecticarius	magniloquium	miniarium	naumacharius
lectisternium	maiorarius	minutiloquium	naupegiarius
legarium	malluvium	mirabiliaris	naxium
leguleius	manciparius	miserevivium	nefarium
legumenarius	mandatarius	miserimonium	nefrenditium
lemonium	mangonium	missorium	nescium
lenuncularius	manicarius	mittendarius	nession
leontios	manifolium	mixtarius	niceterium
leporarium	mantelium	modium	nidificium
levitonarium	manticularius	molemnum	nitrium
lexidium	manuarius	molendinarius	noctisurgium
libadion	manuballistarius	molochinarius	nonagenarius
libanios	manucium	monarchium	nonuncium
libatorium	manulearius	monochorius	nosocomium
libertinium	manutergium	monodiarius	notion
libitinarius	manutigium	monodium	notorium
librarium	margaritarius	monolium	novicium
liciatorium	marmorarius	monopodium	novilunium
licinium	medicamentarius	monostichium	nubilarium
ligurius	medion	moretarium	numerarius
liminium	meditatorium	morion	nutricium
limonion	meditullium	motarium	nutricius
linarius	megalium	motorium	
linguarium	melampodium	mucinium	obaerarius
lintearius	melapium	muletrarium	obloquium
liquatorium	mellacium	mulieurius	occidium
locutuleius	mellarium	munerarius	octennium
logarion	mellarius	munificium	octogenarius
lomentarius	mellificium	muralium	ocularius
longiloquium	melium	murrobathrarius	odarius
lorarius	membranarius	musarium	odarium
loricarius	mendaciloquium	muscellarium	oenanthium
lucernarium	mendicimonium	musicarius	oenophorium
lucinium	menion	musicarius	oenopolium
ludius	menogenion	musivarius	offertorium
lumbifragium	mensarius	mustacium	olearius
luparnarium	mensarium	mustacius	olfactorium
luparius	ensorium	mutatorium	ollarium

onocardion	pellicium	plinthium	proluvium
opertorium	pellionarius	plumacium	promagisterium
ophidion	pelluvium	plumbarius	prosequium
opition	penarius	plumbarium	protocomium
orarium	pennarium	plutarius	pseudobunion
oratorium	periscelium	pluvium	psychomantium
orchion	peristylum	podarius	pythium
organarius	pernarius	poematium	pterygium
orificium	perpetuarius	polyarchion	ptisanarium
orthopygium	pervium	polymitarius	ptochotrophium
ossilegium	pessarium	pomarius	pugillarius
ossuarium	petaminarius	ponderarium	pullarius
ostentarium	petauristarius	pontonium	pulvinarium
ostiarium	petilium	popinarius	punctorium
ostracium	petitorium	porcarius	purpurarius
ostrearium	phaecassium	porcinarium	pyctomacharius
	phaenion	portitorium	pythonion
paenularium	phalangarius	postsaenium	
paenularius	phalangium	poterion	quadragenarius
palearium	phalangius	poterium	quadratarius
palumbarius	pharetrazonium	potorium	quadribaccium
pammacharius	pharnacion	praecinctorium	quadrifinium
pampinarium	pharnuprium	praecipitium	quadrifluvium
panaricium	phargonion	praeclavium	quadrigarius
panarium	phaseolium	praefurnium	quadrinoctium
panarius	phellandrium	praemeditatorium	quadrivium
pandurius	pheuxaspidion	praemetium	quadrivius
pangonius	phrenion	praenuntium	quaestionarius
panificium	phyganion	praenuntius	quaestorium
pannuvellum	phrynion	praerogativarius	quaestorius
pantelium	pictacium	praerupium	quietorium
paparium	pigmentarius	praesidarium	quinquertium
paracentarium	pilarium	praeverbium	quisquillum
pararius	pilarius	praepedion	
parazonium	piperatorium	prassium	radium
parcimonium	piracium	pradius	raedarius
pardalium	piscarius	prensorium	ratiarius
paronychium	piscinarius	pressorium	rationarium
parthenium	pistacium	primipilarius	rebellium
partiarus	pithecium	primivirgus	recentarius
pastophorium	pittacium	privilegiarius	receptorium
patagiarius	pitydion	probation	reclinatorium
patagium	placentarius	procomion	recuperatorium
patrium	plagiarius	professionarius	refragium
pausarius	plangimonium	profluvium	regifugium
pavimentarius	planetarius	proletarius	renuntius
pecuarius	plantarium	prologium	repertorium
pedicularius	plaustrarius	prolubium	repulsorium
pelagium	pleromarius	proludium	repurgium

requietorium	scrutarius	solius	supersellium
retiarius	scrutinium	solsequium	suppletorium
retium	scutarius	sorbitium	supportatorium
rhagion	seclusorium	sororicidium	synoecium
rhepeion	selenitium	spadicarius	syntrophium
rhinion	sellarius	sparganion	syringotorium
rhytium	sellulæsius	spathalium	
risiloquium	seiestrium	specularius	tabularium
roborarium	semiaxius	sphaerion	talutatium
rorarius	semicinctium	sphaeristerium	tasconium
rosarius	semifastigium	sphingion	tegularius
rudarius	semifunium	spicilegium	telephion
rufus	semizonarius	spinturnicium	telonarius
	semnion	splenium	telonium
sabaiarius	semperflorium	spoliarium	termonarius
sacciperium	senatorius	spolium	temporarius
sacomarius	sensorium	spondalium	tentipellium
sacondios	septifolium	spureiloquium	tertiarium
sacondium	septuennium	spurium	tertiocerus
sacrarius	sequestratorium	squinantium	tessellarius
sacrium	serapion	stadius	tesserarius
sagarius	serrarius	stiricidium	testamentarius
saginarium	serium	stivarius	tetradium
salaputium	servatorium	stropharius	tetragnathus
salariarius	sesquiplarius	strophium	teucrion
salarius	sessimonium	stultiloquium	thalitrum
salgamarius	essorium	suarius	theoremation
salictarius	sicennium	sua viloquium	thermopolium
salsamentarius	siderion	subiunctorium	thermospodium
saltuarius	signarius	sublabium	thesion
salutatorium	signatorium	sublinguium	thesium
sanctificium	silentarius	subluuium	thymion
sandalium	silicarius	subscribendarius	tibiarius
sandapilarius	silicernium	subsequium	titivallitium
sardius	silicernius	subterfugium	togatarius
satellitium	siliginarius	suburbium	topiarius
saurion	simius	succinctorium	torcularius
saxiperium	simpulariarius	succornicularius	trodylion
scalptorium	simpuvium	sudarium	tractatorium
scapharius	sincinium	sudatorium	tragion
scaphium	siparion	sufflatorium	tragularius
schedium	sirium	suffugium	traharius
scimpodion	sisymbrium	suffusorium	traiectorium
scolopendrion	sisyrinehion	suggrundarium	trapezium
scoparius	smilion	summarium	tribunicus
scriniarius	solarium	superaedificium	tricinium
scriptorium	solearius	superficium	trifnium
scripturarius	solifundium	superimentarius	trifureium
scrutarium	soliloquium	superpondium	trigarium



trihorium	ulmarium	velarius	vinarius
trimodium	unctorium	velificium	vindicium
trinoctium	urion	venaliciarius	violacium
tripolium	urium	venalicium	violarium
tripudium	urnarium	venalicius	violarius
triscurrium	usuarius	venenarius	viscatorium
tristimonium	utricularius	verbenarius	visium
trivium		veredarius	vitiarium
trullium	vaccinium	veriloquium	vitius
tryblium	valetudinarium	veriverbium	vitrearius
tubilustrium	valetudinarius	vesticontubernium	vivicomburium
tunicopallium	vaniloquium	veterinarium	vomitium
turdarium	vaporarium	veterinarius	vulnerarius
turpiloquium	vectarius	vexillarius	
tutelarius	vectigaliarius	vicesimarius	xenium
tympanium	vectuarius	vigilium	
	velarium	viminarius	zonarius

There are examples of the uncontracted genitive in *-ii* of the following words. Those starred have also the contracted form.

abortii	antiquarii	*bdellii	cerii
*absinthii	antiscii	*beneficii	cerotarii
acatii	*apii	bestiarii	chartarii
acrifolii	apodyterii	bibliothecarii	chelonii
*actarii	aquagii	*biennii	cibarii
actuarii	*aquarii	*bisellii	cilicii
adiutorii	*arbitrii	bracchii	cilii
admissarii	archipresbyterii	bravii	citrii
adsacrificii	arenarii	breviarii	clavicularii
*adulterii	argentarii	bustuarii	cloacarii
adventicii	armarii		colearii
adverbii	armentarii	*caementarii	cocinatorii
*adversarii	artificii	caepicii	coenobii
*aedificii	atriarii	calciarii	collectarii
aequinoctii	atrii	calendarii	collegetarii
aequipondii	*aucupii	calvitii	collegii
*aerarii (m.)	auditorii	cancellarii	*colloquii
*aerarii (n.)	augurii	capflorii	*collyrii
*albucii	*aucupii	capitii	*colophonii
*aleyonii	*auxilii	carnificii	columbarii
*alii	aviarii	carpentarii	commentarii
alimentarii		castorii	*commercii
alimonii	bacchii	catapotii	commilitii
alloquii	*balaustii	cauponii	commonitorii
ammii	baphii	cellarii	*compendii
antelogii	baptisterii	cenacularii	compluvii
anteloquii	basilicarii	*centaurii	*conchylii
anthalii	*batrachii	ceraunii	*concilii

concubii	dolii	*fili	infanticidii
conditorii	domicilii	*flagitii	*infortunii
confinii	dominaedii	flaminii	*ingenii
confiatorii	dominii	fluvii	initii
confugii	dormitorii	*folii	insomnii
*congiarii	dubii	fornicarii	intercolumnii
congii	dulciarii	fratricidii	internuntii
corii	*dupundii	frigidarii	interpretii
*coniugii		fructuarii	interstitii
*connubii	eeligmatii	furnarii	inventarii
compunctorii	effugii		isicii
conservitii	elaterii	*gaudii	*iudicii
consiliarii	electarii	gazophylacii	*iurgii
*consilii	electuarii	gelicidii	iurispraetorii
consistorii	*elogii	genii	
*consortii	*eloquii	*gladii	labii
contagii	emissarii	glaucii	lanificii
contrarii	emporii	gurgustii	lanii
*contubernii	enchiridii	*gymnasii	lanicii
convicii	enlyehonii	gynaecii	lapathii
*convivii	epistylia		*laticlavii
*corallii	epitaphii	harenarii	latrocinii
coriarii	epithalamii	haruspicii	legatarii
corii	equitii	*heliotropii	lenocinii
cornicularii	*ericii	hemieranii	lepidii
corollarii	erinacii	hemicyclii	libarii
cubicularii	*eryngii	hemiolii	*librarii
cybii	eterocranii	hemisphaerii	licii
cydonii	eupatorii	hemitonii	*lilii
cymatii	*euphorbii	hereditarii	*litigii
	evangelii	hericii	lixivii
	excidii	herodii	logii
daerydii	exemplarii	*homicidii	*loli
daemonii	exercitii	homousii	*lotii
damasonii	*exilii	honorarii	ludribii
decennii	*exitii	horarii	luscinii
*denarii	exordii	hordeacii	*lycii
dentifricii	exorcisterii	*horologii	
*desiderii	exterminarii	*hospitii	*magisterii
deuteronomii	exterminii	hostorii	*maleficii
*deversorii	extispicii		*malicorii
diaconii		idolii	maliloquii
diagridii	factorii	ieiunii	*mancipii
*diluvii	falsarii	*ilii	manubrarii
*dimidii	famulitii	impendii	manubrii
discidii	fasciarii	*imperii	manupretii
*dispendii	*fastidii	improperii	*marrubii
dissidii	*fastigii	*incendii	marsupii
*divortii	fideicommissarii	indicii	*martyrii
dodecatemorii			

matricidii	*omphacii	*praedii	radii
*matrimonii	operarii	praefectorii	ratiocinii
*meconii	*opificii	praeiudicii	referendarii
medii	*opti	*praemii	refrigerarii
melampsthi	opithematii	praeputii	refrigerii
*melanthii	opprobrii	praesagii	refugii
*mendacii	ordinarii	praesepii	*remedii
mensularii	orphanotrophii	*praesidii	remigii
mercenarii	orthogonii	praestigii	repositorii
*mercimonii	ostiarum	*praetorii	repudii
meretricii	ostii	*prandii	rosarii
mesolabii	*otii	precarii	
milifolii		presbyterii	saccarii
*mili	paedagogii	*pretii	*sacerdotii
millii	*palatii	primicerii	sacrarum
*minii	palladii	primiscerini	*sacrificii
ministerii	*pallii	*primordii	*sacrilegii
modii	palmarum	*principii	*sagittarii
monasterii	pancratii	privilegii	salarii
monetarii	paneficii	*prodigii	sanctimonii
monopolii	panicii	*proelii	sanctuarum
*mortarii	*paricidii	*profluvii	savii
multiloquii	participii	*proloquii	*scordii
*municipii	*patricii	promercii	scorpii
mysterii	*patrimonii	promontorii	scrinii
	*patrocinii	promptarii	secretarii
*nastureii	*peculii	promptuarii	secundocerii
natalicii	pedarii	prooemii	seminarii
*naufragii	pentafolii	propitiatorii	seminii
navicularum	pentagonii	proprietary	semistrigii
*navigii	peplii	propudii	semitonii
*necessarii	perdicii	*proscenii	semodii
*negotii	*perfugii	*proverbii	senarii
nessotrophii	*periurii	psalterii	senii
notarii	philanthropii	*psimithii	septenarii
noxii	philonii	*psyllii	septennii
nummularii	phylacterii	puerperii	septizonii
nuntii	plagii	pulegii	*servitii
	plumarii	*puleii	*sestertii
oblaticii	podii	pyrrichii	sexennii
oblivii	*polii		*sextarii
*obsequii	polygonii	quadrivii	sicarii
obsidii	*polypodii	*quadriennii	*silentii
*obsonii	*pomarii	quartarii	*silphii
occipitii	*pomerii	quaternarii	smyrni
octonarii	pontificii	quinarii	*socii
odii	*portorii	quindecennii	sodalitii
*officii	*postliminii	*quinquennii	solarum
oligochronii	praeconii		solatii

solii	subdiaconii	tetartemorii	vadimonii
solitarii	*subsellii	thesaurarii	vasarii
*solstitii	*subsidi	thymiaterii	vascularii
somnii	*suffragii	*tibicinii	vaticinii
spalangii	*supercilii	tirocinii	*veneficii
*spatii	superficiarii	*topiarii	*vestiarii
*spondilii	superindicticii	transfugii	vestigii
*spodii	*supplicii	tribunarii	vicarii
stabularii	suspendii	tricennii	vicennii
stadii	suspirii	*triclirii	victimarii
stationarii		*triennii	viduvii
statuarii	tabellarii	*trifolii	*vitii
sterquilinii	tabernarii	trigonii	vulturii
*stibii	*tabularii	*tugurii	
stifadii	taedii	turarii	xenodochii
stillarii	*tectorii	tyranniciidii	xerocollyrii
*stipendii	tentorii		*xiphii
strangurii	tepidarii	unguentarii	
struthii	ternarii	urcii	zygostasii
*studii	territorii	usufructuarii	
suaviludii	*testimonii		

The following words apparently occur only in the contracted form in the genitive. The orthography follows the standard editions, not always the MSS.

alvari	cultrari	phalangi	stillicidi
anulari	curapalati	pleniluni	stipendiarii
armilustri	diribitori	primari	tauroboli
bissexti	exequiarii	pulmentarii	terunci
cantheri	falsiloqui	quinquefolii	tetraplasi
caerifolii	feretri	ricini	torculari
capitularii	interluni	rosaci	vestiarii (m.)
caprifolii	iustiti	sacopeni	vigiliarii
cauteri	laserpicii	sambuci	vinarii (m.)
cisi	leontopodi	sandaricii	vinarii (n.)
comiti	lignarii	satyri	viridarii
confectuarii	paraetoni	scammoni	vivarii
coronarii	pervigilii	stibadi	

#### PROVENIENCE OF CERTAIN FORMS IN -I.

aedifici, Inscr. 4; Paul. Fest. 1.	armilustri, Inscr. 1.
aerarii (masc.), Inscr. 3.	auspicii, Cato 1, Fest. 1, Gell. 1.
albuci, Gloss. 1.	batrachi, Pliny 1.
alvari, Inscr. 11.	bdelli, Marcell. 1.
anulari, Inscr. 1.	bienni, Prosaists.
api, Pelag. 3, Pliny 11, Apic. 27.	biselli, Inscr. 5.
arbitri, Sen. Tr. 1.	bisexti, Inscr. 1.

- caementari, Inscr. 1.  
 caerifoli, Col. 1.  
 capitulari, Inscr. 2.  
 caprifoli, Gloss. 1.  
 cauteri, Pelag. 1, Pliny 2.  
 collegi, Titin. 1, Prosaists.  
 colloqui, Caesar 2, Suet. 1.  
 collyri, Pliny 2.  
 colophonii, Pel. 1, Marcell. 3.  
 comiti, Pliny 1.  
 concili, Inscr. 2.  
 confectorari, Inscr. 1.  
 congiari, Inscr. 1.  
 coniugi, Sen. Tr. 2.  
 conubi, Inscr.  
 consorti, Ambrose 1.  
 contuberni, Gloss. 1.  
 coralli, Prosaists.  
 coronari, Inscr. 1.  
 cultrari, Inscr. 1.  
 eurapalati, Coripp. 1.  
 denari, Pliny 15, Pelag. 1.  
 desiderii, Hor. 1.  
 deversori, Apul. 1.  
 diluvi, Ambr. 1.  
 dimidi, Censor 1.  
 diribitori, Pliny 1.  
 elogi, Suet. 1.  
 eloqui, Val. Max. 1.  
 erici, Sall. 1.  
 eryngii, Scrib. Larg. 1.  
 euphorbi, Pelag., Marcell., Scrib. Larg.  
 exequiari, Inscr. 1.  
 exiti, Plaut. 1.  
 falsiloqui, Claud. Mam. 1.  
 fastidi, Plaut. 1, Pliny jr. 1.  
 fastigi, Pliny 1.  
 feretri, Jul. Val. 1.  
 folii, Pliny 3, Apic. 4.  
 gaudi, Ter. 1, Fronto 1.  
 gladi, Inscr. 1.  
 gymnasi, Plaut. 1, Catull. 1, Cic. 1.  
 heliotropii, Pel. 1, Pliny 2.  
 homicidi, Tert. 1.  
 horologi, Pliny 1.  
 hospiti, Fronto 1, Pliny jr. 1, Livy 1.  
 ili, Catull. 1.  
 infortuni, Plaut. 1.  
 interluni, Pliny 1.  
 iudicii, Prosaists 3, Inscr. 1.  
 iurgi, Plaut. 1, Val. Max. 1.  
 iustiti, Suet. 1.  
 laserpici, Plaut. 1, Pliny 4.  
 laticlavi, Porphr. 1.  
 leontopodi, Pliny 2.  
 librari, Fronto 1, Inscr. 1.  
 lili, Pliny 12.  
 liquari, Inscr. 1.  
 litigi, Plaut. 1.  
 loli, Pliny 1.  
 loti, Catull. 1.  
 lyci, Marcell. 2.  
 magisteri, Inscr. 1.  
 malicori, Pliny 1.  
 marrubi, Pelag. 7, Pliny 3, Marcell. 3.  
 martyri, Tert. 1.  
 matrimoni, Pliny 1, Apul. 1.  
 meconi, Pliny 1, Scrib. Larg. 1.  
 melanthi, Cato 1.  
 mercimoni, Plaut. 2.  
 mili, Pliny 7.  
 mini, Pliny 4.  
 mortari, Cato 4.  
 municipi, Pliny 2, Inscr. 4, Gloss. 1.  
 nasturti, Prosaists.  
 naufragi, Sen. Rh. 1.  
 navigi, Pliny 1.  
 necessari, Livy 1.  
 obsequi, Inscr. 1.  
 officii, Inscr. 2, Prosaists.  
 omphaci, Pliny, Marcell., Scrib. Larg.  
 opifici, Varro 1.  
 opi, Pliny, Marcell., Scrib. Larg.  
 palli, Titin. 1.  
 paraetoni, Pliny 1.  
 parricidi, Plaut. 1, Paul. Fest. 1, Sen. Rh. 10.  
 patrici, Ennod. 1, Inscr. 1.  
 patrimonii, Hor. 1, Inscr. 1, Firm. Mat. 1, Sen. Rh. 1.  
 patrocini, Pliny jr. 1.  
 perfugi, Plaut. 1.  
 periuri, Plaut. 5, Ov. 1.  
 pervigili, Lucr. 1.  
 phalangi, Pliny 1.  
 pleniluni, Pliny 1.

- poli, Marcell. 1.  
 polypodi, Pliny 3.  
 pomari, Alc. 1.  
 portori, Inscr. 1.  
 postlimini, Digest.  
 praedi, Varro 1.  
 praetori, Suet. 3, Inscr. 3.  
 prandi, Plaut. 1.  
 primari, Fronto 1.  
 primordi, Comm. 1.  
 prodigi, Pliny 3.  
 proeli, Sall. 2, Inscr. 1.  
 profuvi, Pliny 1.  
 proloqui, Claud. Mam. 1.  
 prosceni, Suet. 2.  
 proverbi, Pliny 1.  
 psimithi, Pliny, Marcell., Scrib.  
     Larg.  
 peylli, Pliny 2.  
 pulei, Scrib. L. 1, Garg. Mart. 1,  
     Ser. Sam. 1, Mart. 1.  
 pulmentari, Pliny 2.  
 quadrienni, Censor. 1.  
 quinquefoli, Pliny 7.  
 quinquenni, Ennod. Sen. Rh., Sall.  
 remedi, Lucr. 1, Pliny 2.  
 remigi, Lucr. 1.  
 ricini, Pliny 1.  
 rosaci, Pelag. 1.  
 sacerdoti, Pliny 1, Fort. 4.  
 sacopeni, Pliny 1.  
 sacrifici, Ov. 1, Paul. Fest. 1,  
     Manil. 1.  
 sacrilegi, Sen. Rh. 1.  
 sandarici, Pliny 1.  
 satyri, Pliny 2.  
 scammoni, Pliny 1.  
 scordi, Marcell. 1.  
 semini, Varro 1.  
 serviti, Acc. 1, Sall. 3, Apul. 1.  
 sesterci, Paul. Fest. 1.  
 sextari, Anth. 2.  
 silphi, Pelag. 1, Apic. 5.  
 soci, Sall. 1.  
 solstiti, Pliny 4.  
 spati, Livy 1, Cic. 1.  
 sphondili, Marcell. 1.  
 spodi, Pliny 6, Marcell. 1.  
 stibadi, Pliny jr. 1.  
 stibi, Pliny 4, Marcell. 4.  
 stipendiari, Tac. 14.  
 stipendi, Sall. 1.  
 studi, Inscr. 1.  
 subcelli, Plaut. 2.  
 subsidi, Plaut. 1, Ter. M. 1.  
 suffragi, Pliny 1, Livy 1.  
 supercili, Laev. 1, Sen. Tr. 1.  
 tabulari, Ennod. 1.  
 tauroboli, Inscr. 2.  
 tectori, Pliny 2.  
 terunci, Plaut. 1.  
 testimoni, Ter. 1, Sen. Rh. 1,  
     Gloss. 1.  
 tetraplasi, Mart. Cap. 1.  
 tibicini, Cic. 1.  
 topiari, Vitruv. 1.  
 toreulari, Cato 1.  
 triclini, Lucil. 1, Pliny jr. 1.  
 trienni, Cato 1, Sen. Rh. 1.  
 trifoli; Pel. 1, Pliny 4.  
 venefici, Prosaists 8, Horace 1.  
 vestiari, Inscr. 1.  
 vigiliari, Inscr. 1.  
 vinari, Inscr. 2.  
 viridiari, Inscr. 1.  
 vivari, Inscr. 1.  
 xiphi, Pliny 1.

## USAGE OF AUTHORS.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Accius, benefici, consili, imperi,<br>supplici, serviti.                    | Aleimus, pomari.  |
| Acron, -ii numerous.  | Aldhelm, -ii numerous.  |
| Aetna, incendi, silenti.  | Ambrose, diluvi, consorti with MS.<br>variance. No case in the 12<br>hymns. |
| Ad Herennium, mostly -ii; fili,<br>malefici, principi with MS.<br>variance. | Ammianus, -ii numerous.   |
| Afranius, ingeni.   | Ampelius, aerarii, commilitii, im-<br>perii.                                |
| Aggenus Urbicus, -ii numerous.  | Anthimus, puleii, apii.   |

- Anthology, negoti, oti (Auson.), tuguri; several in -ii.
- Apollonius of Tyre, tribunarii.
- Apicius, foli, absinthi, api, silphi; others in -ii.
- Apuleius, deversori, filii, serviti, matrimoni.
- Augustine, filii (also nom. pl.).
- Augustus, proeli, congiari.
- Ausonius, negoti, oti.
- Avianus, none in -i or -ii.
- Avienus, favoni.
- Caecilius Statius, viti.
- Caesar and continuators, auxilii, colloqui, viti.
- Calpurnius, none.
- Capitolinus, 19 in -ii.
- Carmina Epigr., filii, patricii, praetori, aetarii; several in -ii.
- Cassius Felix, many in -ii.
- Cato, auspicii, venefici; fluvii; the MSS. of R.R. have -ii, but Keil prints viti, trienni; preti, dolii with no comment.
- Cato (Dionys.), benefici, arbitrii, consilii.
- Catullus, conchyli, filii, loti; medii, nuntii; illi and gymnasi conjectural.
- Celsus, 27 in -ii with many names of drugs.
- Censorinus, dimidi, quadrienni; several in -ii.
- Charisius, 5 in -ii.
- Chiron, bdellii.
- Cicero, municipii. Editors vary much between -i and -ii in spelling other words. Words are numerous: in speeches 61, philosophical works 30, letters to and from C. 53.
- Cicero, poet (Aratea), none.
- Cicero, Q., praesidi, aquarii.
- Claudian, 20 in -ii.
- Claudius Mam., 11 in -ii.
- Codex Greg., iudicii, filii.
- Codex Herm., quinquenni.
- Codex Just., mancipii; several in -ii.
- Codex Theod., several in -ii.
- Columella, prose, 33 in -ii; poetry, balusti, marrubii.
- Comici Incerti, auxilii.
- Commodianus, primordi; iudicii, martyrii, lolii, trennii; (filii, nom. pl.).
- Consentius, none except in examples.
- Corippus, imperii, ingenii, studii, eloquii; palati.
- Curtius, 15 in -ii.
- Cyprian, bienni; 36 in -ii.
- Damasus, martyrii, supplicii.
- Dares, consilii, imperii.
- Dictys., 11 in -ii.
- Digest, adulteri, postlimini; many in -ii.
- Diomedes, ingenii, studii, filii, gaudii.
- Donatus (Ars), participii.
- Donatus (Comm. Ter.), many in -ii.
- Donatus (Comm. Verg.), filii; many in -ii.
- Dositheus, silentii.
- Dracontius, adulterii.
- Ennius, auxilii, consilii, dispendii, praesidi, exilii, flagiti, negotii, praemi. In the Annals but two occurrences and with dubious MS. authority.
- Ennodius, filii, patricii, quinquenni, tabulari; 13 in -ii.
- Eumenius, 5 in -ii.
- Eutropius, 8 in -ii.
- Festus and Paul. Diac., aedificii, sacrificii, parricidi, dupundi, aetarii, sesterti; several in -ii.
- Firmicus Mat., filii; 8 in -ii.
- Firmicus Mat. (Math.), patrimonii; many in -ii.
- Florus, 15 in -ii.
- Fortunatus, poet, sacerdotii; 22 in -ii; prose, filii; 29 in -ii.
- Frontinus, Strat., 6 in -ii; Agrim., dispendii, territorii, municipii, sacrificii; Aquaed., compendi; 5 in -ii.
- Fronto, ingeni, librarii, hospiti; (fere -ii, Naber p. 280).
- Fulgentius, Myth., 15 in -ii.
- Fulgentius (FCGF.), 15 in -ii.
- Fulgentius, St., ingenii.
- Gaius, filii, mancipii; 15 in -ii.
- Gargilius Mart., pulei; 11 in -ii.
- Gellius, ingeni, convivii; 50 in -ii.
- Germanicus, favoni; none in -ii.

- Glosses, officii, filii, negotii, testimoni, contubernii, municipii; 55 in -ii (plenii, theatrii).
- Grattius, plagii.
- Hieronymus, very many in -ii.
- Historians, horologi, Pliny; 5 in -ii.
- Horace, auxilii, consilii, desiderii, imperii, ingenii, negotii, otii, patrimonii, peculii, silentii, veneficii.
- Hyginus, Fab., filii, gladii, sacrificii.
- Hyginus, Grom., 7 in -ii.
- Inscriptions, actarii, aedificii, aedarii, consilii, iudicii, portorii, municipii, beneficii, filii, collegii, anularii, concilii, cultrarii, imperii, congiarii, coronarii, proelii, praesidii, praetorii, gladii, librarii, exequiarii, viridarii, vivarii, vinarii, studii, vestiarii; many in -ii.
- Isidorus, many in -ii.
- Jordanes, filii (and nom. pl.); 11 in -ii.
- Julius Valerius, feretri; studii, magisterii.
- Justinian, Inst., 28 in -ii.
- Justinus, 13 in -ii.
- Juvenecus, diluvii.
- Juvenal, coniugii, imperii, ingenii, officii, servitii.
- Laberius, negotii.
- Lactantius, many in -ii.
- Lampridius, 16 in -ii.
- Laus Pisonis, none.
- Laevius, supercilii.
- Leg. XII Tab., none.
- Liber Colon., territorii.
- Livius Andron., none.
- Livy, iudicii; many in -ii.
- Lucan, 12 in -ii.
- Lucilius, compendi, dupundi, triclini, cantherii, (otii?).
- Macrobius, sacrificii; many in -ii.
- Manilius, negotii, sagittarii, aquarii, dodecatemorii, studii.
- Marcellus, absinthii, opi, colophonii, euphorbi, marrubi, psymithii, omphaci, sphondyli, stibi, spodi, scordi, poli; many in -ii.
- Martial, ingenii, iudicii, pulei; cybii, (exsilii?).
- Martianus Capella, ingenii, consilii, imperii, tetraplasi; 11 in -ii.
- Maximian, coniugii, discidii, exitii.
- Mela, ingenii.
- Metrologists, denarii, sestertii.
- Minucius Felix, 13 in -ii.
- Mirabilia Romae, sterquilinii.
- Naevius, ingenii.
- Namatianus, 5 in -ii.
- Nemesianus, none.
- Nepos, 12 in -ii.
- Nonius, convivi, officii, filii, studii, coniugii, navigii.
- Obsequens, praetorii, prodigii.
- Optatian, imperii, radii, principii, consilii.
- Orosius, 23 in -ii.
- Ovid, periuri, sacrificii; 34 in -ii.
- Pacuvius, compendi.
- Palladius Rutilius, 23 in -ii.
- Panegyrici, many in -ii.
- Paulinus Nola, tuguri; many in -ii.
- Paulus Julius, many in -ii.
- Pelagonius, many names of plants; MSS. have -i frequently where Ihm prints -ii.
- Persius, alli, ingenii.
- Pervigilium Veneris, favoni.
- Petronius, 20 in -ii.
- Phaedrus, ingenii, imperii, malefici; pretii, iurgii, luscini, studii.
- Plautus, adulteri, ali, aucupi, auxilii, beneficii, commercii, compendi, consilii, convivi, divortii, exilii, fastidii, filii, flagiti, gymnasi, imperii, infortunii, ingenii, iurgii, laserpicii, litigi, malefici, mendacii, mercimoni, negotii, obsonii, parricidii, peculii, perfugii, periuri, praemii, praesidii, prandii, pretii, subsellii, subsidi, supplicii, terunci, viti.
- Pliny the Elder, numerous occurrences of -i, following spelling of Bamb. and Mon. MSS.
- Pliny the Younger, aerarii, triclini, patrocini, hospiti, stibadi, fastidii; many in -ii.
- Pliny Med., 9 in -ii.
- Pomponius, flagiti.
- Porphyrius, 6 in -ii; laticlavii.
- Priapeia, aerarii, negotii, tuguri; supercilii.
- Priscian, 15 in -ii; consilii, collegii, peculii, tuguri, otii quoted.



- Propertius, gymnasii, imperii, ingenii, opprobrii.  
 Prudentius, 9' in -ii.  
 Quintilian, 32 in -ii; MSS. often vary.  
 Rufinus, praesidi, filii quoted.  
 Rutilius Lupus, 4 in -ii.  
 Sallust, imperi, praesidi, ingeni, consili, aerari, benefici, malefici, auxili, soci, negoti, preti, serviti, bienni, flagiti, quinquenni, officii, stipendi, proeli, vestigi.  
 Salvianus, 39 in -ii.  
 Scribonius Largus, absinthi, opi, balausti, psimithi, omphaci, euphorbi, meconi, eryngi, pulei; 20 in -ii.  
 Sedulius, 19 in -ii.  
 Seneca, Phil., 46 in -ii; Trag., arbitri, coniugi, consili, imperi, supercili, ingeni; imperii, spatii, consilii, senii, exilii.  
 Seneca Rh., bienni, trienni, iudicii, filii, adulteri, consili, negoti, patrimonii, officii, parricidi, naufragi, supplicii, ingeni, oti, viti, quinquenni, sacrilegi, imperi, venefici; 29 in -ii.  
 Sept. Ser., puerperii.  
 Serenus Sammonicus, conchyli, pulei, absinthi; vulturii, coniugii, gladii, apii, marrubii.  
 Servius, 46 in -ii; peculi, ericii quoted.  
 Sículus Flaccus, supercillii.  
 Sidonius Apoll., 72 in -ii.  
 Silius Ital., auxili, eloquii, fluvii, hospitii, imperii, ingenii.  
 Solinus, silenti; 13 in -ii.  
 Spartianus, 16 in -ii.  
 Statius, augurii, auxili, concilii, conubii, eloquii, fluvii, hospitii, imperii, ingenii, odii, officii, servitii.  
 Suetius, absinthi.  
 Suetonius, aerari, benefici, prosceni, bienni, mendaci, officii; 31 in -ii.  
 Sulpicia, arbitrii.  
 Sulpicius Severus, 26 in -ii.  
 Syrus and Appendix, benefici, ingeni, silenti.  
 Tacitus, filii, imperi, ingeni, (officii?); 54 in -ii.  
 Terence, auxili, benefici, consili, filii, flagiti, gaudi, ingeni, negoti, oti, preti, supplicii, testimoni, viti, praesidi.  
 Terent. Maur., subsidi; exercitii, studii, iudicii, spatii.  
 Terent. Scaur., none.  
 Tertullian, homicidi, adsacrifici, martyri; 105 in -ii.  
 Theodorus Prisc., 17 in -ii.  
 Thiofredus, idoli, martyrii, monasterii.  
 Tibullus, none.  
 Titinius, collegi, consili, palli.  
 Tragici Incert., consili, imperi.  
 Trebellius Pollio, 5 in -ii.  
 Turpilius, flagiti, praemi.  
 Ulpian, divorti, filii, mancipii; 11 in ii.  
 Valerius Cato, none.  
 Valerius Flaccus, adolquii, coniugii, hospitii, imperii.  
 Valerius Maximus, 43 in -ii.  
 Valerius Probus, 9 in -ii.  
 Varro: LL., pomeri; 8 in -ii; RR., 9 in -i but MSS. have -ii; Sat., convivi, peculi, auxili; convivii.  
 Vegetius, 7 in -ii.  
 Velleius Patere., 21 in -ii.  
 Vibius Sequester, oblivii.  
 Virgil, oti, peculi, tuguri, cisi; apii, fluvii.  
 Virgil Gramm., ingenii, logii.  
 Vitruvius, 34 in -ii (but mesolabi, topiari, MSS.).  
 Volusius Maecianus, 7 in -ii.  
 Vopiseus, 14 in -ii.  
 Vulcatius Gallus, 4 in -ii.  
 Vulgate, 87 in -ii.

## THEORY OF THE GRAMMARIANS.

Many of the following quotations are given in Neue's *Formenlehre* I<sup>3</sup>, 134 sq., but it may be convenient to have them arranged in a different order with some additions.

Charisius (GL., Keil, 1, 23, 17) illud memineris, quod omnia masculina quae ante us syllabam i habent, haec genetivo singulari eandem i litteram geminatam accipiunt.—item neutra quae ante um syllabam i habent genetivo singulari et dativo et ablativo plurali eandem i geminatam recipiunt.

Charisius (1, 71, 3) genetivus numero syllabarum minor esse nominativo non debet. quare magis denotati sunt qui maluerunt per unum i imperi et ingeni dicere quam secundum regulam imperii et ingenii, geminata i littera.

Charisius (1, 78, 4) Lucius et Aemilius et cetera nomina quae ante u habent i, duplici i genetivo singulari finiri debent, ne necesse sit adversus observationem nominum nominativo minorem fieri genetivum; idque Varro tradens adicit vocativum quoque singularem talium nominum per duplex i scribi debere, sed propter differentiam casuum corrumpi. Lucilius tamen et per unum i genetivum scribi posse existimat. ait enim [Lucil. 1294 Marx] "servandi numeri et versus faciendi, nos Caeli Numeri numerum ut servemus modumque." numquam enim hoc intulisset, nisi et Numerum per i, huius Numeri, faciendum crederet. denique in libro VIII sic ait [Lucil. 362] "porro hoc si filius Luci fecerit, i solum ut 'Corneli Cornificique'" et paulo post [Lucil. 366] "pupilli, pueri, Lucili, hoc unius fiet," et Plinius quoque dubii sermonis V adicit esse quidem rationem per duo i scribendi, sed multa iam consuetudine superari.

Diomedes (1, 103, 7) genetivus casus singularis aut totidem syllabis constare debet quot nominativus eius—aut una syllaba excedere.

Priscian (2, 296, 20) hoc autem faciunt metri causa. numquam enim minores vult habere syllabas genetivus nominativo.

Probus (4, 8, 33) neutri generis plurima reperies quae genetivo casu aut una i aut duabus terminabuntur; tunc una, si ante um syllabam nominativus i non habuerit—si habuerit, genetivus duabus i terminabitur.

Probus (4, 105, 33) quaeritur qua de causa nomina per aliquos supra declinatos casus per duos i litteras reperiantur scribi. hac de causa quoniam quaecunque nomina generis masculini nominativo casu numeri singularis us syllaba post i litteram definiuntur haec—pari numero syllabarum oportet scribi.

[Probus] (4, 227, 22) necessarium esse existimo rationem horum nominum et declinationis exponere quae genetivi singularis vel nominativi pluralium i litteram ultimam debent duplicare. ea nomina quae nominativo casu singulari i litteram vocalem ante ultimam syllabam habuerint, in omni genere i litteram debent necessario geminare, non solum metri gratia sed etiam propter vitium barbarismi, et ut ne sit contra rationem nominativo brevior genetivus.

Donatus (4, 367, 19) nam i litteram geminari in una syllaba posse plurimi negant.

Consentius (5, 359, 20) quamquam a plerisque iam per unam i efferatur iste genitivus, ut 'et promissa Lavini moenia,' 'pauperies et tuguri,' 'nec cura peculi.'

Augustine (5, 498, 39) sed haec in genetivo per duo ii scribuntur, ut hoc ingenium huius ingenii.

Palaemon (5, 535, 17) quia genitivus minor esse non debet nominativo.

Terent. Scaurus (7, 22, 7) quoniam genitivus singularis non debet minorem habere syllabarum quam nominativus, quin immo interdum etiam maior fit.

Caper (7, 106, 15) ingenii profer, sic officii, quia nullus

a recto casu minor est <umquam> genitivus.

Cassiodorus from L. Caecilius Vindex (7, 206, 25) si autem Lucius Magnius magius proferantur, duo i in genetivo habebunt, Lucii Magnii magii quod ipsum Lucilius adnotavit cum a numero Numerius discerneret.

Beda (7, 251, 1) sed et hoc commemorandum, quia cum nomina quae in ius vel in ium terminantur duo i in genetivo habere debeant casu duarum aequae syllabarum, metrici non numquam in eodem genetivo casu unam syllabam ponunt pro duabus, vel ablata videlicet una i de duobus vel ambabus in unam syllabam geminatis, quamvis id fieri posse Donato teste plurimi negent.

Frag. Bob. (5, 555, 13) ne minorem eum habeat numero syllabarum, cum vel superare genitivus vel certe debeat adaequare nominativum suum—licet haec antiquitas per ἀποκοπήν, id est ablata i littera, enuntiavit, ut ipse de se Horatius 'vates, Horati—' Vergilius 'pauperies et tuguri,' item '—cura peculi,' item '—oti.'

Suet. De Diff. (p. 313 Roth), cum de arbitro loquimur arbitri dicimus genetivo casu, cum de arbitrio arbitrii.

Martianus Capella (3, 295) sed hoc animadvertamus quoniam quae in nominativo i ante ultimam syllabam habent in genetivo singulari item dativo et ablativo pluralibus eandem geminare debent ut lilium folium, quoniam genitivus aut pares syllabas nominativo habet ut scamnum aut plures ut caput capitis, pauciores numquam.—consuetudo et auctoritas veterum ingeni et consilii imperii per tres syllabas maluit dicere. [MSS. B' R have ingenii consilii imperii which perhaps should be written; cf. Beda (GL. 7, 251) dicit enim Paulinus 'oblectans inopem sensu fructusque peculii.']

To these may be added for the sake of completeness the following citations that contain no novelty of doctrine: Priscian, 2, 590, 6; Probus, 4, 19, 4; 4, 127, 14; 4, 207, 11; Victorinus, 6, 221, 5; Velius Longus, 7, 57, 7; Beda 7, 238, 11; Albinus 7, 304, 21; Frag. Bob. 7, 541, 15.

#### GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

In early Latin the double i was commonly contracted, not only in the genitive singular but also in the nominative, dative, and ablative plural. This was practised especially with words in very common use such as filii, imperii, consilii, negotii. The original cause was the avoidance of doubled letters, and was also

economical. In the poets, as was noted by Priscian, metrical convenience had strong influence. In Virgil, *Aen.* 7, 38, *Latii* may have been avoided, and also *conubii* in *Aen.* 4, 168 (the latter cited by Wagner on *Aen.* 9, 151) although *connubii* was read in 22 codices. So *studii* may have been avoided in *Georg.* 3, 498. The theory that the genitive should not be shorter than the nominative seems due to Varro, and both he and Lucilius imply a varying usage in their times. The great majority of the words capable of such orthography are late and not in common use. The few used commonly by prose writers, that are better written with the single *i*, are the following:

aerari	fili .	ingeni	peculi
auxili	flagiti	mancipi	preti
benefici	imperi	negoti	stillicidi
consili	incendi	oti	tuguri

and all others should be written with *-ii*.

Before the metrical literature began it is impossible to know whether the ending in *i* stood for one or two vowels; such forms as *eset*, for instance, postulate the repetition of *s*, and very likely the question did not become a pressing one for orthography until the Greek metres were introduced by Plautus and Ennius. Traces of this ambiguity survived until the latest times: *-ii* is written and *-i* pronounced. Even in modern Italian a single *i*, written *j*, at the end of words, represents *ii* (Fogolari, *Gram. Ital. Spr.*, p. 6). The fact that very many of the forms in *-i* or *-ii* occur at the end of the verse is not without significance.

Proper names have been omitted from this discussion: as is well known, these words were written with one *i* long after the *ii* prevailed in common nouns. In ornate prose, metrical reasons had the same weight as in poetry; and so far as the rhythm of prose is known the decision should be made accordingly, as has been done to a certain extent.

#### BENTLEY'S CANON.

Bentley, in his famous note on Terence, *Andria* II 1, 20, insisted that the spelling in *-i* alone was admissible in the poets to Propertius, and suggested that the early prosaists followed the same law. Bentley's dictum was defended at length by Suerdsiö in his book called *Vindiciae Praecepti Bentleiani* (Riga, 1832).

and his conclusions have been generally accepted ever since; to such a degree indeed, that a MS. reading in *-ii* has been regarded as *a priori* wrong.

Suerdsiö reviews all the passages in the poets before Propertius that seem to conflict with Bentley's principle. In *Lucr.* 5, 1006 *I* attempted in *AJP* 28, 66 to defend *navigii*. *Bracchi*, 6, 434, is the only instance of *-i*, as *Cic. Orat.* 59 is uncertain. The *Lucretian MSS.* have *brachii*, but *brachi* is a metrical necessity. In 6, 743 the modern editors read *remigi oblitæ* for the MS. *remigio oblitæ*. *Marullus* emended to *remigii*. I know of no other example of *remigi*, and but one of *remigii* (*Tac.*). The introduction of the *-ii* here does not meet with greater difficulty than that of *-i*.

In *Virgil*, *Palladii* in *Aen.* 9, 151 has been very generally rejected with the whole line. No example of *palladi* is known. In *Aen.* 3, 702 *fluvii* has been questioned but is retained by very respectable editors. There is no example of *fluvi*, gen. sing., but *flovi*, n. pl., occurs in *CIL* 1, 199, 23. In *Ennius Annals* 341 *praemi* is read by all editors from *Cic. CM.* 1, 1. *Precii* or *pretii* is the reading of four manuscripts according to *Vahlen's* critical note and in many others as noted by *Otto*; and *Ernesti* followed *Graevius* in admitting it to his text. *Pretii* is one of the commonest words in *-ii*; *praemi* is quoted from two places in *Plautus* and from one in *Turpilius* only. In *Plaut. Men.* 135 it rests on an emendation of *pre mihi*; in *Men.* 1018 it is in the *MSS.* In *Turpilius* 209 the *MSS.* have *praemii*, and *Ribbeck* reads *obsequii* in the next line. *Plaut., Asin.* 505 has *imperii* as the MS. reading and the only thing that stands in the way of following it is *Bentley's* canon; *imperiiis* was read by early editors and *imperio* by the recent ones. *Infortunii* in *Miles* 865 has good MS. authority as well as *infortinum*; editors read *infortuni*, which is unexampled so far as I know; there are four instances of *infortunii*. In the *Bacchides* 651 the MS. variants are *consilii*, *consilio*, *consiliis*. The passage is lyric and variously constituted by the editors with *consili*, but it is conceivable that *consilii* may be right. *Gymnasii* is the MS. reading also in *Bacch.* 427, a line that has been variously rearranged, largely to avoid the *-ii*. The only other poetical occurrence of *gymnasi* is in *Cat.* 63, 64 where

the MSS. have *gymnasti* and the older editors *gymnasii*; that is the unquestioned reading in Prop. 3, 14, 2. It is singular that *imperium*, one of the most widely current words in the genitive singular, occurs but once in Plautus (Men. 1030), and there the MSS. have *imperii*.

In Terence *Andria* 320, the line to which Bentley appended his famous note, his and the accepted reading is *neque pol consili locum habeo neque ad auxilium copiam*. The MSS. have *consilii*, *auxiliis*; *consiliis*, *auxilii*, *auxiliandum*. The lemma of Donatus has *neque pol consilii* l. h. *neque a. c.* There are numerous occurrences of both *auxili* and *consili*. In the *Andria* 963, where *gaudi* is read, Donatus has *gaudii* in lemma; the only other occurrence of *gaudi* is in Fronto p. 96, 1 where Naber prints *gaudii*. *Oti* is read in Virg. G. 4, 564 and Hor. S. 1, 4, 138 where it is the last word in the verses, and in Ter. HT. 75 where the MSS. have *otii* with variations in word order allowing the ending. In Lucil. 1140 the line begins with *oti et*. *Loti*, that I know of only from Cat. 39, 21 where it is an emendation of *lotus*, also closes the line. *Adulteri* is cited from poets only in Plaut. *Miles* 90; there MSS. have *adulterii*; and in Poen. 918 is *aliulpicique*, the very rare *ali* or *ali* occurring only in Pers. 5, 188 at the close of the verse, and *e coni.* in Pliny 29, 133. *Fastidi* occurs in *Miles* 1034 and in Pliny the Younger. *Iurgi* occurs only in Men. 771 where several MSS. have *-ii* and the verse is uncertain; it may occur in Val. Max. 2, 1, 6. *Exiti* occurs only in Plaut. Poen. 918, and there the MSS. have *-ii*. *Litigi* is certain only in *Casina* 561 where the MSS. have *-ii* and the following word is *inter*. In Men. 765 it rests on a conjecture that is not now accepted. *Malefici* is an emendation in *Rudens* 1247; the MSS. have *maleficiis*; *triumvirate malificiis*. The only other occurrence in poetry is *Phaedr.* 1, 17, 1; in prose it is read in Sallust I. 31, 28, and by some in *Ad Her.* 2. *Mercimoni* occurs only in Plaut. *Most.* 904 where the MSS. have *-ii* and the verse a lacuna. *Obsoni* is found in *Aul.* 291 *obsoni hinc*, and *Bacch.* 131 *opsoni haec*; the MSS. have *-ii*; in Ter. *Andr.* 360 *opsoni ipsus*, the MSS. also have *-ii*; these are the only certain examples in poetry, and the only one in prose is in Pliny. In Plaut. *True.* 747 most MSS. have *obsonii* but the verse is very doubtful. *Parriidi*, *Rudens*

651, is certain and it also occurs once in Festus. Perfugi in Casina 623 is aided by the metre and by other words in -i in the line; it is the only known example of the form and I have found perfugii only in Sid. Apoll. once. Prandi, Poen. 1285, is probably correct although most MSS. have -ii and there is no other occurrence of the form; prandii is fairly common after Gellius. Subsidi is read in the very uncertain verse Cist. 502; the MSS. have -ii. The only other occurrence is in Terent. Maurus. Testimonii is read in Ter. Ph. 293 where it is defended by the metre if no other change be made in the verse. Viti is read generally in Plaut. Rud. 319 where the MSS. have vitri and the verse is uncertain; in Truc. 612 all MSS. have viti et, but in Miles 423 the MS. reading is vitii which is metrically possible. In Ter. IIT. 1021 it is certain; in Hec. 154 it comes at the end of the verse, -ii in the MSS., and in Hec. 270 -ii is the MS. reading.

Nothing can be deduced from the rhythm of words ending in -i. The endings possible are --, ~- of dissyllabic words; and ---, ~--, ~-- and ~~- of words ending in three syllables. Examples of -- are fili, oti; of ~- preti, viti; of --- commerci, compendi; of ~-- imperi, ingeni; of ~-- negoti, tuguri; of ~~- benefici, remedi. The great majority of the words do not occur in poetry and hence it is difficult to draw any valid deductions, but on the face of things apparently words in -- were most used with -i; iambic words are few, and next in rarity are spondaic words. Polysyllables in ~~- contracted into ~-- are moderately common. Intervocalic *v* perhaps prevented flūvī for flūvī; dīlūvī, dīvōrtī and gaudī are rare; brāvī and ōblīvī are unknown, and nāvīgī, sērvītī, and prōvērbī doubtful. The iambic forms atri, geni, medi, dubi, modi, radi, servi, stadi, labi, odi, soli, lani (lani n. pl. Ter. Eun. 257 MS. A), spoli are unknown, and studi, foli, and gladi are very doubtful. The spondaic doli, osti, savi are not known. In trisyllables exordi, mysteri, suspiri do not occur.

In conclusion it is my opinion that in establishing the text of the authors before Propertius the MS. occurrences of forms in -ii should be considered admissible, and they should not be banished as *a priori* wrong in consequence of Bentley's canon. And surely very rare forms in -i should not be emended into the text as has been done more than once.

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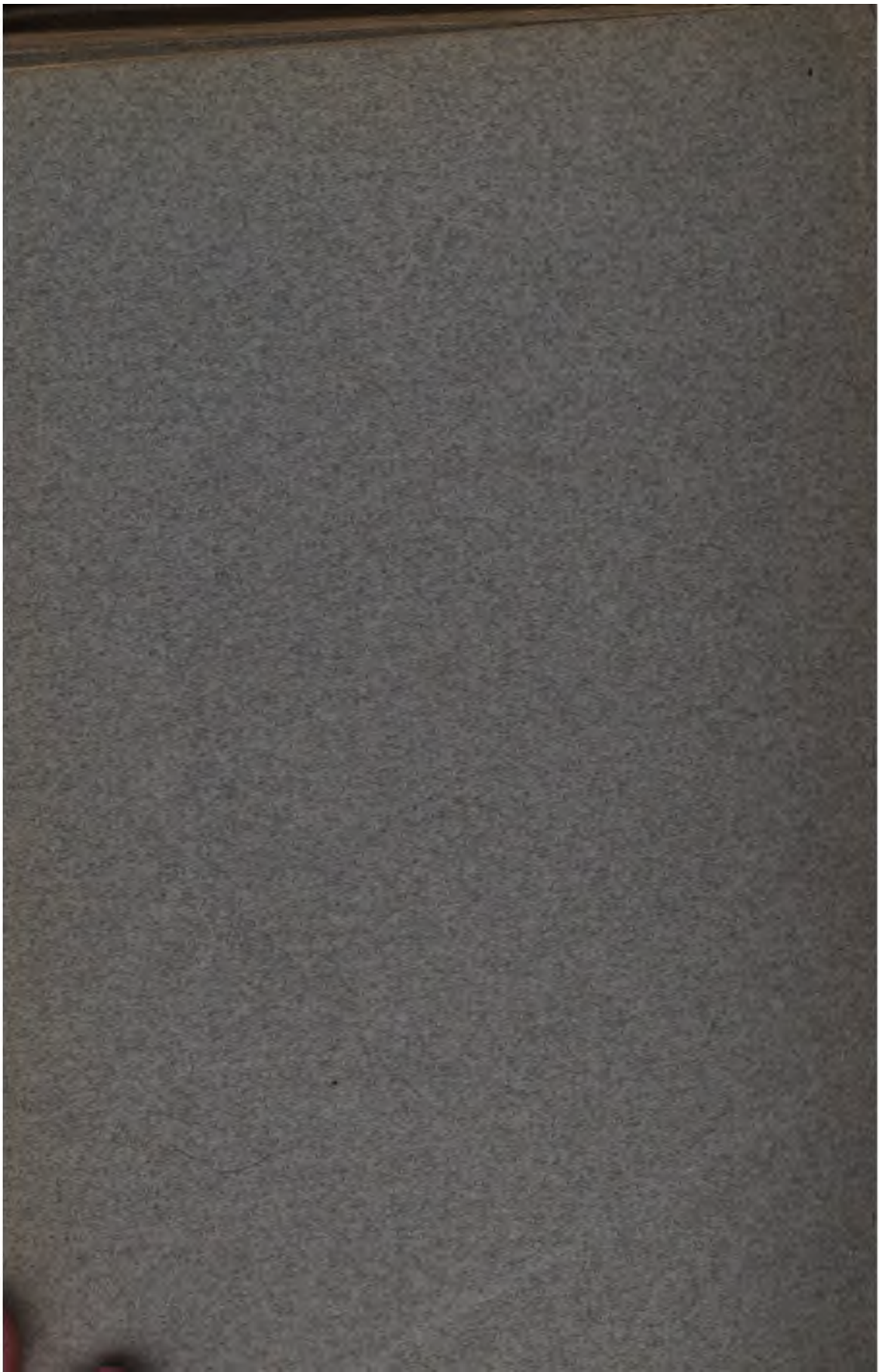
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EPAPHOS AND THE EGYPTIAN APIS

BY  
IVAN M. LINFORTH

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EPAPHOS AND THE EGYPTIAN APIS.

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IVAN M. LINFORTH.

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In his account of Egypt and the Egyptians, Herodotus has frequent occasion to touch, directly or indirectly, upon matters of religious practice or belief, and it soon becomes evident to the reader that it is the historian's effort to reconcile the theology of Egypt with the theology of Greece. Though the peculiarities of Egyptian myth and ritual interest the Greek writer because of their very divergence from Greek habits, yet he feels unconsciously that the divine beings who are supreme over Egypt are identical with the familiar gods of Greece. Therefore one who is interested in Greek religious thought may justly expect Herodotus to betray, unconsciously, something of his own personal religious attitude, and something of the religious feeling of Greece at large, when he is using these familiar feelings and beliefs as a background against which to set off the strange religion of Egypt,—the thing which is consciously interesting him at the time. We may thus take him unaware, so to speak, and when he is recounting to us the marvels of Egypt, listen to the undertones of his voice which tell of a still more marvellous Greece.

This present study limits itself to a very humble member of the divine community of Greece, whom Herodotus identified with an Egyptian religious figure of greater distinction, and its purpose is to discover the reason for the identification.

I.

In the course of his description of the religious system of Egypt, Herodotus comes to that strange creature, the calf

Apis,<sup>1</sup> and, as he identifies Heracles, Dionysus, Hephaestus, and other Greek gods with the divinities of Egypt, so he asserts that the Greek name for Apis is Epaphos, with no word of apology or explanation. Now Epaphos is indeed an unfamiliar personage to the Greek reader,—half a dozen passages in the Greek books ordinarily read would be the sum of all the references to him,—and, furthermore, his personality is at the best hazy and unsubstantial. But Herodotus thinks nothing of identifying him with an Egyptian religious figure which is endowed with perfectly definite attributes. Either Herodotus must have known more definite features than we know in the personality of a Greek Epaphos, or he must have been simply recording the practice of the Greeks of his day, both in and out of Egypt, in saying that the calf Apis is called Epaphos in Greek.

So far as our information goes, the latter alternative must be the true one. The information given by extant fifth century authors about Epaphos is meager, and references in later writers add little that is new. Furthermore, with the exception of one vague reference in Ovid,<sup>2</sup> there is no evidence of any cult of Epaphos. It seems, therefore, fair to suppose that Epaphos in the Greek mind was in truth a "strengthless head," of whom there is little more to learn than we really know. But there remains that quiet identification with Apis which we find first in Herodotus, and there remains the fact that Epaphos's shadowy person bears a part in a legend which is not lacking in romantic features. Shall we not ask, Who was Epaphos? meaning, when we ask it, *What conception was attached by the Greeks of the fifth century to the name Epaphos? Whence came the conception? Whence the name? And how where they joined?*

Let me rehearse the events which are associated with the name Epaphos by fifth century writers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ii 38, 153; iii 27, 28. In the last passage Herodotus says: "This Apis is the calf of a cow which can never again conceive. The Egyptians say that a flash of light from heaven falls upon this cow, and from this she conceives and bears Apis. Its distinguishing marks are these: it is black everywhere excepting one square of white on its forehead and the figure of an eagle on its back; it has double hair in its tail and the figure of a beetle under its tongue."

<sup>2</sup> Met. i 750.

<sup>3</sup> Pindar, Pyth. iv 13 ff; Nem. x 5. Aesch. Suppl. 18, 41 ff, 172, 312, 315, 316, 535, 568 ff, 1065 ff; Prom. 664 ff, 673, 774, 813 ff, 846-856. Bacchylides xviii 39 ff. Herodotus *loc. cit.* Euripides, Phoen. 678 ff. Isocrates xi 10.

Io, who in Argos had won the love of Zeus and with it the hate of Hera, had been changed into a cow and driven from her home. After many wanderings she came to Egypt, there regained her human form, and gave birth to a son whose name was Epaphos. And his name, which signifies the "toucher" or the "touched," was in memory of the touching of Io by Zeus, either when he had begotten the child or when he had restored Io to her human shape. Epaphos grew, and came to be the ancestor of the Egyptian race and lord of the land. He founded many cities; and his daughter Libya gave her name to the country to the west of Egypt.

To this bare tale some other circumstances are added by later writers. His wife was Memphis, from whom the Egyptian city took its name;<sup>4</sup> or his wife was Cassiopeia,<sup>5</sup> that strange figure on the borderland of Greek and oriental legend. Other children he had,—Lysianassa,<sup>6</sup> Thebe,<sup>7</sup> Doros,<sup>8</sup> Telegonos,<sup>9</sup> Belos,<sup>10</sup> and, by Euxia (daughter of the river-god Elis), Memphis herself.<sup>11</sup> Nonnus<sup>12</sup> gave him a sister, Ceroessa.

Two slight adventures vary the previously unbroken calm of his life. Hera in her anger ordered the Curetes to make away with the new-born infant. They obeyed, but were slain by Zeus for their pains. Meantime Io sought for her child, and found him in Syria, where he had been suckled by the queen of Byblos.<sup>13</sup> According to another version, it was the Titans, not the Curetes, who had been set upon Epaphos by Hera.<sup>14</sup> Again, Ovid says that Epaphos scornfully accused Phaethon, son of Helios, of being a bastard, and thus became the cause of Phaethon's disastrous adventure with the chariot of the sun.<sup>15</sup> But Ovid tells the

<sup>4</sup> Apollod. ii 10. Schol. Plat. Tim. 24 E. Tzetz. Lycophron 694.

<sup>5</sup> Hyg. fab. 149. Schol. Stat. Theb. iv 737 (Lactantius Placidus, ed. Jahnke, p. 737).

<sup>6</sup> Apollod. ii 116.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Il. ix 383.

<sup>8</sup> Steph. Byz. s.v. Πυγμαίοι.

<sup>9</sup> Schol. Eur. Or. 932.

<sup>10</sup> Serv. Verg. Aen. i 642.

<sup>11</sup> Schol. Ver. Verg. Aen. ii 82.

<sup>12</sup> xxxii 70.

<sup>13</sup> Apollod. ii 9.

<sup>14</sup> Hyg. fab. 150.

<sup>15</sup> Met. i 750. Serv. Verg. Aen. x 189.

tale of Phaethon immediately after the tale of Io; he must find some link between the two; and Ovid never boasted of his accuracy as an historian.

## II.

These are the facts about Epaphos, and from this evidence we must attempt to answer the questions proposed above. Several answers have already been given by scholars who have thought about the matter, and we must first consider what their explanations have been.

Buttmann<sup>16</sup> expressed his belief that the name Epaphos itself is really only the Egyptian word Apis reduplicated and provided with a Greek termination. He presses the matter no further; but he implies that there was no Greek conception to which the name Epaphos belonged,—none, at least, till after the Greeks knew Apis and his name.

H. D. Müller<sup>17</sup> takes a position quite the reverse of this, and expressly denies that the names Epaphos and Apis are identical. He claims that a more careful analysis of the myth of Io would show that Epaphos was a true Greek hero and had been Greek from the beginning. His theory, however, as it is developed, is really only a tissue of conjecture. He claims, in fact, that according to the early Argive genealogy the son of Epaphos was Danaos, and that all the names that come between the two in the familiar genealogy were later additions. This assertion is, I believe, unsupported.

The first thorough examination of the myth was made by Maass<sup>18</sup> in a very learned paper in which the results are almost completely overlaid with erudition; and of his conclusions some are sound and valuable, some are insufficiently proved. It will be necessary to consider his results in greater detail.

He accepts the common etymology of the word Epaphos<sup>19</sup> which has prevailed since the time of Aeschylus. It is composed of ἐπι

<sup>16</sup> *Mythologus* ii p. 182 (in a lecture entitled *Mythische Verbindungen von Griechenland mit Asien*, delivered in 1819).

<sup>17</sup> *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* (Göttingen, 1857-61), *Erster Teil*, S. 42 ff.

<sup>18</sup> *De Aeschyli supplicibus*. Ind. Schol. Greifswald, 1890-91.

<sup>19</sup> Fick-Bechtel, *Griech. Pers. Namen* (2d ed., Göttingen, 1894), pp. 449, 451.



and the root *ἀπ-* of *ἄπτω*, and means "toucher" or "touched." This derivation is philologically sound, and the assumption of a transfer of aspiration from *ἐφαπ-* to *ἐπαφ-* is also justifiable.<sup>20</sup> This being accepted, Maass first observes that whereas Epaphos does nothing to deserve the name, Zeus, his father, does; and from this he infers a *Ζεὺς Ἐπαφος*, who gave his name to his son (the possibility of the name of one god being taken from the epithet of another is, by the way, abundantly proved). If, then, *Ἐπαφος* is an epithet of Zeus, it must have been derived from some regular practice of Zeus, and not from a single occurrence. This regular practice Maass discovers to be the profession of the midwife, and proves most successfully the ancient belief in the obstetric value of the touch, or, as we should say, of massage. This is orderly procedure. But let me call attention to two facts: first, that we have no evidence for this very surprising connection between Zeus and midwifery; and, second, that if we had, there is absolutely no known reason why the son of Io should inherit the epithet any more than the countless other children of Zeus.

This is Maass's theory of the name. The myth he finds to be older than Hesiod and native to Euboea, both of which conclusions I feel unable to accept. His argument proceeds in the following manner. Apollodorus draws some of his information concerning the story of Io from Hesiod, as he himself informs us. The particular poem of Hesiod from which he took this material is *probably* the lost Aegimius. An extant fragment of Hesiod<sup>21</sup> declares that Euboea was named from a cow; this cow was *probably* Io; therefore the quotation is *probably* from the Aegimius; the tale of Apollodorus, part of which is drawn from

<sup>20</sup> Aeschylus, too, derives *Ἐπαφος* from *ἐπι + ἄπτω*, but he vaguely explains the touch as being the one by which Epaphos was begotten or the one by which Io was restored to her proper form. It is not clear which alternative he preferred, because his words in the *Suppliants* and in the *Prometheus* are inconsistent and conflicting. The use of the word *ἐπιπνοια* by Aeschylus in several places is also unintelligible. Is it possible that he has heard some story of the ray of light by which Apis was begotten and was trying to work it into his etymology?

<sup>21</sup> *Fragm. 3 (Rzach):*

*νήσῳ ἐν Ἀβάντιδιδιῇ*  
*τὴν πρὶν Ἀβάντιδα κικλήσκον θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔδντες,*  
*Εὐβοίαν δὲ βόδι τὸτ' ἐπώνυμον ὠνόμασεν Ζεὺς.*

Hesiod, is *probably* to be located in Euboea; therefore Epaphos was born in Euboea according to the earlier version of the myth; and therefore, again, the invention of a son of Io, to whom was given an epithet of his father as a name, must be assigned to the Greek Middle Ages. In addition to the cumulative weakening effect upon this chain of evidence which comes from the repetition of the word *probably*, it should be noted, first, that there is no certainty that the cow of the Hesiodic fragment is Io (though I must admit that Lobeck<sup>22</sup> and Meineke believed it to be), and, second, that Epaphos himself is quite unmentioned. The latter objection Maass attempted to forestall by the following. Strabo<sup>23</sup> speaks of a *βοὸς ἀύλη* in Euboea on the Aegean coast, saying that Epaphos was born in it, and that the name of the island is derived from the fact. Therefore, according to Maass, Strabo must have derived his information from the Aegimius, which, therefore, must have contained a statement that Epaphos was born in Euboea. Observe here that while Strabo's words are undeniably sound, they prove nothing to the point, unless they can be made to justify Maass's theory that Epaphos was mentioned in the Aegimius, and this justification we can hardly accept. That the story of Io and the birth of Epaphos was located in Euboea in later times by several authorities is not to be denied, and is easily explained by the name of the island itself. The Etymologicum Magnum<sup>24</sup> speaks of the transformation of Isis (*sic*) into a cow, which took place in Euboea (the name Isis—instead of Io—is an indication of the lateness of the story), and Stephanus of Byzantium<sup>25</sup> says that Hermes slew Panoptes (*i.e.*, Argos) in Euboea.

From all this I am willing to accept as proved the fact that the story of Io and Epaphos was localized in Euboea in late times (Alexandrian or after), even that the story of Io herself, without Epaphos, may have been placed by Hesiod in Euboea, and, in fact, may have been native there. But what is not proved, and what is to Maass the essential point, is that Epaphos himself

<sup>22</sup> Lobeck. *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg, 1829), vol. ii, p. 1131.

<sup>23</sup> x 445.

<sup>24</sup> S. v. Euboea.

<sup>25</sup> S. v. "Ἀργούρα.

had any association with Euboea before the later period in the history of the myth.

The whole structure of his argument, which seems to me most infirm, is propped by one or two other bits of evidence. Assuming, as he does, that the Aegimius told the tale of Io and Epaphos, he decides that either its author was ignorant of Egypt and said nothing of it, or, if he referred to the land at all, it was not the African Egypt, but another Egypt, which (triumphantly) must have been in Euboea. For, says Stephanus,<sup>26</sup> after speaking of the Egypt of Africa, *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Αἴγυπτος μικρά.* Again, another argument, no more substantial, is that the Curetes, with whom Epaphos is brought into connection, belong to Euboea, and that this story (again only probably) comes from the Catalogi of Hesiod. The third and last of these subsidiary arguments is that Epaphos's wife, Cassiopeia, proved his Euboean connection, because Cassiopa is the name of a city and promontory in Coreyra, an island which had once been Euboean!

Maass's conclusion, then, is that the whole story of Io and Epaphos was of Euboean origin, and that later, after Psammetichus had opened Egypt to the Greeks of Asia in the seventh century, it was transplanted to Egypt, where Io was identified with Isis and Epaphos with Apis.

The effect of Maass's argument is of course more convincing when taken as a whole than when each element is criticised separately; but I am certain that the several links in the chain are too weak to support the whole.

A Scandinavian scholar, J. Lieblein,<sup>27</sup> whose paper I have not seen, expresses himself in favor of the Egyptian origin of the myth of Io.

Ludwig Deubner<sup>28</sup> thinks that Epaphos is the creation of genealogists who were seeking to connect the later generations of the family with Io and Zeus, and that they named him Epaphos consciously in memory of the touch of Zeus which had restored Io to her human shape.

<sup>26</sup> S. v. Αἴγυπτος.

<sup>27</sup> Om Jo-mythen. Festschrift til hans Majestaet Kong Oscar ii. Christiania, 1897.

<sup>28</sup> *Philologus* 64 (1905), p. 486.

Gruppe<sup>29</sup> believes that the legend of Io and Epaphos is Euboean, that it was carried to Argos, thence to Rhodes, thence to Syria and Egypt. So much can be gathered from scattered observations in Gruppe's extensive work, but he devotes no space expressly to the legend of Epaphos.

### III.

This, then, is what has been accomplished hitherto in the study of the myth. Now there are several points to which I wish to call attention. In the first place, it should be remembered that there are two distinct questions proposed: whence comes the *name* Epaphos? and whence comes the *myth* which is attached to the name?

That Epaphos should be merely a Hellenized form of the Egyptian word Hapi or Pe-Hapi, as Buttmann believed, is not likely, in view of the fact that the Greeks themselves made use at times of the very word Ἄπις to denote the Egyptian god. It seems that the name Ἐπαφος must have existed distinct from the name Ἄπις.

In regard to the myth, the truth seems to be the very opposite of that about the name. While Maass expends great pains to show that Epaphos is Euboean in origin, it remains true that the names and the circumstances in the myth are overwhelmingly Egyptian. There is not one real point of contact between Epaphos and Greece save that his mother is Io: the other names have at least as much of the Egyptian (or Phoenician) as of the Greek in them.

I venture to propose, then, that Epaphos, as we know him, is the calf Apis with a Greek *name* which had previously belonged to some other person or some other thing, and that Io had no son in Greek myth until the Greeks first heard of Apis. Then, when legend had made a son for Io out of the calf-god, this new mythical creation became quite anthropomorphic, and drew to himself, in a way which will be explained later, the few fragments of legend which have been mentioned above. And if, in casting about to discover some possible source for the name of Epaphos,

<sup>29</sup> Griech. Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte (München, 1906). See Register for references.

we recall the convincing argument of Maass about the obstetric value of massage, we do not have to look far. The most important goddess of childbirth is Hera, and Io is probably only a double of Hera. The word Ἐπαφος may well have been an epithet of the great goddess of Argos.<sup>30</sup>

But, it will be asked, if Io had no son in the original Greek myth, how came the need of a name? In answer let me describe the course of events as I reconstruct them in imagination.

After Egypt was thrown open to Greek visitors and settlers in the seventh century by King Psammetichus, many Argives journeyed to the new land by the way of Rhodes and Crete. When they reached Egypt they heard of Egyptian gods with strange names, and proceeded to identify them with their own. Among them was the cow-goddess Isis, whom they quickly recognized as their own Iō who had been changed to a cow and driven beyond the borders of Argos. They had never known before what had been the end of Io's wanderings, but here they discovered her in human form again and high in honor: here then she had found relief from her persecution. The Argives heard, too, of the strange calf-god Hapi, or Pe-Hapi, and asked themselves who it might be. The Greeks had no familiar calf-god, with whom to identify the Egyptian divinity; but the name Pe-Hapi recalled the old folk-name for Hera, Epaphos, and Io, who was Hera's double, was a cow; surely this Apis must be the son of Io, begotten of Zeus whose love had caused Io's ruin. That Apis should be made the *son* of Io should cause no surprise to any one familiar with the Greek mania for genealogy.

Thus the myth came into existence, and soon began to take into itself new elements.

Now the most prominent of these new elements is the assertion that Epaphos became a prince of the land of Egypt and the founder of many cities, among which Memphis is the one most commonly mentioned. This part of the story was well known, as we have already seen, in the fifth century. Maass leaves this accretion quite unexplained; for it must be seen that such an accretion is more remarkable in the case of a Euboean Epaphos

<sup>30</sup> For adjectives of two endings as epithets of Hera, cf. ἐπήκοος, ἡύκομος, λευκώλενος, χρυσόθρονος. Cf. also the name Κουροτρόφος.

than in the case of one who was purely Egyptian. And if it seem strange to any one that a Greek hero who is but a renamed Egyptian calf-divinity should become great in the land, let him observe, first, that the calf Apis was but a manifestation in the flesh of a great and eternal god, and, second, that it is more likely that the Epaphos who had been a calf should become a king, than that an Epaphos who was first a king should be identified with a calf. The explanation of the whole matter, I think, is this. The Greeks were always eager to discover, or invent, the sources of things, and human races they always traced back to the gods. It was not unnatural, then, for them to inquire from whom the black race of Egypt was sprung. In searching for the answer they could find but one possible course of descent from their own gods,—who were the *only* gods,—and that lay from Zeus through Epaphos who thus became the founder of the race.<sup>31</sup> For it must have been their belief that when Io came into the land of Egypt down the course of the Nile, the land had never yet been visited by human foot, and that she brought with her the seed of the gods from which should grow the Egyptian race.<sup>32</sup>

When Epaphos had been established as the progenitor of the Egyptians, it follows inevitably in Greek thought that he should be the founder of cities, and that Libya should be his daughter. But it has not been remarked, I think, that Memphis, the principal city which he had founded, was the center of the district in which the worship of Apis flourished. For in other parts of Egypt a calf was worshiped, but under another name. This fact itself is a significant bit of evidence in support of the organic connection between Apis and Epaphos.

It remains to explain the story of Epaphos and the Curetes, which Maass takes as evidence of the Euboean origin of the myth. For I hold that no real significance can be attached to the sundry names which were later brought into connection with the myth of Epaphos, and that the only explanation that need be offered

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Aesch. Prom. 813 f and 846 ff.

<sup>32</sup> The sacred name of the river Nile to which Egypt and the Egyptians owe their very existence is Hapi, identical with that of the calf-god. It is not unlikely that some story which told of the Nile as the source of the race should have been attached to Epaphos through confusion of the names.

for them is that they were the result of the welter of mythology which in Alexandrian and later times confounded all things. The story of the Curetes, however, has more definite substance, and I find it to be another argument in support of the Egyptian origin of Epaphos. In proof of this let me call attention to the two following points. First, though the bull Apis was at the beginning regarded as an incarnation of the god Ptah, yet "with the growth of the Osirian cult the dead Apis became, like the pious Egyptian, one with Osiris, the lord of the other world. His identity with Ptah paled and disappeared before his newer identity with Osiris. At first he was Osiris-Apis, . . . as guardian of the necropolis of Memphis; then as god also of both Memphis and Egypt in life as well as in death. Under the Ptolemies, Greek ideas gathered round the person of a deity who thus united in himself the earlier and later forms of Egyptian belief, and out of the combination rose the Serapis of the classical age, whose worship exercised so great an influence on the Roman world."<sup>33</sup>

This identity between Apis and Osiris being established, consider the second point. The myth of Osiris contained the following incident, as we learn from Plutarch.<sup>34</sup> Set, the brother of Osiris, and called by the Greeks Typhon, plotted with seventy-two others against Osiris. They got him into their power, secured him in a coffer, and flung the coffer into the Nile. Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, sought for the body and found it at last in Byblos. Now if we recall the myth of Zeus and the Curetes, and set it beside this myth of Osiris, on the one hand, and the legend of Epaphos and the Curetes, as told above, on the other, it can easily be seen that the story of Epaphos is merely a contamination of the myths of Osiris and Zeus, and was attached to the name of Epaphos in later times.

This theory which I have advanced would be completely overthrown if it could be positively proved that Epaphos was mentioned in Greek legend before the beginning of the seventh century. Such proof, of course, may be offered. But for the facts

<sup>33</sup> Sayce, A. H., *Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (Gifford Lectures, Edinburgh, 1903), p. 113.

<sup>34</sup> *Isis and Osiris*. Cf. Frazer, J. G., *Adonis Attis Osiris* (London, 1906), pp. 212 ff.

as they are known at present, this hypothesis seems to me more tenable than that urged by Maass.<sup>35</sup> And besides Maass does not answer in any way the question of the origin of the myth, nor explain how this myth came to be attached to the name.

Herodotus, then, was not himself identifying Apis with a distinct Greek mythical personage. He was simply reporting the practice of the Greeks whom he saw in Egypt, and who used their own Greek name for the Egyptian god. They believed, of course, and Herodotus believed, that the name and the myth of Epaphos were both truly Greek; his Egyptian origin must have been forgotten for a hundred years and more.

NOTE.—Without entering into any discussion of the very puzzling myth of Io, I wish to call attention to one matter which may serve to throw some light on the tale. In the *Prometheus*,<sup>36</sup> Aeschylus says that an oracle told Inachos to drive his daughter out of his house and out of the land to wander *at large* (*ἄφερον*) at (*ἐπί* with the dative) the farthest limits of the country. This driving a cow, the animal sacred to Hera, beyond the borders, has very much the appearance of an aetiological myth to explain some old expiatory rite resembling the Athenian *pharmakos* ritual and the Hebrew ceremony of the scape-goat. The word *ἄφερον*, as Wecklein observes (*ad. loc.*), is used technically of animals which are allowed to wander at large in the enclosure of the divinity to whom they are sacred. Thus the myth of Io in its earliest form would have ended at the departure of Io from Argos. Later, the story of the banishment, together with the existence of such names as Bosphorus and Euboea, would introduce the idea of the wanderings, which would then be extended through pure imagination. Finally Egypt would be recognized as the resting-place of Io as soon as Isis became known to the Greeks.

<sup>35</sup> The words of Aelian (*nat. anim.* xi 10) seem to show that he had practically the same theory of Epaphos as I have advanced: *καὶ Ἕλληες μὲν αὐτὸν [Apis] καλοῦσιν Ἐπαφον, καὶ γενεαλογοῦσιν οἱ μητέρα Ἰὼ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν τὴν Ἰνάχου* ("the Greeks call him Epaphos, and in the established genealogy make him the son of Io of Argos, the daughter of Inachos").

<sup>36</sup> 664 ff.



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STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF LUCRETIVS

BY  
WILLIAM A. MERRILL

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## STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF LUCRETIUS

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During the last generation a movement in the criticism of Latin authors has been going on with increasing force, which has emphasized the individuality and personal character of the Latinity of the separate writers. Formerly a standard of perfection was set up, and by this standard of normal Latinity or of perfection of technique authors were tested: the roughnesses were smoothed away, the strange grammatical usages were emended out of the text, logical inconsistencies were removed in various ways, and the vocabulary was purged. Hofman Peerkamp in his criticism of Horace marked the climax of the method. But in the latter half of the nineteenth century the school of the Young Grammarians insisted upon consideration of psychological laws in syntax, with corresponding variation in individual writers; and Woelfflin and others established to a greater degree the personal grammar, so to say, of many authors. No longer may we dismiss an *et* in the meaning 'also' with a superb "et pro etiam displicet"; no longer may we change presents to imperfects in order that the ideal of the sequence of tenses may be observed. Anyone who has given close attention to the received texts of Latin authors must have noticed the hundreds of emendations made by the humanists which have been accepted by succeeding editors; in many cases without serious thought, because on the surface the change seemed necessary to bring the reading into harmony with standard Latin. And in the pre-Ciceronian authors this is especially noticeable; with them grammar was unsettled, many words had been newly created or

were dubious in character; sentence structure had not been standardized, periodology was all but unknown. One need only turn over the pages of such a collection as Bruns' *Fontes Iuris* to comprehend the difference between the ordinary Latin of common life and the artificial Latin of the stylists.

The task of an *advocatus diaboli* is naturally invidious, and yet in defending some of the readings of the Lucretian codices I have felt that in our desire to establish the text of Lucretius on certain ground it is necessary to weigh anew the evidence that can be brought for the correctness of the manuscript reading, that, over and over again, has been dismissed by scholars from Marullus down with little hesitation. If the attention of Lucretian scholars shall be drawn to the passages discussed and to the principle involved, the object of this investigation will have been attained.

The conservative position in the constitution of texts is unquestionably the ruling one today, although bitterly opposed in some quarters. Rothstein supports readings in his Propertius (1898) that would have aroused Lachmann's haughty wrath, and almost any Latin Teubner of the last fifteen years, as compared with its predecessor, shows the same tendency. For it must not be forgotten that when the reading of the archetype has been firmly established, the burden of proof falls on the innovator; and even if the novel reading is four hundred years old, still it is a change, and as a change must be justified. And emendations of the archetype must be necessary, cogent, and unavoidable, and not merely desirable or pretty or neat; they must not be admitted if by any reasonable possibility the original text can stand. The authority of such great Latinists as Lambinus and Lachmann has deterred lesser men from abiding by the reading of the Lucretian archetype; Munro, who was quite their equal, in his successive editions manifested increasing courage, and had he lived twenty years longer he would have progressed still further. Brieger in 1894 was still more conservative, and Giussani in 1896-98, and Bailey in 1899 continued the movement. The next task in the constitution of the Lucretian text is grave consideration of every reading of the archetype in the light of modern psychological linguistics.

- 1, 71 naturae primus portarum claustra cuperet; cupiret O  
corr. edd.

There is no evidence of cupēre, but there is variation in conjugation between fulgēre and fulgere: 2, 27; 6, 160. Aegrit is the MS reading in 3, 824, requiret in 3, 919, fervescet in 3, 289, and resolvet in 6, 695. It is not impossible that the classification of some verbs was unsettled in Lucretius' time; some examples are given by Lane, *L. G.*, 1000. Cuperent occurs in 5, 169. Appariet is the MS reading in 2, 1110.

- 1, 111 aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendum; timendumst Lachmann.

So in 5, 302 putandumst Lachmann for putandum; 5, 44 atque pericula sunt ingratis insinuandum, where I prefer insinuanda to tumst . . . insinuandum of the editors. In 2, 468 nec tamen haec retineri hamata necessu, necessumst Lachmann, write necessus; in 2, 710 necessust. In any case, if the copula must be retained, necessust should be preferred to necessumst. Lachmann approves omission of the copula in 1, 627, 963; 2, 39; 3, 543, 796; 5, 140. To these may be added 2, 1, 87, 338; 5, 1238; 6, 130 noted by L. on 5, 836; 2, 194; and 3, 431. In 2, 1089 quam genus omne quod his generatim rebus abundans Lachmann changed his to est, Bernays, Munro, Giussani, and Bailey to hic, Brieger to hinc, and all insert a copula. The Oblongus MS read generat in, the Quadratus habundant, whence Marullus abundat. The true reading was hic with no copula. In 3, 203 nunc igitur quoniam animi natura reperta, the Itali inserted est either after quoniam as in 3, 130, or after reperta, since hiatus in caesura is doubtful in Lucretius. In 3, 415 incolumis quamvis alioqui splendidus orbis is changed by reading sit, linquatur, splendeat, alioquist, incolumist, but the verb is unnecessary. Leo, *Sen. Trag. Observ. Crit.*, 187, gives many examples of the omission of the copula in subordinate clauses. In 6, 746 si forte lacus substratus Averni, est has been inserted unnecessarily. So in 1, 525 alternis igitur nimirum corpus inani | distinctum, quoniam Lachmann properly disregards the insertion of the copula by Lambinus and others. In 4, 636 OQ

have *est* which is omitted by most modern editors. As Servius on Aen. 11, 230 quotes 1, 111 with *timendum*, *timendumst* could not have been read in his time, especially as *petendum mihi est equum* immediately precedes. It is impossible with fidelity to the codices to lay down any rule less vague than Madvig's, *L. G.* 479a, "*est* and *sunt* are often omitted . . . ." and Obs., "In the poets *est* is often left out in a rather striking manner."

1, 207 *aeris in teneras possent perferrier auras; possint* editors after Lactantius, because *semine quando opus est rebus quo quaeque creatae* is the line above; but *possent* may be due to *creatae*. So in 4, 824 *lumina ne facias oculorum clara creata | prospicere ut possemus*.

1, 240 *nisi materies aeterna teneret | inter se nexus minus aut magis indupedita; so the old vulgate and Lambinus 3; nexu Itali*.

*Indupediri* is absolute in 4, 70. *Materies disiecta tenetur* 2, 939; *nexa teneri* 2, 405.

1, 257 *fessae pecudes pinguis per pabula laeta; so Cartault, Valk. Editors after Philargyrius pingui*.

*Fessae pecudes pinguis* may be compared with 1, 898 *vicina caecumina summa*; 2, 600 *veteres docti poetae*. In 5, 295 *claraeque coruscis | fulguribus pingues multa caligine taedae*.

1, 585 *denique iam quoniam generatim reddita finis | crescendis rebus constat vitamque tenendi; Q corr. crescendi*.

The dative may be defended by 1, 551 *si nullam finem natura parasset | frangendis rebus*; 1, 203 *materies quia rebus reddita certast | gignundis*. Asymmetry is not unusual in Lucretius: 1, 75 *quid possit oriri quid nequeat*; 4, 1190 *si bello animos et non odiosa*; 6, 1023 *haec quoque res adiumento motuque iuvatur*.

1, 611 *non ex illorum conventu conciliata; ullorum Marullus; illarum Breiger*.

*Partibus* precedes in 610. The doctrine of the *minimae partes* is doubtless one of those that the poet had in mind in 1, 136 *nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta | difficile inlus-*



trare Latinis versibus esse. Ullorum implies non compacta ex principiis variis in caelum coeuntibus, as Creech paraphrased, but this is inconsistent with recent investigations. Illarum agrees with the theory as now understood, but Lucretius has a strange dislike for illarum, harum, and earum. Illorum may be retained as referring either to cacumina or to minima, since these underlie the whole discussion; minimae partes is equivalent to minima. L. is careless of his syntax when elucidating a difficult point, e.g., 2, 216 seq.

1, 683 ignis enim foret omnimodis quodcumque crearet; crearent Lambinus.

L. seems to mean, whatever fire produces will be fire. Bockemüller was right in retaining crearet; 690 dicere porro ignem res omnes esse neque ullam | rem veram in numero rerum constare nisi ignem.

1, 711 magnopere a vero longi derrasse videntur; longe Vat. 3275.

In 4, 1176 and 6, 68 Lachmann notes the same error, and there the correction is necessary; and he insists that longi here would refer to tallness of stature or length of stride or length of speech. Lucretius, however, often uses adjectives for adverbs: 3, 250 postremis datur ossibus; 4, 478 primis ab sensibus esse creatam; 1, 385 si cita dissiliant; 2, 359 crebra revisit; 5, 33 acerba tuens; 5, 764 menstrua dum rigidas coni perlabitur umbras; 6, 1084 ceciderunt mutua contra; 2, 787 possit res tota nitore; 5, 201 inde avidam partem montes . . . . possedere; 1, 294 rapidique rotanti turbine portant. In 1, 504; 2, 106, 334, 645 longi is excluded by gender or number, but in 3, 69 it could stand.

1, 747 corporibus facient; faciunt Marullus.

In 2, 920 quod tamen ut possint, at coetu concilioque | nil facient praeter volgum turbamque animantum, the only other occurrence of facient in the poem. In 3, 948 the MSS have perges, retained by Heinze, where editors read pergas. Here the meaning may be "they will have no end, etc." (Lane, *L. G.*, 1620).

- 1, 775 quippe suam quisque in coetum variantis acervi | natu-  
ram ostendit mixtusque videbitur aer; quicque, coetu,  
ostendet, editors.

Quicque is probably a necessary correction. In coetum may be defended by 1, 966, in omnes partes infinitum omne relinquit, and by other examples of in partes or in partem, and also by 6, 399, neque possit in hostes. The preposition here implies motion—"in making the union." So in with the accusative occurs in 3, 574 in eos . . . . concludere motus; 2, 512 liquidas existere in auras; 2, 796 neque in lucem existunt primordia. The shift from ablative to accusative and the reverse is a subtle one and depends wholly on the point of view of the writer. Ostendit is present of a general action: 1, 317 signa manus dextras ostendunt adtenuari. So in 3, 919 requiret as a future is properly retained by Blase, *Hist. Gr.*, 3, 122, although quiescunt follows, and also, with some editors, 2, 656 constituet . . . . mavolt.

- 1, 784 hinc ignem gigni terramque creari | ex igni, retroque in  
terram cuncta reverti; imbrem . . . . imbri . . . . a  
terra, Marullus and editors except Pascal, who, accepting  
a terra, shows that ignem . . . . igni agrees with Herac-  
litus 76 D.

- 1, 1076 aequis ponderibus motus quaecumque feruntur; aequae  
Marullus.

As the passage is fragmentary, it is safer to make no change.

- 1, 1082 res in concilium medii cuppedine victae.

Victae is retained by Munro, Giussani, Bailey, Pascal; vincetae Bentley, Creech, Bernays, Brieger; vectae Lachmann. Cuppedine victae is highly poetical and should be read.

- 1, 1091 quod calor a medio fugiens sibi conligat omnis; se ibi  
Wakefield; ibi Lambinus.

Se ibi must be read, because Lucretius, although using many verbs absolutely, always has an object with colligere.

- 1, 1105** neve ruant caeli tonetralia templa superne; tonitralia  
Lambinus, penetralia Niccoli.

As tonitralia is unexampled, tonetralia, the reading of the MSS is only one step farther in difficulty and should be retained. There is a tonesco and a collateral tonēre in Varro. All the forms of the perfect stem of tonare could be referred to tonēre.

- 2, 46** tum vacuum tempus lincunt curaque solutum; pectus  
Lambinus.

Lambinus insists that tempus would mean temples of the head. Faber keeps tempus as equivalent to vitam. 3, 23 neque ulla | res animi pacem delibat tempore in ullo; Cic. *Rep.* 1, 14 omne tempus est ad meos libros vacuum; *Ad Att.* 2, 23, 1 cum vacui tempus nihil haberem.

- 2, 112** cuius uti memoro rei simulacra et imago; simulacrum  
Itali.

The only other occurrence of the singular simulacrum in the poem is in 4, 149. 4, 1063 sed fugitare decet simulacra et pabula amoris.

- 2, 160** in quam coepere locum conexa feruntur; conixa  
Veronensis;

- 2, 268** ut studium mentis conexa sequatur; conixa Gifanius.

Connectere is frequently used by Lucretius, and the question at issue is between the working together and the union of the parts. In 153 he says nec singillatim corpuscula . . . sed complexa meant; and in 251 motus conectitur omnis; 266 omnis enim totum per corpus materiai | copia conciri debet; 274 materiem totius corporis omnem . . . ire rapique. Connexa has lately been defended by F. M. Foster in *Class. Journ.*, 5, 171. Conixa in 268 should probably still be read.

- 2, 193** sponte sua facere id sine vi subiecta putandumst; subi-  
gente, subeunte, subiectante, subitaque editors.

Postgate keeps subiecta, comparing Virg. *G.* 4, 385. The participle must refer to flammaram corpora 187; if they are

placed below the tigna trabesque, some force must make them rise. To be sure, ignes in 191 has intervened and the construction is one according to sense: 6, 185 nubibus—lata—nubila—nubibus. For sine vi cf. 5, 1145 defessum vi colere aevom; 6, 518 nubila vi cumulata; 6, 541 volvere vi fluctus.

2, 289 sed ne res ipsa necessum; mens Lambinus.

Bockemueller keeps *res*, which includes *mens* and everything else. Nothing is bound by internal necessity, owing to the *clina*-*men*, and *res* forms a far better antithesis to *omnia* 288. It must not be forgotten that *mens*, like everything else, was a *thing* to Epicureanism: cf. 3, 94 sq, 175, 424 quatenus est unum inter se coniunctaque res est. He could have used *mens* corresponding to 260, 265, but that also is *quiddam* in 280.

2, 313 quapropter ubi ipsum | cernere iam nequeas; ipsa Gifanius.

The reference is to *primorum natura*; *ipsa* would refer to *prima*, *ipsum* to *primum*. *Primum* for *primordium* Lucretius does not use. The periphrasis with *natura* is very common in the poem (*Amer. Phil. Assn.*, 22, xxxiii). In 1, 505 *utramque* refers to *natura duarum rerum*. Lucretius usually refers to atoms in the plural; *semen* in the singular is used several times collectively but not in the sense of a separate atom. *Corpus* is probably used in the singular in 1, 600, 606; 2, 484, 490, but all these passages are obscure. *Materies* is his translation of  $\upsilon\lambda\eta$ . *Primordium*, *exordium*, *principium*, *elementum*, *corpusculum*, *radix*, and *primum* do not occur in the singular in the meaning "atom." Now if the MSS had *ipsa* here, there would be nothing to say, but *ipsum* probably takes up *primum* implied in *primorum natura* which he used in order to avoid *primum*; *ipsum* referring to this *primum* is perfectly natural. *Ipsa* is used very loosely at times: Lactantius *Inst.* 3, 2 *philosophia est ut nomen indicat ipsique definiunt studium sapientiae*. Lucretius is careless with other pronouns: 3, 235 *eius natura . . . eum*; 2, 174 *genus humanum . . . quorum*.

2, 325 fulgor ubi ad caelum se tollit; ibi Marullus.

The parallel passage from Iliad B 457 permits either reading. In 3, 870 *ubi videas* is followed in 879 by *cum proponit*; 4, 272 *cum*, 279 *ubi*, 283 *ubi*, 294 *cum*, 333 *cum*. In the section 5, 1028-1090 there are found *cum* 1032, *tum* 1037, *cum* 1038, *tum* 1041, *cum* 1059, *cum* 1061, *cum* 1063, *cum* 1066, *cum* 1067, *ubi* 1068, *cum* 1071, *ubi* 1074, *cum* 1077, *cum* 1082, *ubi* 1085, *cum* 1088, 6, 188 *cum*, 191 *ubi*. The emendation *ibi* was probably made to bring in a locative to correspond with that in the illustration immediately preceding of the sheep grazing on a hill; and indeed to take *ubi* as temporal is harsh. Yet it may be locative as in 1, 171. *Ibi*, locative, is rare in L.; in 1, 1072, 1091 it rests on emendation; in 2, 1046; 3, 976 it seems certain; there are other places where it is hard to distinguish the locative and temporal meanings. If *ubi* be retained as locative, verse 331 will contain the apodosis.

**2, 343** *squamigerum pecudes et laeta arbusta feraeque; armenta* edd. Lond.

We are here dealing with Lucretian phraseology. *Laeta arbusta* occurs in 2, 594, 699, 994; 5, 921; *laeta armenta* never, nor is the word applied by him to animals. On the other hand, *arbusta* is never used in close juxtaposition to *pecudes* and *ferae* as *armenta* is in 1, 163; 2, 921; 4, 1197; 5, 228. But in 2, 994 occurs *parit nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta | et genus humanum, parit omnia saecla ferarum*; and in 1, 188, 821 *fruges arbusta animantis*. Again, there is no reason in this passage for the inclusion of trees, but in 371 he mentions *frumentum* in illustration. Hence the balance seems delicately poised and therefore the MS reading should be retained.

**2, 347** *quorum unum quodvis generatim sumere perge; quidvis*  
Lachmann from 4, 126 *quorum unum quidvis leviter si forte duabus.*

*Quidvis* also occurs in 1, 556; 3, 556. *Quid* is read by emendation in 1, 619; 3, 1050; 4, 1118; 5, 1224, and is the MS reading in 6, 188. *Quod* is generally retained in 5, 134 = 3, 790, and is unquestioned in 4, 118. In 3, 1013 Lachmann reads *quid* for *qui*. In Harper's *Lexicon* under *unus* II B there are ex-

amples of unum aliquod, unum quodque; and there is read in Cic. *Caec.* 62 quivis unus, Ter. *And.* 904 una harum quaevis causa; the vulgate before Lachmann read quodvis also in 4, 126; but, as I shall show later, Lucretius is not bound to scrupulous consistency in style and usage. Granting his variation from himself, there seems no cogent reason for abandoning the MS reading here. He has quodvis frumentum 2, 371, minimum quodvis tempus 3, 606.

**2, 533** nam quod rara vides magis esse animalia quaedam |  
fecundumque magis naturam cernis in illis; minus Lach-  
mann.

In 4, 1225 the MSS have magis, accepted by Lachmann, Munro, Giussani; but minus Lambinus, Brieger, Bailey. So far as the comparison goes, it makes little difference whether magis or minus be read. The repetition of magis occurs in 6, 100-101, and the contrast with minus in 3, 546-7; 1, 240; 2, 1035-6; 5, 623-4, 629, 631, 633; 6, 1009-1012, 727-8-9. Minus is repeated in 3, 925-6, 1091-2, 727-8; plus aut minus occurs in 5, 572. If the reading of the codices be retained, Lucretius says "as to the fact that some animals are more rare in some places and more productive (in others), that is not surprising, because in other places they are numerous, and in others (541 sq.) rare." It can not be doubted that minus gives an easier reading; here as elsewhere the question is whether the MS reading can be retained.

**2, 536** sicuti quadripedum cum primis esse videmus; sicut  
Bentley.

In 3, 816 sicuti OQ is retained by Bernays, Brieger, Heinze, Giussani, but the verse is omitted by Lachmann and Munro: in the repetition 5, 361 OQ have sicut. Lachmann shows in his note that sicuti before a consonant can not stand except in archaic authors, and this case is probably one of Lucretius' archaisms.

**2, 586** et quaecumque magis vis multas possidet in se; quod-  
cumque Lachmann.

Earlier scholars emended the verse in various ways. Quaecumque may stand for quaecumque res, taking up the neuter quidquam: there are numerous cases of the contrary usage, and I have collected some examples in my note on 1, 57. So 5, 1414 posteriorque fere melior res illa reperta | perdit et immutat sensus ad pristina quaeque; 5, 277 corpora retribuatur rebus recreeturque fluentis; 3, 424 quatenus unum inter se coniunctaque res est; 2, 718 sed ne forte putes animalia sola teneri | legibus hisce, ea res ratio disternat omnis, unless the reading of Lambinus—eadem ratio—is right.

2, 742 nam cum caecigeni solis qui lumina numquam | despexere; dispexere Avancius, adspexere Lambinus.

Most editors make similar changes in 4, 418 and 4, 421; in 6, 648 dispiciendum is certain. Wakefield defends despexere here at length. There is much confusion in other authors also in regard to de- and dispicio and other compounds of de and dis. Here despiciere seems to mean "look out on" while dispiciere would be "look with an effort" or "look through" or "see through all parts" or "look out," a meaning not called for here. So deambulo means "walk out," dearmo "arm out," "disarm," deascio "rub out," debellare "war out" and so on. The metaphor oras in lumina exit 1, 170, effert in luminis oras 1, 179, visentis luminis oras 2, 577, all aid in this interpretation. Again, how can the blind from birth ever look with an effort, when they have never, and can never look at all? Wakefield cites Cic. *Fin.* 4, 64 catuli qui iam despecturi sunt where editors emend, and also Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 22. "The blind who have never looked out on the light of the sun" calls for despexere. Lucretius compares the eyes to doors in 3, 360, and the comparison of the senses to windows occurs in Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 146. In 3, 564 there is no variant: scilicet avolsus radicitus ut nequit ullam | dispicere ipse oculos rem seorsum corpore toto.

2, 759 e quibus omnigenus gignunt variantque colores; omne genus Lachmann.

Lachmann cites omnigenus from Varro *R.R.* 3, 5, 11 and 14. So in Lucretius 2, 821 and 4, 735 omnigenus is the reading of

the codices. In 1, 1026 OQ have omne genus, and in 5, 428 where the verse is repeated, omnigenus. In 5, 440 Q has omnigenus, O omnigenis. If omne genus had become an adverbial compound and pronounced under one accent, the e in omne would be weakened to i, as is shown by the late adjective omnigenus and by other compounds of omnis. Lucretius has omnimodis, omniparens, omnipotens, omnituens. The reading before Lachmann in 2, 759 was omnigenos. The variation between 1, 1026 and 5, 428 leads to the conclusion that both omnigenus and omnigenus as adverbial compounds were in Lucretius' vocabulary. Primigenum 2, 1106 and multangula 4, 654 show the poet's facility in composition.

**2, 760** praeterea magni quod refert semina quaeque; propterea Marullus.

Lambinus retained praeterea, placing 759-761 within parentheses. Praeterea occurred in 757, and elsewhere in the poem the word is repeated: 6, 616, 627; 2, 342, 367, 795, 817; 6, 470, 476, 616, 627. If the poem were a finished work, very likely the author would have written propterea, but the incompleteness points rather to Lambinus' conservatism.

**2, 765** cur ea quae nigro fuerint paulo ante colore | marmoreo fieri possunt candore repente; possint Lambinus.

Cur introduces the subjunctive in 1, 645; 5, 730, 731, 753, 759, 762, 769, 1043; the indicative in 1, 174, 199, 358; 2, 820; 3, 476, 482; 6, 390-421,—all direct questions. Possunt was retained by Wakefield, but possint is unquestionably called for by normal syntax. It is barely possible that the indicative is an archaism here, in which case the preceding fuerint must be regarded as an indicative also. In 1, 981 OQ have quaeram quid telo denique fiet. Cf. *Thesaurus* IV 1446, 41.

**2, 806** caudaque pavonis largo cum luce repleta est; larga Q corr.

There is no certain example of lux, masc. in the poem, but only one of luci, abl., 4, 235. The adverbs are large, 3, 22; 5, 233, and largiter 6, 622, 1113. It is possible that largo is an



adverb here; a form largitus occurs also in Afranius and Apuleius. Lucretius has longe, longum and longiter, crebra and crebro, multum and multo, nimium and nimio, primo, primitus and primum, quanto and quantum, qui and quod, raro, repens and repente, retro, tuto, verum, vero and vere, vulgo.

**2, 814** nec refert ea quae tangas quo forte colore | praedita sunt; sint Marullus.

Here again Wakefield retains the indicative with the earliest editors. Sunt would be an archaism. Lucretius has the subjunctive everywhere in indirect questions, except in 1, 981; 2, 765, already discussed.

**2, 815** seire licet nil principiis opus esse colore; colores Nonius, Lambinus, and editors except Bockemueller.

Lachmann's proposal to read opus est sumptus in Plaut. *Bacch.* 707 has not been accepted. There is no other example of the accusative with opus, and Nonius is too untrustworthy an authority to be followed always. Lucretius uses color, sing. 46 times, plural 15, not including 2, 815. He has the singular with reference to a singular object in 2, 1030; 4, 95, 266, 1094; 6, 205, 526, 1074; in the singular with reference to plural objects in 1, 767; 2, 501, 503, 679, 734, 737, 737, 736, 743, 747, 755, 757, 764, 775, 776, 793, 797, 813, 818, 823, 825, 832, 838, 842; 4, 74, 80, 167, 243; 5, 785, 941, 1257; 6, 208, 722, 1112, 1188; in the plural with reference to a single object in 2, 807; 6, 213; in the plural with reference to plural objects in 2, 418, 759, 783, 786, 789, 821, 1005; 4, 492, 493, 707; 6, 812. The word is used without reference to an object, in the singular in 2, 749, 798, 811, 828; 4, 1033; in the plural 2, 795; 5, 740. It occurs in reference to a particular color or colors in the singular in 2, 501, 734, 736, 749, 764, 775, 776, 793, 811, 813, 823, 825; 4, 167; 5, 785, 941, 1258; 6, 208, 722, 1074, 1188; in the plural in 2, 418, 759, 783, 786, 795, 807, 821, 1005; 4, 492, 493, 707; 5, 740; 6, 213, 812. In 2, 815 the reference is to a plural object: Lucretian usage in this matter is 34 for the singular against 10 with the plural. The singular, moreover, is defended by 2, 737, 755 and 842. I omit 3, 267 where calor OQ should be retained.

**2, 850** quod licet ac possis reperire; quo ad Lambinus.

Quo ad occurs in 5, 1213, 1433. The same change is made in 5, 1033 quod possit abuti. Quod is equivalent to quatenus in 2, 248 quod cernere possis. The construction with quod is common enough: Cic. *Fam.* 14, 4, 6 cura quod potes; Munro gives several examples in his note on 2, 248. It is difficult to see why the MS reading should be abandoned here and Lucretius be held to Virgilian standards in his vocabulary.

**2, 909** aut similis totis animalibus esse putari; simili Lachmann, similia, Marullus.

Owing to the lacuna after 902, it is not altogether certain to what similis refers, but on the face of things it apparently refers back to haec aeterna 907 and those words to visceribus nervis venis in 905. But the meaning is more likely to be sed tamen esto iam posse haec <molliora corpora> manere <animalibus> nempe tamen <animalia> debent aut sensum partis habere aut <partes> similes <sensu> totis animalibus esse putari. Creech's paraphrase is "concedamus vero haec sensilia principia immutabilia et aeterna esse posse, nempe debent habere aut sensus alicuius unius partis, aut putari similia totis animalibus"; Munro in his abstract has "now suppose such elements external; they must have the sense of some part or of the whole living thing." The early editors saw a difficulty in the gender, having in mind principia which calls for similia, but partes is the important word and it is written in the lines before and after. And in 913 and 914 there is again the contrast between pars sola and totis animalibus. In 1, 605 is similes ex ordine partes, and partes must be supplied in 1, 607; pars occurs in 1, 1112 and parte must be supplied in 1113. Maxima pars est consimilis occurs in 2, 1017. In 3, 548 mens est hominis pars velut aures atque oculi sunt atque alii sensus. In 4, 117 tertia pars refers back to animalia in 116. Cases like 4, 292 quae dextera pars est . . . fit ut in laeva <parte> videatur need no comment; so 6, 368; 5, 595; 1, 604, 651; 3, 758; 1, 630, 509; 1, 607, 630.

**2, 929** *intempestivus quom putor cepit ob imbris; intempestivos Marullus.*

*Intempestivus* is a natural epithet of *imber* and there is agreement of the adjective in 2, 873 *putorem cum sibi nactast | intempestivis ex imbribus*, and in 6, 1102 *ubi putorem umida nactast | intempestivis pluviisque et solibus icta*. There is no doubt as to the logical agreement, but Lucretius often puts the adjective with the wrong noun: 5, 252 *multa pulsata pedum vi*; 1, 1002 *volueri ritu flammaram*; 1, 10 *species verna diei*; 3, 309 *naturae vestigia prima*; 2, 213 *transversosque volare per imbris fulmina cernis*. The rhythm *vus cum* is more in Lucretius' style than *-vos cum*; cf. 898. Of 142 cases of *cum* in the poem the rhythm *u-u* occurs 27 times, *o-u* 13, *u-o* 3. If we write here in the antique manner *intempestivos quom*, then it could be defended by no example of the 141, unless indeed we should generally write *quom* for *cum*, and then the quantity of the vowels would not agree. Lucretius is fond of assonance with *u* in other words. For the lengthening of *-us* nominative cf. 3, 1044; 5, 205, 587; 6, 849. There are many examples of strange hypallage collected by Friedrich in his *Catullus*, p. 138, quite foreign to our modern style. So *avidam partem* in 5, 201 may be defended.

**2, 1000** *in terras et quod missus ex aetheris oris; missumst Lactantius.*

This evidently is a case of the archaic and vulgar writing of *-us* for *-um*. So in 2, 710; 4, 1006; 6, 206 *necessust* is for *necessumst*; in my note on 2, 710 I have collected examples from Plautus, Terence, and the Inscriptions. The metre demands the addition of *est*: write *missust*. In 2, 468 we should read *necessust*, MSS *necessu*, editors *necessumst*, where Lachmann thought *necessust* possible. See above, on 1, 111.

**2, 1029** *quod non paulatim minuant miraliter omnes; mirarier Itali, cf. 4, 289; mittant Lachmann, cf. 6, 1056; renuant Bockemueller; linqunt Richards cf. 6, 654.*

*Minuant* is retained by Munro and Bailey. The *Oblongus* has *miralier*; *miraliter*, of course, would be unexampled.

Lucretius uses adverbs in -ter freely: acriter, audacter, breviter, duriter, fluenter, \*genitaliter, graviter, inconstanter, innumerabiliter, insatiabiliter, \*insedabiliter, largiter, leviter, (longiter), mobiliter, \*moderanter, pariter, \*permananter, praecipitanter, \*praeproperanter, \*praemetuenter, procliviter, properanter, uniter, vehementer, vitaliter; those ἀνάξ are starred. Furthermore, he uses but once acriter, breviter, duriter, inconstanter, innumerabiliter, mobiliter, praecipitanter, properanter; hence, so far as Lucretian usage goes, miraliter could be admitted. Mirabiliter is admissible in the hexameter but is not used by, nor cited from, other poets; he uses mirabile instead. The verse preceding is nil adeo magnum neque tam mirabile quicquam; magnum and minuant are contrasted and mirabile and miraliter: "naught is so great nor so wonderful that all will not gradually in wondrous wise belittle it." Minuo occurs several times: 2, 68 quoniam minui rem quamque videmus. The sequence magis, magnum, mirabile, minuant, miraliter, from 1027-1029, may be compared with magis, mirabile, minus, miranda in 1035-1037. Minus est mirum occurs in 5, 799. Lucretius was undecided about the adverb: he has mirande 4, 419, 462, an unexampled form; miraliter postulates \*miralis, after the analogy of mortalis, penetralis, pluralis, talis, vitalis.

2, 1102 saepe suas disturbet et <in> deserta decedens; in and recedens Lactantius Inst. 3, 17, and Lactantius also has ipse for saepe.

Little importance should be given to Lactantius' quotations; he misquotes from Lucretius 1, 83, 931; 2, 14, 1000, 1001; 3, 1044; 5, 51, 808; 6, 24, 25, 27; and is more likely to be wrong than right in small matters. Probably he depended on his memory. Lucretius uses forms of recedere 22 times but not recedens, and he has forms of decedere 5 times, but not elsewhere decedens. Close parallels to this verse are 3, 400, 436 discedit in auras; 4, 914 discedas; but discedere and recedere were to him synonyms, as appears from 3, 938 recedis and 3, 960 discedere, both of retirement from life. Alliteration at the close of the verse is very common: re-re- occurs in 1, 410; 2, 1128; 4, 65, 695, 737, 860; here he wrote decedens instead of recedens,

his more usual word, for the sake of alliteration: 2, 352 deum—delubra decora; 2, 738 denique dispar; 5, 1387 deserta—dia. So with other present participles, he keeps the alliteration at the close of the verse in 3, 396 claustra coercens, 5, 575, 693 lumina lustrans.

**2, 1116** donique ad extremum crescendi perfica finem; extremam Lachmann.

Elsewhere finis is feminine in Lucretius, although the masculine is the rule in classic authors. Lucretius has unusual genders of funis, sal, accipiter, and cinis. It is worthy of remark that in the other case of doubtful gender of finis, 1, 555 conceptum summum aetatis pervadere finis, the adjective has the same metrical position, as if the poet by the arrangement of words gave a hint of exceptional usage. The meaning of 1116 is donique ad extremum, natura creatrix rerum, perfica finem crescendi, omnia perduxit. This strange construction is due to perfica; perficiens he does not use. The same thought occurs again in 1130 donec alescendi summum tetigere cacumen. So he has invida but once, 1, 321, where it is probably equivalent to invidens; trepidus he has but twice, but trepidare eight times, trepidans not at all. Indigus does not appear before Lucretius, indigenus was excluded by the metre. It is this latent verbal idea that helps to justify avidam in 5, 201 inde avidam partem montes silvaeque ferarum | possedere, i.e., magnam quasi cupide sibi raptam, as Eichstaedt explains it. Ad extremum may be compared with ad unum 1, 987 and the frequent ad nilum.

**3, 94** primum animum dico mentem quem saepe vocamus; quam Charisius.

Lachmann compares 99 habitum quendam . . . harmoniam Graii quam dicunt; 4, 132 in hoc caelo qui dicitur aer; 6, 297 igneus ille vortex quem . . . vocitamus nomine fulmen; 4, 369 aer id quod nos umbram perhibere suemus; 6, 701 crateres . . . quod fauces perhibemus et ora; 3, 139 consilium quod nos animum mentemque vocamus; 1, 58 quae nos materiem et genitalia corpora rebus . . . appellare suemus. Munro adds 3, 555

homine illius quasi quod vas esse videtur and 1, 432 quod quasi tertia sit numero natura reperta, and notes that Cicero would have written quem here. That a scribe should have corrupted quam into quem is highly improbable; quem is the more difficult reading and the rhythm and ordinary Lucretian usage would demand quam; OQ must have quem because Lucretius himself wrote it, for 94 is the beginning of a paragraph that is to explain animus. The order mentem quem, instead of quem mentem with its infelicitous repetition of sound, points in the same direction. "Animus," mind, the leading principle, this strong masculine and masterful element that people call sometimes by a feminine term "mens," the thinking principle. In 117 he describes anima and in 130  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  just as in the next paragraph he begins with  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  and goes on to animus and afterward anima.

**3, 633** auditum per se possunt sentire neque esse; haud igitur Lachmann; auditu Havercamp, Munro, absque anima Lambinus; Gifanius and Wakefield kept auditum.

Lachmann shows plainly enough that aud may represent haud or haut, which nobody would deny; but he gives no proof whatever for itum = igitur. The only difficulty with the MS reading is for auditum sentire to equal audire. The expanded expression would be at neque sorsum oculi <possunt esse> neque nares <possunt esse> nec manus ipsa esse potest animae; neque sorsum lingua <potest sentire neque esse> neque aures auditum per se possunt sentire neque esse. Auditum sentire means to have the sense of hearing. Sentio sonitum occurs in Plaut. *Curc.* 156 and sentire sonare Lucr. 4, 229. He uses sentire with all kinds of words: vis 5, 1033, odores 1, 298, adhaesum 3, 381, nebulam 3, 383, itum 3, 388, calorem 4, 267, duritiem 4, 268, sucum 4, 617, tempus 1, 462, dolorem 3, 646, particulam 4, 260, speculum 4, 283, vestigia 3, 389, colores 4, 492. In 4, 494 is seorsus item sapor oris habet vim, seorsus odores | nascuntur, sorsum sonitus; there sonitus corresponds to aures auditum sentire possunt here. The MSS also have anima, not animae, in 632, which was retained by Wakefield. Seorsum is used with the ablative in 3, 564, and is strengthened by an ablative clause in 3, 551 veluti manus atque oculus naresve seorsum secreta ab

nobis nequeunt sentire neque esse. Lachmann cites 43, where animi is now read with the Oblongus, and 288 calor ille animo.

**3, 710** ex illa quae tunc periit; tum Brix.

So also in 1, 130 tunc cum, Flor. 31 tum, but there are many examples of tunc cum in the lexicon; 6, 250 tunc per, tum Lachmann. He says on 1, 130 that the reading of Q in 1, 426 is tunc porro and in 4, 455 tunc vigilare. In 5, 1019 tunc et, 5, 1419 tunc esse, 1473 tunc igitur and 3, 923 tunc ille are unquestioned readings. Tum occurs before b in 4, 449; before c in 4, 275; 5, 1399; 6, 526, 1243; before d in 1, 698; 3, 57; 4, 919; 5, 888, 911, 1169, 1397; before f in 1, 393; 4, 680, 1166; 5, 943, 1026, 1273; before g in 1, 493; 5, 1014; before i in 5, 855; before j in 5, 1397; before l in 1, 492 *e coni.*; before m in 5, 1037, 1404; 3, 600; before n in 3, 376; 4, 922; 5, 1041; before p in 1, 316, 392, 298, 426, 520, 599; 2, 594, 673, 788, 886, 926; 4, 829; 5, 222, 1007, 1262; 6, 129, 623, and 5, 399 *e coni.*; before q in 1, 157; 3, 504; 4, 1030; 5, 69, 990; 6, 162; before r in 2, 44; 4, 892; before s in 3, 919; 4, 444, 957; 5, 432, 467, 1397; 6, 1182; before t in 5, 790, 805, 837, 942; before v in 2, 47; 6, 1153. Of the examples before p, tum porro occurs 11 times, tum portas, putat, penetrabat, penuria, praeterea each once. There are but two examples of tum before per: 6, 129 tum perterrirepo, and 5, 399 tum percitus, where the codices have cum. Tum is very rare before per; in Ter. *Adelph.* 235 tum persequi, there is a variant cum. Further investigation may show an avoidance of tum per for some reason, probably rhythmical; there are no Latin words beginning with tumper or tupper; the form topper was abandoned early.

**3, 732** sollicitae volitant morbis algoque fameque; alguque Nonius.

In 5, 747 the codices have algi. Lachmann algor, Lambinus albus, Wakefield algu; and in 3, 623 algor is unquestioned. In Plaut. *Most.* 193 fameque atque algu, *Rudens* 582 algu, *Vid.* 16 algu famem; Lucil. 1218 algu; Accius 111 algu et fame; Varro *Men.* 171 algu. It is very strange that the copyist here

should have written *algo* when *algu* with fame was so common. Nonius quotes the four passages from Accius, Varro, Lucilius and Lucretius, not as examples of *algu* for *algo*, but of *algu* for *algor*; that is, the contrast of *algu* and *algor*. As is well known, Nonius was very careless at times, some have said even stupid; hence his testimony on a small matter like this should have little weight. There was much doubt whether *algu* or *algu* was the proper nominative, and it is conceivable that the proper ablative was not settled any more than with *domo* and *domu*, *lauro* and *lauru*, *colo* and *colu*, *cupresso* and *cupressu*, *myrto* and *myrtu*; cf. Lane *L. G.* 595. There was much confusion between the second and fourth declensions and there are other traces in Lucretius: thus in 3, 941 *offensost* but 2, 438 *offensu*, and the strange *altu* in 3, 132. But in the 71 words used by L. where there might be fluctuation between *o* and *u* in the ablative there is no further sign.

**3, 740** *neque consensu contagia fient; consensus* Lachmann.

Lambinus explains *neque per consensum fient contagia*; inferior MSS have *tum sensu, cum sensu*. This is the only place in the poem where *consensus* occurs, but the ablative seems defensible by 2, 915 *vitali ut possint consentire undique sensu*; 3, 168 *praeterea pariter fungi cum corpore et una consentire animum*; 3, 800 *una consentire*; and just above, 3, 734 *et mala multa animus contage fungitur eius*. Even Creech, whose interpretation is commended by Lachmann, "neque ita corpus et anima consentiens et motus vitales sibi invicem mutuo impertirent" retains *consensu*. Yet it is more probable that *consensu* is a dative: "connections leading to mutual sensation" an extension of such uses as 6, 771 *multa cibo quae sunt*, 5, 1357 *agricolae donec vitio vertere severi*. There is no exact parallel in the poem, nor is there any for *consensus contagia*, for *contagia morbi* 3, 471 is not sufficient. For the form of the dative cf. *usu* 3, 971, and for Lucretian preference for dative over genitive, my note on 3, 294.

**3, 800** *quippe etenim mortalem aeterno iungere; mortale* Marullus.



In the preceding verse is animam distractam in corpore toto; mortalem would refer to this animam. The general conclusion does not come until 804 quam mortale quod est immortalis atque perenni. Aeterno then would be the same as aeternae naturae in 641. This is the only place in the poem where aeternus is used alone except in 2, 570 neque in aeternum sepelire salutem. Wakefield retained mortalem, sc. hominem, as he made a new paragraph with 800. Of course the change to mortale is most easy paleographically.

3, 856 tum motus materiai | multimodi quam sint; multimodis  
Lachmann, who denies the existence of an adjective multimodus.

Friedrich, on Cat. 115, 4 totmoda quotes Apul. *Met.* 5, 25 voculas omnimodas, *Apol.* 75 omnimodis conlurcationibus, *Met.* 10, 29 multimodas ambages, *Flor.* 16 gratiam multiuigam, 18 totiuga invitamenta, *Apoll. Sid.* 2, 13, 8 multimoda suspiria; and *Ellis, Fronto P.* 24 N. omnimode. Wakefield retained multimodi here but noted that a British Museum MS had multimodis. The lexicons also give *Amm.* 24, 2, 13 and *August. Conf.* 10, 17 and 34. The real question is how early such an adjective may be recognized. The agreement of the Latinity of Apuleius and Lucretius has often been noticed. There are other words of similar formation: multangulus 4, 654, multannus, multicola, multifructus, multigenus 2, 335, multiloquium, multinodus, multinummus, multipes, multiradix, multisonus, multivorantia; cf. *Stolz, Hist. Gr.* I 377. I discussed omnigenus 2, 759, above. Multimodis is read eleven or more times in the standard texts of Lucretius. Lachmann rightly maintains that in 4, 1155 multimodis can not be taken with deliciis in 1156. The indirect question here is similar to that in 2, 335 multigenis quam sint variata figuris, and there is no example of multimodis in such syntactical connection; this, to my mind, substantiates multimodi as a predicate adjective. There are other examples of motus in subordinate clauses: 4, 176 quam celeri motu simulacra ferantur; 5, 1209 vario motu quae candida sidera verset; 5, 509 motibus astrorum nunc quae sit causa; 5, 530; 6, 535; 2, 242, 316, 896.

**3, 893** *urgerive superne obrutum pondere terrae; obtritum Marullus.*

Obtritum is defended by Catullus 65, 7, and Wakefield cites confusion of the words in Livy 1, 11, 7; 3, 56, 8; 34, 5, 9. Lucretius has obrütus in 4, 926. The vowel must have been long originally, as appears from the juristic phrase *ruta caesa* where Varro, *L. L.* 9, 104, expressly says the quantity was *rūta*; the word for spade was *rūtrum* and its diminutive *rūtellum*. The use of *ruo* as transitive is archaic and poetical, but it occurs at least five times in the poem, and *L.* has some compounds of the word in exceptional and unusual meanings. It is possible that the original quantity is retained here: "whelmed by weight of earth"; cf. Livy 1, 11, 7, *accepti obrutum armis necavere*; Sen. *Ben.* 4, 6 *inmane pondus omnibus locis obrutum*.

**3, 941** *vitaque in offensost; offensu est Lambinus; offensast, Brit. Mus. MS, Brieger.*

Offensus in various cases occurs in 2, 223, 438; 4, 359; 6, 333; but there *offensus* is technical in the meaning *occursatio*, ἀντικοπή. Here it means *offensio*, *taedium*. The noun *offensum* occurs in Cic. *Inu.* 1, 92, but *offensa* was the common word. So in 1, 384 *de concursu* is the reading of the codices, although *concursum* occurs in 6, 161, 172.

**3, 954** *aufer abhinc lacrimas baratre; balatro Heinsius.*

*Barathrum* occurs in 966, *baratrum* edd., and in 6, 606. Marullus read *barde* here, and Bentley in Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 166 read *balatrone* for *barathrone*; Bockemueller even reads *barathrum* here. Lambinus quotes Thomas Magister, βάραθρος, βάραθρου ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος, and Creech from Ammonius Moschopolus, ἄνθρωπος βάραθρος ὁ ὀλέθρου ἄξιος. *Balatro* is not a common word, and we can not argue here that, as the word in common use, the unusual *baratre* should be replaced by it; moreover, the thought is not "jester," "buffoon," "harlequin," but something far more severe. Of course, *l* and *r* were easily interchangeable, but no one has suggested such a correction in *barathrum*. The character addressed in 939 is "stulte," but the grandior seniorque in this passage Nature "inclamat magis

et voce increpat acri"; the term of address to the culprit must be far beyond stulte; in 963 she "iure increpat incilatque" the offender. Bailey translates balatro by "rogue," Munro by "rascal," Watson by "wretch," Good by "vile coward"; all of them are inadequate. The person addressed is a wornout wordling, an exhausted devotee of pleasure, a man on the edge of the grave and about to go down into the pit—barathrum; "death's head" is what the poet had in mind. You have exhausted life, the poet says, and are now rotten; life has nothing more for you, you have got to go, *necesse est*, 965. And in 966, the poet, with his usual indifference to using words in different meanings, adds *nec quisquam in barathrum nec Tartara = in barathrum Tartarorum*. Our knowledge of the vocabulary of abuse in Latin does not permit us to depart lightly from the MSS. In Lucian *Pseudol.* 17, *ἀπατεῶνα γόητα ἐπίορκον ὄλεθρον κύφωνα βάραθρον*; the last word may be masculine; at any rate, the passage shows the company the word keeps.

**3, 994** *curpedine*; *cupedine* Q corr., *cuppedine* Pontanus.

In 5, 45 *cuppedinis* is read for MS *cuppedines* and it also occurs in 6, 25: 1, 1082; 4, 1090 *cuppedine*; 4, 1153 *cupidine*. The emendation *turpedine* here is an easy one and is found in some inferior MSS and early editions, but it has no probability. Is it possible that *curpedine* is a vulgar form? He has *surpere* for *surripere* in 2, 314 and metathesis of *r* is common in many words. The development may have been *cup-*, *cupp-*, *curp-*, and was doubtless influenced by other words that contain *rp*, like *turpis* and its compounds. How far we ought to go in admitting vulgarisms in Lucretius is unsettled; of one thing, however, we may be sure, and that is that few Latin authors are as chaste in style as they were thought to be forty years ago.

**3, 1044** *exortus ut acrius sol*; *aetherius* Lactantius.

Lucretius has *aetherius sol* in 5, 215, 267, and he uses the word also with *nubes*, *cavernis*, *oris*, *auras*, *ignibus*, and *nubibus*; he has *acrius* with *volucres*, *auras*, *undas*, and *partibus mundi*. The quotations of Lactantius are not always exact, as I have shown above on 2, 1102. The sun, according to one reading, is

in the heavens, and, according to the other, in the air. Wakefield says that *aerius sol* is here "qui in aera emergit ex oceano," and *aetherius sol* "qui medium caeli perequitat," but he refutes himself by *Aen.* 8, 68 *aetherii spectans orientia solis lumina*. This is a typical case where the manuscript tradition has been overruled for a much better reading, but which after all is conjectural. In other authors there is frequent confusion between *aerius* and *aetherius*, and in *Lucr.* 3, 405 Lachmann read *aerias* for *aetherias*; in 5, 501 Q has *aetherias*. Lachmann has much on this matter in his note on 3, 405.

**3, 1069** *ingratus haerit et odit; ingratis Lambinus.*

*Ingratis* occurs in 5, 44; 6, 15; but in 6, 216 *ingratus* is the reading of the codices. *Ingratis* does not occur before Lucretius. *Ingratus* is supported by *aerius* 289, and *longius* 676, 789; it has been defended by Postgate, *Journ. Phil.* 24, 138. Lucretius uses the comparatives of adverbs very seldom, and then in comparisons or implied comparisons.

**4, 101** *imaginibus missis consistere eorum; earum Marullus, rerum Lachmann.*

It is highly improbable that both 100 and 101 should close with *rerum*, and that the second *rerum* should be corrupted into *eorum*, in spite of the homoioteleuton in 3, 367-8 and 429-30 and elsewhere. *Earum* is very dubious, for the reason that Lucretius dislikes the feminine forms of the genitive plural of pronouns: *illarum* does not occur in the MSS; *earum* occurs in 3, 900 and 5, 532; *harum* is corrected to *horum* in 4, 118: cf. my note on 1, 611. *Eorum* is here a neuter that takes up *rerum*. Correspondence of *res* with a neuter is very common, as I have shown in my note on 1, 57. In 4, 43 *eorum* is the MS reading, dislodged by Lachmann's *rerum*, but should be retained—*dico igitur rerum effigias tenuisque figuras | mittier ab rebus, summo de corpore eorum; rerum . . . rebus . . . rerum* is improbable, and there also *earum* was formerly read. In 4, 64 *ab rebus mitti summo de corpore rerum, rerum* can stand. Wakefield retained *eorum* in 43 and 101; and also in 68 where most editors read *eodem* after Pontanus, others *rerum* with

Avancius. But in 64 ab rebus mitti summo de corpore rerum is the reading of the codices. In 116 eorum is corrected to eorum or quorum by Purmann and Lachmann. In 5, 154 eorum is retained by many editors. In 2, 1007 earum is the MS reading, corrected to eadem; and in 3, 412 eorum is now retained.

**4, 104** sunt igitur tenues formarum dissimilesque | effigiae;  
emended into consimilesque, illis similesque, formae rerum  
similesque, formae rerum his similesque.

Wakefield keeps the MSS except that he writes effigies. Lucretius is discussing in general the simulacra and their likeness to their originals; these simulacra may be exact reproductions or may be somewhat distorted by circumstances: cf. 59, 75; and in 98 the reflection from mirrors. Water or any bright surface would likely vary somewhat in accuracy. Again, in the conclusion of the argument, 109, the reflection gives similes figurae merely. The dissimilesque here appears to be a cautious parenthetical qualification: the effigiae are not always exact representations: they are similar, and yet unlike, for they are often distorted or slightly changed. Thus, in 2, 372 quodvis frumentum non tamen omne | quique suo genere inter se simile esse videbis | quin intercurrat quaedam distantia formis, and in 379 primordia rerum | dissimili inter se quaedam volitare figura. Wakefield thinks there is unlikeness between the simulacra that are visible and those that are separately invisible, but visible in the mass. Lachmann would not distinguish the accuracy of the reflection from the three classes of surfaces. And yet in 100 the simulacra of all of them simili specie sunt praedita rerum. There were special difficulties in the explanation of images from mirrors and of certain optical illusions that the poet discusses at length in 4, 269 sq., 324 (300), 319 (343). But I can cite no parallel in the poem for such a use of dissimilis or similis.

**4, 143** quam facili et celeri ratione gerantur; genantur Lambinus.

So below, 159 geruntur OQ, genuntur Lambinus. In 3, 433 OQ have geruntur; genuntur Lambinus, feruntur Creech. The only occurrence in the MSS of geno is geni in 3, 797. At first

sight *gerantur* seems a necessary correction, for, as Lachmann says, this paragraph states the origin of the simulacra, and 176 sq. the swiftness of their motion. But *gerantur* may be interpreted "produced"; the proposed correction of 3, 433 shows how the meaning of *fero*, *geno*, and *gero* sometimes coalesce. In 4, 1012 *faciuntque geruntque* are synonyms and in 1, 634 *concursum motus per quae (or quas) res quaeque geruntur* "by which things are carried on," that is "produced"; and in 1, 568 *fiant* and *gerantur* are coördinate. This is not strange when we remember that motion is the ultimate cause of the combination of the atoms into created things. Lucretius never uses *gignere* of the simulacra or imagines; he has it many times with *res*, and it is said of color, *lumina*, *tenebrae*; *dolor*, *morbus*, *algor*; *saecla*, *animalia*, *vir*; *plaga*, *ictus*; *aestus*, *flamma*, *imber*, *corpus*, *mens*, *voces*, *viscus*, *anima*; *luna*, *fulmen*; *sensile*, *sensus*; *concordia*; *sulpur*. Again, *gerantur* is more in harmony with *fluant* and *cedant*. But in 1, 646 *uro OQ, uno corr. Q, vero corr. O*.

**4, 270** *nam certe penitus remota videtur; semota Marullus;*  
288 *distare ab speculo tantum semota videtur.*

But in 253 is *tam procul esse magis res quaeque remota videtur*. In 813 both verbs are found: *tempore semotum fuerit longeque remotum*. *Semoveo* is the MS reading in 1, 463; 2, 19, 648; 3, 66; 5, 579; in 1, 463 it is unquestionably better than *removeo*—"apart from"; and in 2, 648 it is, on the whole, preferable; but in 2, 19; 3, 66; 5, 579 *removeo* would have done just as well. And parts of *semoveo* could replace *removeo* in 5, 350; 2, 534, 839 where alliteration almost demands the change, perhaps as well in 3, 882 and 5, 125. In 3, 69, 401; 4, 329; 5, 148, 839; 6, 853 *removeo* is demanded rather than *semoveo*. The shift of meaning from "put away" to "put aside" is a subtle one; so slight that it seems safer to stand by the MSS, especially since, so far as this particular change is concerned, our MSS offer no variants in any of the passages in which *semoveo* and *removeo* occur.

**4, 284** *continuo a nobis in eum quae fertur imago; idem*  
Munro, *iterum* Lachmann, in *id haec* Lambinus, *itidem*  
Bockemueller.

The reading of the codices is retained by Wakefield and Christ. Wakefield had a queer theory that eum could be used for id as a neuter. Lucretius has speculum 27 times and only once where the gender is certain: 4, 151 ut in primis speculum est where speculust would be an easy emendation. In 3, 974 hoc speculum, hoc is a predicate. So aevum is unquestionably masculine in 2, 561 and 3, 605; and finis, as I have attempted to show, feminine in 2, 1116; hunc caelum occurs in in 6, 483. The ordinary Greek word for mirror is *κάτοπτρον*, poetical. *κάτοπτρις*. Was there also a masculine form that influenced Lucretius? Forcellini-De Vit cites speculus from Ps. Cypr. *De Mont. Sina et Sion* 13.

**4, 324** fiet ut ante oculus fuerit qui dexter ut idem: fiet ita  
Lachmann, hic idem Marullus.

Fiet ut does not apparently occur in the poem; fiet uti in 1, 864, 919, 982, all before a word beginning with a consonant. Fit ut is very common: 2, 86; 5, 265 etc.; fit uti also; cf. 3, 119; 4, 448 etc.; ut before a vowel in 1, 897; 4, 818. etc. The MS reading should here be retained because fiet ut is regarded as one word as in 4, 944; 6, 204; 6, 727, noted by Lachmann on 6, 1007. This repetition of ut is common in Plautus: *Capt.* 248 atque ut qui fueris et qui nunc sis meminisse ut memineris; Hallidie in his note on that passage cites *Rudens* 1256, *Aul.* 791, *Bacch.* 777, *Cas.* 511, *Ps.* 580, *Trin.* 141; and *Ter. Ph.* 153.

**4, 395** solque pari ratione manere et luna videtur; videntur  
Lachmann.

Because demanded by ea in the following line; but what else could the poet write there? It is this very ea that shows videtur to be right, for with videntur there would be no need of it: ea videntur manere in statione quae res ipsa indicat ferri—motion is common to the two heavenly bodies; or ea may take up res ipsa, but that is not according to Lucretian usage, cf. 3, 225, 355; 5, 104, 108; 6, 469, 542. Lucretius, as well as every one else, knew that the sun and moon do not stop at the same time, as the colles campique in 389 fly by the moving boat, where videntur is called for; and so sidera adfixa cavernis, in

391, videntur cessare, because the heavens move altogether; and in 401 the atria and columnae appear to whirl together. A somewhat similar use occurs in 5, 1189 per caelum volvi quia nox et luna videtur, where some read sol for nox. Holtze, *Syntax. Lucr.* 148 discusses the singular and plural use; typical examples are 3, 18 apparet divum numen sedesque quietae; 4, 761 mors et terra potitast; 3, 22 semperque innubilis aether | integit et large diffuso lumine ridet, where Lachmann and most recent editors change to rident; but Giussani and Bailey Tr. are right in keeping ridet: first, because the sentence with rident is needlessly awkward; and, secondly, because there is really nothing gained by the change; for if the cloudless ether covers the abode of the gods, then necessarily if the ether smiles the dwelling place smiles too. One must not be overlogical in dealing with poetry. And in 2, 790 ex albis quoniam non alba creatur, sc. res, is perhaps right instead of the early change to creantur. In 3, 66 videtur of the MSS is now read for an earlier videntur. But there are not a few cases where such a correction is necessary; e.g., 6, 467.

4, 437 navigia aplustris factas obnitier undas; and so Boeckemüller; fractis . . . undae Lachmann; fractas . . . undas Wakefield, fractis . . . undis Marullus.

Factas is a corruption of fractas; so in 2, 1150 facta OQ, fracta, editors. In the picturesque description of the shipwreck in 2, 552 sq., when the parts of the ship are scattered abroad, he does not use frango at all, except in the compound naufragia, but in 6, 695 frangit fluctus, 6, 142 sunt etiam fluctus per nubila, qui quasi murmur | dant in frangendo graviter; quod item fit in altis | fluminibus magnoque mari, cum frangitur aestus. Lucretian usage there prevents taking fractas with aplustris, and the aplustria were not broken anyway; they were only bent—refracta 440, reflexa 442. Aplustris is explained in 438 as supra rorem salis edita pars remorum and gubernae; the word therefore must not be pressed, but stands generally for the upper parts of the vessel that are reflected in the water. This leads to taking, with Wakefield, aplustris with clauda. Lucretius does not use clauda elsewhere, but the metaphor appears from 6, 834



claudicat extemplo pinnarum nisus inanis. There remains *fractas obnitier undas*. The ships are presumably anchored in the stream, in portu (Prop. 2, 25, 24 cum saepe in portu fracta carina natet), and they tug against the current, undas, which breaks against the bow of the ship as she lies at anchor and is rent apart by the obstacle; cf. *vertice torto* 1, 293. In 440 *quae demersa liquorem obeunt refracta videntur*, *liquorem* corresponds to *undis* and *obeunt* to *obnitier*; he could not write *liquores* nor does he use *undae* in the singular. He has the plural several times of river water: 1, 421 in *rapidas amnis despeximus undas*; 6, 717, 1173; 1, 288, 1031; and also when he describes the eddying and movement of water: 1, 374 *quo possint cedentes confluere undae*, cf. 380; 3, 494 *ventorum validis fervescunt viribus undae*. For the participle, 5, 1005 *ridentibus undis* may be compared. Quintilian 9, 4, 7 has *inter obstantia saxa fractis aquis ac reluctantibus*. I would translate "But to those who know not the sea, ships in the harbor seem to press against the severed waters, maimed in their upper works." Propertius 4, 6, 26 *radiis picta tremebat aqua*.

4, 440 *quae demersa liquore obeunt; liquorem* Lachmann.

Winand, *Vocab. Lat. quae ad mortem spectant historia* (Marburg, 1906), p. 67, defends *liquore*, comparing 4, 432 in *undis sol fit uti videatur obire*. Lucretius is the first to use *obire* of the setting of stars, and is also first to use *obire* as the equivalent of *mori*; here the word is used absolutely: *obire vi praepositionis amissa in notionem occidere*, Winand says.

4, 472 *qui capite ipse suo in statuit vestigia sese; sua* Lachmann, because he will not have elision of an iambus (cf. 741) and because *sua* distinguishes the man's footsteps from those of some other person.

The reading of the codices means *qui ipse sese statuit suo capite in vestigia*, but Munro and Bailey translate as if the reading had been *qui ipse sese statuit suo capite in sua vestigia*. Now the poet has omitted to use the adjective pronoun in one place when it is really needed in two; what else can we do here than to follow the codices? *Suo* is far more expressive than

sua if the poor wretch puts his own foolish head where his feet should be.

**4, 479** neque sensu posse refelli; sensus Marullus.

The MS reading means neque notitiam veri sensu posse refelli, which amounts to neque vera sensu posse refelli; and in 482 the poet says quid maiore fide porro quam sensus haberi debet; the senses cannot refute the truth, for the truth is known only through the senses; the emendation means that the senses cannot be gainsaid. The singular of sensus usually means "sensation" (2, 932; 3, 101), the plural "senses." 5, 124 notitiam potius praebere ut posse putentur quid sit vitali motu sensuque remotum. Even Epicurus *Fr.* 36 says *πᾶσα γὰρ αἴσθησις ἀλογός ἐστι*. One sense cannot refute another: 4, 496 non possint alios alii convincere sensus, cf. sensibus 478; and in 416 sq. he argues in detail that this is impossible. The conception of truth comes from the senses, 478; these are true, 484-5; and no refutation is possible of one sense by another, nor of the vera ratio by a sensation whether true or false, 483. The MS reading should be kept as the expression of a general statement: the conception of truth comes from the senses and refutation through sensation is impossible.

**4, 486** an poterit oculos aures reprehendere an aures | tactus; poterunt Marullus.

Is aures nominative or accusative? Arguet in 487 and confutabunt in 488 point to the nominative, but how can poterit then stand? Why was poterit written with such an apparent call for a plural? Poterint was read by the Verona and Venice editors and occurs elsewhere, but the form is denied by the later editors and therefore poterit must be retained, even with a harsh construction. Lucretius means "or will it be possible that the ears should convict the eyes or will touch be able to convict the ears?" This suggests the possibility that poterit should be taken with tactus, the expanded text being an <poterunt> oculos aures reprehendere, an auris poterit <reprehendere> tactus. Poterunt could never have been corrupted into poterit here. Lucretius is very free in his use of the sing-

ular: 4, 1091 *nam cibus atque umor membris adsumitur intus | quae quoniam certas possunt obsidere partis | hoc facile expletur laticum frugumque cupido.* There are many harsh constructions in the poem; one that is undisputed is found in 2, 406 *omnia postremo bona sensibus et mala tactu.*

**4, 490**

*ideoque necessest*

*et quod molle sit et gelidum fervensve videri*

*et seorsum varios rerum sentire colores*

*et quaecumque coloribus sint coniuncta necessest.*

For *videri* and *necessest* editors with Bentley and Lachmann substitute *seorsum* and *videre*. There seems to be an inherent improbability in *videri* being written for *seorsum*; paleographically there is not the slightest support for such a change and it was probably suggested by the spurious verse *quod molle aut durum est gelidum fervensve seorsum*, an invention of Lambinus. It is barely possible that *necesse est* in 493 was repeated from 490, but those words are repeated elsewhere: 3, 798-806, 204-216-235-241, 962-965. Wakefield keeps the MS reading and explains *ideoque necessest*, *et quid molle sit*, *et gelidum*, *fervensque*, *videri*: i.e., *ita, ut est videri*; *molle*, *gelidum*, *vel fervens*. But *videri* here retains something of a mistaken etymological origin, as if it were related to *dividere*, *divisibilis*, and which it shares also with *cerno*, *cribrum*; it means here “distinguish,” a notion of separation that Bentley would express more plainly by *seorsum*; *divisast* has preceded in 490. So in 1, 1065 *illi cum videant solem nos sidera noctis | cernere et alternis nobiscum tempora caeli | dividere*; 4, 89 *nec singillatim possunt secreta videri*; 2, 473 *est ratio discernendi sorsumque videndi*; 4, 245 *efficit ut videamus et internoscere curat.*

**4, 567** *obsignans formam verbis clarumque sonorem; verbi*

Lachmann “*quia praecesserat verbum*” 563.

There is in this discussion a strange mixture of singular and plural: 547 *voces*, 549 *verborum*, 554 *vox*, *verba*, 558 *verba*, 559 *vocem*, 561 *verborum*, 562 *vox*, 563 *verbum*, 565 *voces*, *vox*, 568 *vocum*, 571 *verbi*, 574 *verborum*, 576 *voce*, 577 *voces*, 579 *verba*; and this confusion is aided by *pars* 568, 570, and the theory of

the division of sound when heard by several people at once. Creech's paraphrase is *vox igitur una subito in multas dispergitur, quoniam in singulas aures se dividit, verba etiam defert figurata et liquido sonantia*. In 556 *servat enim formaturam servatque figuram <verborum>* from 554; and the *vox una* of 565 is not necessarily one word, as is apparent from 553 sq. *unde una profecta perveniat vox quaeque, necessest verba, etc.*, and 558-9 *confundi verba . . . et conturbari vocem*; and again, *verborum* 574 corresponds to *voce* in 576. This is another case where Lachmann is a greater precisian than Lucretius himself.

**4, 579** *verba repulsantes iterabant dicta referri; docta Lachmann.*

But the echoes are natural and the hills are not instructed as the river was in Horace *A. P.* 68. The sense is plainly *colles, collibus ipsi verba repulsantes, iterabant verba*; but he uses *dicta* instead of *verba*, just as in 4, 461 *et reddere dicta tacentes*; it is the spoken word that is echoed: *reddere voces* 577. Then the words are returned by the echo—*referri*, the word that is used of the reflection of the simulacra 346. The only difficulty is in the syntax—*iterabant dicta referri*, and Lachmann objects to *iterabant referri*. The hills repeated the words to be echoed back, an unexampled use of the infinitive of purpose, something like *dedit ire* 3, 1030 and the more common *vitare petentes* 3, 86. Other unusual combinations are *corripere instant* 4, 998, *properant suppeditare* 5, 297, *facere reparcent* 1, 667. Giussani would have *dicta referri* equivalent to "echo," object of *iterabant*, like 5, 1186 *perflugium sibi habebant omnia divis tradere*.

**4, 615** *hoc qui sentimus sucum; nec Marullus.*

Lucretius continues *lingua atque palatum plusculum habent in se rationis plus operaeve*, and then takes 56 lines to discuss the question. Many think there is a considerable lacuna after 633; certainly a sufficient justification for *plusculum rationis*. *Hoc* is merely a connecting word as in 622, 658; 2, 125, and *id* in 4, 1274; 1, 655. *Quod* is more commonly used and *nunc* or *hic* or *quod superest* might have been written here just as well.

- 4, 638** est itaque ut serpens; aliquae Lachmann, and there are many other attempts.

The MS reading is retained by Wakefield and Everett, but Lachmann objects to ut = ubi. This is a case of Lucretian pleonasm: est ut is common enough and itaque is like ita uti in 1, 479, 539; itaque here being equivalent to et ita, and est itaque ut merely a tautological expression for sic "thus."

- 4, 712** rapidi contra constare leones; rabidi Wakefield; cf. Hor. *A. P.* 393 where also there is doubt, as well as in Catull. 63, 85, 93, Lucan 6, 337, Prop. 3, 19, 10, and Ov. *Am.* 3, 12, 22.

Below in 5, 892 the MSS have rapidis canibus where rabidis is usually read. Rapidi may mean "fierce" as in Virg. *G.* 4, 425. Rabidi does not occur in O and Q, while rapidus occurs nine times, usually in the meaning "swift." Mr. Bailey translates the word thrice by "tearing," thrice by "swift," by "rapid," "racing," and "hurrying" each once. There is not the slightest reason for the supposition that these lions are mad or abnormally enraged; in such a state they surely would not continuo meminere fugai, 713, for their anger would make them blind to all dangers. To modern thought the transition from "roaring" to "raging," "furious," "mad" is an easy one, but it is not antique. Pliny calls the lion merely "saevum animal." The ravening wild beast is brought to a stop by the sight of the cock: Ov. *H.* 10, 96 rapidis praeda cibusque feris; there as usual the MSS vary and Heinsius gives many other examples, closing, however, with the statement "rapidae tamen ferae pro rapacibus dictae videntur."

- 4, 752** nunc igitur docui quoniam me forte leonum | cernere per simulacra; leones Marullus, leonem Lachmann.

Wakefield retained leonum, supplying leones. Munro and Giussani keep the order docui quoniam. In the preceding paragraph the poet has shown that vision, both of mind and eye, comes through simulacra (724, 729), hence one never sees the object itself but simulacra of it; through these simulacra the mind perceives the object, and the observer ordinarily is said to

see it; but here Lucretius is expressing himself with great caution. The simulacra are the cause of vision of the departed, 760, and the dreamer sees bodies in action, 769, 788; the whole paragraph concerns the sight of these idols. Therefore the observer does not see a lion but merely the idols of a lion or lions. An object must be supplied for cernere in 803 et quia tenvia sunt, nisi quae contendit, acute cernere non potis est animus, and in 810 nec sine eo fieri posse ut cernamus acute; cf. also 915. A genitive with simulacra occurs in 724, 733, 881, 1061, and must always be either expressed or implied. Leonum naturally comes at the end of the verse for the sake of emphasis.

**4, 755** per simulacra leonum cetera qui videt aequae; so Wakefield; leonem et Lachmann; et Marullus.

If leonum be retained in 752, it must also be kept here, but then the verse would have no principal caesura. It is therefore necessary to supply a word, which is more likely to have been ut than et: 6, 754 Graium ut, 5, 850 primum ut, 3, 621 membrorum ut; 3, 347 ut fell out after discidium. The entire passage may be translated "now then, since I have shown that I perceive through images of lions—images that excite the eyes, you may know that in like manner the mind is affected by images of lions, just as equally it sees other things no less than the eyes, except for the fact that it perceives finer things." Cetera is used as in 1, 456; 2, 104; 4, 509. Here, as often, we must let Lucretius express himself in his own way. The *De Rerum Natura* that is the joint work of Lucretius, Marullus, Lambinus, Lachmann, Munro, Brieger, and Giussani may suit modern taste better than the incomplete and often rude poem written by Lucretius alone.

**4, 1022** exterruntur et ex somno quasi mentibu' capti; exterruntur, externantur, experguntur have been read; exterruntur was retained by the Verona and Venice 1495 and by Wakefield.

This is another case of variation between the second and third conjugations, as in 1, 71; 2, 27; 3, 824; cf. above on 1, 71. There are traces in the glosses of a terro for terreo (*CGL*. 7, 343).

**4, 1222** a stirpe; ab Lachmann.

As elsewhere, a before s has good authority; cf. my note on 2, 1135.

**4, 1244** crassius hic porro quoniam concretius aequo; hoc Marullus, his Lachmann.

Wakefield retained the MS reading. His <aliis> porro is very subtle, but is as unusual as hic porro; I know of no Lucretian parallel for either, but as all occur separately it is better to make no change. Cf. hic tum in 5, 432 and hic in 3, 992, 1023; 6, 140.

**5, 34** arboris amplexum stirpes; stirpem Marullus.

If Lucan in 9, 364 could say robora complexus of the same serpent, why can not Lucretius write stirpes here? Pius has stipites. Cic. *N. D.* 2, 83 stirpes amplexa alat, 26 stirpibus infixas. Lucretius does not use the singular of radix, the frequent synonym of stirps, which in the singular he has only metaphorically in 1, 733; 4, 1222: the singular of ramus he does not use nor of virgultum, and he has only truncos (1, 353) in reference to a tree. Even herba he has but once in the singular—5, 816 herba cubile, but many times in the plural, and arbor, like arbusta, is preferably plural.

**5, 116** mare sidera lunam | corpore divino debere aeterna meare; manere Marullus, meare Wakefield.

In 1, 128; 5, 76, 774 solis lunaeque meatus, but manent aeterna 3, 806, aeternum tempus manere 1, 582, aeterna manere 2, 907. It is highly improbable that manere should have been corrupted into meare, notwithstanding its appropriateness here. Elsewhere in a similar catalogue 2, 1084 caelum . . . terram et solem lunam mare . . . non esse unica. The destruction of maria terras caelumque is predicted in 5, 92, but that prediction contrasts the eternity and destruction of the heavenly objects and does not bear on the verb used. Here again we must allow the poet to use his own strong metaphors, "to go their eternal courses."

**5, 175** an credo in tenebris vita ac maerore iacebat; at Lachmann, who also places the verse after 169; Lambinus placed 174 after 176, Giussani kept the MS order.

Lachmann denies the Latinity of an credo in spite of Sulpicius *Cic. Fam.* 4, 5, 3 an illius vicem credo doles. The connection of the thought here calls for an, not at, as the poet is giving a series of questions; hence Bruno's change of an to haud is not to be accepted. Whether credo should be replaced by crepera (Bockemueller and Munro), or caeca (Bergk), or by something else is a question; but I prefer to wait for further support of an credo. The course of the argument is the following:

156 the gods did not make the world for the sake of men, for

165 what profit could gods receive from men?

168 what new thing could affect them?

173 what desire for novelty could appeal to them?

174 what evil would there be if there were no human life?

175 did (human) life lie in darkness until the world was made (presumably by the gods)?

177 but existence is necessary for happiness and non-existence cannot harm;

181 where did the gods get the conception of man and the world unless from nature?

187 the world made itself (and therefore it was not made by the gods).

**5, 191** quaecumque inter se possint congressa creare; possent Lachmann, to agree with 426.

Possint is retained by Langen and rightly, for Lucretius often makes slight variations: cf. 1, 880; 6, 767, 853: 1, 950; 4, 25: 3, 784; 5, 127: 1, 283; 5, 946: 2, 1016; 1, 821: 1, 674, 757: 2, 164; 4, 208: 5, 1315; 2, 632: 1, 739; 5, 112. Also 2, 1062 fierent, 5, 430 fiunt; 5, 520 ignes, 6, 200 ignis; 4, 170 rearis, 6, 251 reamur; 1, 674 vigescat, 1, 757 vigescere.

**5, 396** ignis enim superavit et ambens multa perussit; superat et lambens Lachmann; lambens Q corr.

Ellis, *Journ. Phil.* 15, 10, keeps ambens; there have been many other conjectural emendations. Lambens is an interpre-



tative gloss to ambens, for which the early editors read ambiens. Ambens is another ancient and rare form from ambedo, like ambest in Paul. Fest. The word, in the form ambesa, is used of fire in *Aen.* 5, 752. Lachmann says "neque ambens pro ambedens grammatica sana," but that begs the question.

**5, 429** tandem convenient ea quae conventa repente; convecta  
Lachmann.

This verse is very like 2, 1061, where he has coniecta, and there Lachmann also read convecta. There is no doubt about a passive use of convenio, e.g., Livy, 30, 43, 7 quibus conventis; and the words conventus, conventum also support the use: 1, 611 conventu conciliata. He would hardly have used conventa here if it were not for his habit of repetition: 2, 63 gignant genitasque resolvant, 300 gigni gignentur eadem; 1, 667 parte reparcent; 3, 969 cecidere cadentque; 6, 355 quae facile insinuantur et insinuata repente.

**5, 491** densabant procul a terris fulgentia templa; densebant,  
Lambinus.

Lucretius has densendo, denseri, denserier, condenseat; and forms of densare occur in other authors, often with MS variants. There is no other occurrence of densabant or densebant known; so nebant, lavebant, tonebant do not occur, and it is not safe in such a dubious matter to depart from the MS reading; hence densabant should be retained. Why the Romans preferred sometimes to conjugate a verb differently in different tenses we do not know, but such was the fact.

**5, 560** quis potis est nisi vis animae; quid Faber, animi Lachmann.

Here we should expect quid, to agree with modern idiom, but quis is both masculine and feminine and may stand. Vis seems to demand a neuter, but Lucretius may have felt it as a feminine, or even masculine if animi be read. In 3, 354 quid sit enim corpus sentire quis adferet umquam, Brieger would read quid. Moreover, quis could be taken with a supplied vis: 1, 222 donec vis obiit quae res diverberet ictu; 3, 636 si subito medium celeri praeciderit ictu | vis aliqua ut sorsum partem

secernat; 5, 654 cursum convertere cogit | vis eadem, supra quae terras pertulit orbem; 5, 1152 circumretit enim vis atque iniuria quemque | atque unde exortast ad eum plerumque revertit; 6, 71 non quo violari summa deum vis | possit ut ex ira poenas petere imbibat acris. *Animae* should be retained with Brieger. Lucretius is careless in distinguishing between *animus* and *anima*: thus in 557 *animai*, 560 *animae*, 563 *animi* occur. The principle is given in 3, 421 sq.

**5, 589** alteram utram in partem filum quo longius absit; absint Lachmann.

Lambinus suggests that *absit* may have *filum* ("size," "body") for its subject, but *absit* may be impersonal,—“the farther the distance may be”: 4, 255 *quale sit ut videamus et una quam procul absit*.

**5, 705** luna potest solis radiis percussa nitere; percussa Flor. 31.

Lucretius uses *perculus*, *percutio*, *percello*, and often the verbs are so nearly synonymous that either one may be used. So in 5, 1223, *percussi membra*, the old vulgate and *perculsi*. Such being the case, the MSS should be followed here. In 1, 13 Lambinus suggested *percussae* for *perculsae*.

**5, 761** quae faciunt ignis interstingui atque periri; perire Marullus.

In 3, 438 is *diffundi multoque perire*; 2, 275 *ire rapique*, yet it is barely possible that here *periri* is right and is due to *interstingui*: 3, 1010 *quod tamen expleri nulla ratione potestur*; 1, 1045 *suppleri summa queatur*; 6, 595 *tremere atque movere*. This may be a case of poetic audacity: Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 20 *nos consuetudine prohibemur; poeta ius suum tenuit et dixit audacius*.

**5, 839** androgynem; androgynum Marullus.

There are two Greek words, one in  $-\eta\varsigma$  and the other in  $-\sigma$ ; the former would make its accusative in  $-\eta\nu$ , of which the Latin would be *-en*, *-em*, *-an*, or *-am*, of all of which Lachmann gives examples from proper nouns. Lucretius had no fixed rule: thus he has *homoeomerian* 1, 830, *harmoniam* 3, 100,

magneta 6, 908, Curetas 2, 629, presteras 6, 424, crateres (nom. pl.) 6, 701. The verse is so extraordinary in expression, meaning, language, and rhythm that the probability of the correctness of androgynem is great.

**5, 844** nec vitare malum nec sumere quod volet usus; foret  
Lambinus.

Foret usus occurs in 1, 184; 4, 831, 841. Wakefield cites Hor. *A. P.* 71 si volet usus. Lucr. 6, 9 flagitat usus; 1, 1080; 2, 237 natura petit; 4, 870 quae loca cumque poscunt umorem. L is written for i in 2, 414; 5, 790; I know of no occurrence in the Lucretian MSS of v for f.

**5, 852** semina qua possis membris manare remissis; remissa  
Lachmann.

Lambinus and Munro keep remissis. I now think remissis correct as referring to a physiological fact attested by writers on primitive marriage, e.g., Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, and suggested by Lucr. 4, 1114.

**5, 885** ubera mammaram in somnis laetantia quaeret; lactantia  
Marullus.

Defended by Ov. *M.* 7, 321 and many other passages; at least a brilliant conjecture and for that reason to be examined closely. Virg. *G.* 3, 310 laeta magis pressis manabunt plurima mammis; *ibid.* 317 gravido ubere. Lucretius uses laetus, laetor frequently. It seems strange that so obvious a correction as lactantia did not occur to the copyists. But acris occurs for aeris in 3, 456, an unmetrical blunder.

**5, 925** et genus humanum; at Lachmann.

This historical sketch begins at 783 and the successive stages follow in the poet's description, introduced by multaue 837, 855, sed neque 878, nec 998, inde 1011, at 1028, inque 1105 etc. In subordinate parts of the paragraphs adversative particles occur: at 818, sed 826, at 864, 871, 945, sed 975, 1025, at 1036, etc. The chances are that he intended to continue with et rather than at in 925. In the argumentative part of the poem at occurs several times when beginning paragraphs, e.g., 2, 167:

et 3, 31, 396, 548; 4, 762, 1209; atque 4, 26. He has been discussing natural history and now turns to human history. At and et are both good, and the MSS alone can decide.

**5, 934** nec scibat ferro mollerier arva; molirier Brix., mollirier  
O corr.

Molirier is supported by Virg. *G.* 1, 494. Mollirier occurs in Ter. *Ph.* 632, and in Ov. *M.* 6, 220 duraque mollierant subiectas ungula glebas; Cic. *N. D.* 2, 130 mollitosque agros; Lucr. 5, 780 mollia terrae arva; 5, 142 putribus in glebis terrarum; 5, 926 tellus dura; Varro *R. R.* 1, 20, 2 molliorem terram. Molirier must be regarded as a deponent and mollio-mollior may be compared with the active and deponent forms of opino, cuncto, frustra, imito, lamento, modero, odoro, pigro, revento and verso. Lucretius has forms in -ier of verto, moderor, cunctor, and imitor.

**5, 944** pabula dira tulit; dura Naugerius.

Lachmann says dira is absurd, because "pabula neque graviter olentia neque necantia neque ex humana carne petita." Lucretius elsewhere does not call food dura; lubido is dira in 4, 1046, cupido in 1090. Pabula laeta he has frequently and dira is the opposite of laeta. Dira is a very strong word, but Lucretius is not idealizing early conditions: wretchedness and discomfort prevailed; genus humanum was durius 926; men lived "more ferarum" 932; their food was savage 937 sq. 965; cooking was unknown 953; they were squalid 956; they had no shelter 971. Dirus and durus approximate in meaning to saevus, and this accounts for the variation in Hor. *C.* 2, 12, 2, and dura could have replaced dira in Ov. *Tr.* 3, 3, 5 dira regione.

**5, 989** dulcia linquebant lamentis lumina vitae; labentis  
Muretus.

Bailey and Brieger retain lamentis in the sense "with lamentation." Livy 25, 38, 8 non lamentis lacrimisque tanquam extinctos prosequi. There is no good parallel for the ablative in Lucretius: 1, 41 aequo animo; 1, 273 rapido percurrens turbine; 1, 288 dat sonitu magno; 5, 271 fluit agmine dulci. Tac. *H.*

5, 15 *cantu aut clamore*; Sall. *C.* 1 *vitam silentio transeant*; cf. other examples in Roby *L. G.* 1236. *Lucret.* 6, 1248 is dubious: *lacrimis lassi luctuque redibant*, but *lassus* is used alone in 4, 957. If *lamentis* can stand syntactically, there can be no objection to it.

**5, 1020** *nec laedere nec violare*; *violari* Lachmann.

5, 1155 *qui violat factis communia foedera pacis*, and for the two verbs 4, 505 *et violare fidem primam et convellere tota fundamenta*; 2, 436 *laedit aut iuvat*, 429 *titillare quam laedere*; 3, 149 *laeditur laetitiaque viget*. There is nothing in Lucretius' account that defends *violari* in spite of Epicurus' (*DL.* 10, 150) *βλάπτειν ἢ βλάπτεσθαι*. On the other hand, he likes to group synonymous verbs: 5, 952 *scatere atque erumpere*, 961 *valere et vivere*. Again, if the poet had been conscious of Epicurus' maxim, which is a statement of *δικαιοσύνη* and not germane to his description, he would have written something like *finitimi nec se violari nec violare*.

**5, 1035** *illis iratus petit atque infessus inurget*; *infestus* Q<sup>1</sup>.

*Infestus* occurs in ten other places with no MS variation, and in 2, 521 *infessa* also occurs where *infesta* is generally read. *Infestus* is supposed to be a participial formation, *in-festus* from *fendo* (rejected, however, by Walde), and in seven places in the poem it is a pure attributive adjective; but in 5, 983 and 1124, and possibly in 2, 1143, it is a predicate adjective and approximates to a participle; in 2, 521 and here where the spelling is *infess-* it might have been replaced by a participle; perhaps *infestus* of Brix. points to such a theory. But it is more probable that *infessus* stands for *infensus* here, and so Avancius read; it is a synonym of *iratus* and this is the only place in the poem where *infestus* is grouped with another adjective. Drak. on Livy 2, 46, 7 gives many examples of MS variation between *infensus* and *infestus*.

**5, 1058** *pro vario sensu varias res voce notaret*; *varia* Bentley.

*Varias res* is Lucretian: 1, 829 *variae res*, 816 *variis varias res rebus*; 2, 62 *res varias*; 4, 737 *variis rebus*; but also *varias voces* 4, 221, *voce variasque* 5, 1060, *varias voces* 1088. Yet

the shift of meaning is very slight: thus in 1, 298 *varios rerum odores*, *variarum rerum odores* would be a slight change, and similarly in 5, 1087 *varii sensus animalia*, *varia sensus animalia*, of course unmetrical changes in both passages; but 4, 1223 *varia producit sorte figuras*. Lucretius is so fond of hypallage with the adjective that we are not justified in departing from the MSS. As Wakefield says, "eodem redit sive quis res varias voce significet an varia voce res."

**5, 1067** at *catulos*; et Lachmann.

The previous line begins with *et*, but Lucretius has no objection to a repeated *et* at the beginning of the verse: 2, 299-300, 504-505, 986-987; nor, on the other hand, is there any objection to *et-at*: 3, 191-192, 200-201, 299-300, 401-402, 639-640. In 1, 1087-1090 there is the sequence *at-et-atque-et*. The choice here between *at* and *et* is a mere matter of punctuation; with a semicolon after *complent* at the end of 1066, *et* may follow introducing the second part of the sentence; but with a period, *at* begins a new sentence and points the contrast between the hostile and friendly voices of the dogs. As a rule in Lucretius where *et* begins two verses in succession, the sentences or clauses are closely knit together, and there is no one of the thirteen cases where *et* so repeated begins a new sentence. The sequence here is like that in 3, 401-402, 639-640.

**5, 1076** *et fremitum patulis sub naribus edit ad arma; ubi*  
Lachmann, *ibi* Brieger.

*Sub* is retained by Bailey and it seems defensible by Virg. *G.* 3, 85 *volvit sub naribus ignem*. The Lucretian sentence falls into two, not three, parts, as *inter equas* 1074 corresponds to *alias* 1077 and illustrates the general principle expressed in 1061 of *gaudia* on the one hand and *metus* and *dolor* on the other. *Sub* is used as in 4, 543 *cum tuba depresso graviter sub murmure mugit*. But it is noteworthy that nowhere in the poem does *sub* follow a word ending in *s*, while *ubi* or *ibi* does so at least eight times (1, 171, 156, 250; 3, 798; 6, 175, 277; 3, 28; 6, 175). There is no other passage in the poem where *sub* has been changed to *ubi* or *ibi*.

**5, 1085** corvorumque gregis; greges O corr.

It is now well established that the ending *-is* is permissible in the nominative plural: so *animantis*, *exstantis*, *montis*, *parentis*, *imbris*, *partis*, *visentis*, *vitalis*, *plangentis*, *duplicis*, *aventis*, *plorantis*, *omnis*, *pascentis* are read by modern editors where the archetype shows that orthography. But where the *Oblongus* has *-is* it should be restored, thus *volucris* 1, 2; 1034 *labentis*, 5, 1315 *quantientis*, 6, 471 *vestis*, 4, 1255 *uxoris*, 6, 671 *tempestatis*, 833 *volantis* and here in 5, 1085. And it is highly probable that the archaic forms reported by Lachmann on 1, 805 from Q and the *Schedae*, and the quotations by Nonius are correct: 3, 598 *omnis*, 4, 413 *gentis*, 1, 495 *retinentis*, 305 *vestis*, 6, 782 *gravis*, 160 *nubis*, 4, 952 *poplitis*, 494 *odoris*, 3, 1017 *carnificis*; see Neue-Wagener *Formenlehre* 1, 381.

**5, 1096** ut ramosa tamen; et Marullus.

Lucretius nowhere else has *ut tamen* in a like connection. Still the *ut* may stand as a variant from the common *cum tamen*; or it may be merely an adverb of manner; or possibly still, it is a survival of the rare locative use, found in 6, 550 where see Munro's note: "where disregarding the hypothesis of lightning" etc. or "as on the other hand the fire is forced out." Munro's translation "without this" expresses the force of *tamen* in any case. See his note on 5, 1177.

**5, 1099** emicat interdum flammai fervidus ardor; et micat Marullus.

*Emicat* occurs in 2, 195 and 4, 1050 and in the same metrical position; *micat* 3, 289, *micant* 5, 514, *micantibus* 5, 1204—all within the verse and later than the first foot. *Emicat* was retained by Lambinus. No connective is needed here any more than in 3, 478 sq., where seven verbs follow with no conjunction. A good parallel is 1, 347 *in saxis ac speluncis permanat aquarum | liquidus umor et uberibus flent omnia guttis: | dissipat in corpus sese cibus omne animantum: | crescunt arbusta et fetus in tempore fundunt | . . . inter saepta meant voces et clausa domorum | transvolitant, rigidum permanat frigus ad ossa.*

**5, 1152** circumretit enim ius atque iniuriam quemque; vis  
Brix. Iniuria O corr., a necessary change.

Lucretius nowhere else has *ius* in the nominative singular, but he has nowhere else *vis*, nom., in the abstract sense of violence, although it is one of his commonest words. *Violentia* he has twice, and *vis violenta* also twice: 3, 296 of lions and 5, 964 of man—*violenta viri vis atque inpensa libido*. In 5, 1144 *iuraque constituere*, and in 1147 *men fell sub leges artaque iura*; in 1150 they became weary of living *vi*, by force, and indeed the word is not infrequent in the accusative, *per vim*, and in the ablative in this meaning which is aided by the case. In 1155 a peaceful life can not be had by him *qui violat factis communia foedera pacis*. *Ius atque iniuria* together make up the object of the *communia foedera*, and the citizen must answer at all times either by *ius* or by *iniuria* for his conduct; the two words together imply the supremacy of law. *Circumretit* contains the metaphor, trite among the ancients, of the law as a mesh or web; in this net all citizens are caught both good and bad, for to the law they subject themselves for the common good. *Circumretit vis* without *iniuria* is impossible; *circumretit ius*, with or without *iniuria* is natural.

**5, 1214** et taciti motus hunc possint ferre laborem; solliciti  
Bentley; et tanti Avancius; Wakefield and Bockemueller  
retain et taciti.

Silence is characteristic of the night: 4, 460 *severa silentia noctis* (*montis OQ*). 582 *noctivago strepitu . . . taciturna silentia rumpi*. The quiet and silence of heaven is a commonplace. The meaning of the text is "how long the ramparts of the world and its silent motion may be able to endure toil." Lucretius has nowhere a qualifying genitive with *labore* expressing the weariness of doing something. Although the word occurs twenty-one times, he has a dependent genitive but once to denote the person who experiences the toil, never the cause of it: thus 2, 2 *alterius spectare laborem*. Four times he has an adjective pronoun: 1, 213; 2, 1160 *nostro*; 2, 730 *meo*; 5, 869 *suo*. The source of the toil he expresses once by *in eo* 3, 999 and once by *inde* 5, 1152. More often he uses the word without



reference, as in 5, 1272 *nec poterat pariter durum sufferre laborem*; cf. 1, 141; 2, 12, 1163, 1165; 3, 62, 366, 419, 460; 4, 958, 1121; 5, 213, 1359; 6, 1243. *Solliciti motus* as a genitive qualifying *laborem* is then scarcely Lucretian. *Motus* is so important in the Epicurean system that Lucretius almost personifies it: 4, 655 *motus reposeunt*; 2, 970 *motus novitate laborant*; 3, 1040 *motus languescere*; 2, 569 *nec superare queunt motus*; 4, 863 *quae sunt exercita motu*. If he can say *motus laborare*, he can say also *motus ferre laborem*.

5, 1225 *poenarum grave sit solvendi tempus adauctum*; *adauctum* Marullus, *adultum* Lachmann, *adductum* *quidam* *apud* Havercamp. *Dentis adactus* 5, 1330, *adauctum* OQ.

*Tempus adultum* may be said after the analogy of *aetas adulta* 4, 1038; *tempus adaugescere* is an unexampled expression, and Wakefield's *adauctum* for *ad maturitatem* seems impossible. If *adauctum* be retained, the meaning is "lest the fullness of the hour of paying the penalty should come." Lucretius has *adaugescit* once, in 2, 296 *adaugescit quidquam*; *adauctu* 2, 1122 *nam quaecumque vides hilaro grandescere adauctu paulatimque gradus aetatis scandere adultae*; *crescere adaucta* 2, 564; *convenere adaucta* 6, 508; *adaugmen* 6, 614. In all these places there is suggestion of progress to a definite completion, and all of them are unusual phrases. We should expect to find the word and its associates strangely used. The metaphor is a legal one and reminds one of the phrase *dies solvendae pecuniae, usurarum, venit* of the date of enforcing payment of an obligation. The jurists said *annus cedere incipit, dies incipit cedere, tempus cedit*, and this goes on until *dies venit*; the obligation begins to run until finally it is due. This growth in the obligation may be in the poet's mind: the *admissum foede* will surely call for its penalty, and the progress toward the date of final payment may be poetically expressed by *adauctum*—which is itself a juristic word (D. 40, 4, 57); in plain prose the thought could be expressed "ne tempus maturum solvendae poenae venerit." There is much evidence in the poem of Lucretius' legal knowledge.

**5, 1254** a radicibus; ab Marullus: 1, 352 ab radicibus and repeatedly ab rebus; cf. Hertz *Praep.* 1.

Woltjer, *Archiv* 11, 250 notes that O in 6, 921 has a rebus. Excluding the Greek words absinthium and habrotonum, Lucretius begins the verse with a caelo 1, 788, a terris 4, 417, but ab dubiis followed by ab se 4, 468, ab luitur 4, 876, absterrere 4, 1064, absterrent 4, 1234, abstrahit 3, 260, and these are the only cases where words beginning with ab or abs stand first.

**5, 1273** nam fuit in pretio; tum Lachmann, iam Bockemueller.

Lachmann says nam is impossible "quod causam indicat pro effectu." Here nam is an asseverative particle in the meaning "surely" or "certainly" as in 1, 10; 5, 793, 868, 916, 1140, 1145, 1412. In this social epic the poet's style is different from that of any other part of the poem, and nowhere else does he use so many particles of transition. He has nam, causal, in the sense "because" or "the reason is that" in 5, 1043, 1250, 1291, 1330, and in the elliptical use "I say this, for" in 857, 884, 1204. The word generally introduces a confirmation or illustration or explanation, or reason, but the clause introduced may have only a vague reference to the general subject, not containing a logical cause for what immediately precedes. The contrast of then and now—tum and nunc—occurs several times in this part, and the conjecture is very attractive; Lucretius would have done well to have written it. There is no trace of a variant in any manuscript and I know of no example of the corruption of tu- to na- in O and Q. No commentator before Lachmann suspected nam, and the reason is plain: like our English "for" the word is sometimes a colorless particle.

**5, 1325** et terram minitante mente ruebant; fronte Lachmann.

Minitante mente is an adverbial expression like sagaci mente 1, 1022, mente vigente 1, 925, pacata mente 5, 1203. The Romanic languages inherited the idiom. Before Lachmann no one questioned the reading, and neither he nor anyone else has given any argument in support of the conjecture except Munro in his citation of Ovid *Am.* 3, 13, 15 vituli nondum metuenda fronte minaces; but Lucretius did not write metuenda, a met-

rical equivalent of *minitante*. Of course it is the face of the bull that is dreaded, for that implies horns and hooves also; here it is not merely threatened evil but the tearing up of the earth that was actually done by the bulls with hoof and not with forehead. In the lines preceding they tossed and trampled and gored, and in 1325 they plowed up the earth (*ruebant*) menacingly, which is indicated just as well by *minitante mente* as by *fronte*. Animals have *mens*: 3, 299 *cervorum frigida mens est*. In Ovid the steers, *vituli not tauri*, are mentioned with pigs, heifers, rams, and kids as the *annua pompa* of a sacrifice, and the passage does not support the proposed change in the least degree. This is one of the best examples of Lachmann's influence. One thinks of a bull as *minitante fronte*, but *mente* is the more difficult reading.

5, 1400 *tum caput atque humeros plexis redimire coronis |  
floribus et foliis lascivia laeta movebat; monebat Ma-  
rullus.*

*Membra moventes* occurs in the next line. *Moneo* does not occur in the poem, but the construction is good Latin, although generally later than Lucretius. Instead of *moneo* he uses *doceo* 1143, 1303, 1383, 1453, or *perdoceo* 1438, or *monstro* 1106. If *movebat* is to be retained, the syntax is like 5, 945 at *sedare sitim fluvii fontesque vocabant*, or 5, 1015 *ignis enim curavit ut alia corpora . . . possent*, or 5, 1028 at *varios linguae sonitus natura subegit*. But I am unable to bring any example of such a construction with *moveo*, and the only justification for it would be the occurrence of *moventes* in the following line and the alliteration and assonance of the sentence. The nearest parallel is Livy 23, 31, 11 *maxime ut hoc ferretur moverat quod . . .*

5, 1442 *tum mare velivolis florebat; iam Lachmann.*

It is not probable that *iam* should follow on the *iam* of 1440 with still another *iam* in 1443; he repeats other particles but not *iam*, *iamiam* 3, 894 excepted. In 2, 431-2; 6, 8-10 the particle is not used in anaphora and there are two sentences. The *tum* is here a mere connective particle as in 1397 sq. He

has iam tum close together in 5, 1026, 1037, 1169; tum . . . . iam 1, 157, 599-601; 4, 1166; 6, 1155-6; iam . . . . tum 1, 315-16; 3, 598-600.

**6, 28** qua possemus ad id recta contendere cursu; recto Lactantius, O corr.

For Lucretian usage the following passages are important: 4, 93 nec recta viarum ostia sunt qua contendant exire coortae; 3, 6 quid enim contendat hirundo cyenis, aut quidnam tremulis facere artubus haedi consimile in cursu possint; 2, 11 contendere nobilitate; 4, 1272 eicit enim sulcum recta regione viaque; 2, 249 sed nil omnino <recta> regione viai; 4, 609 at simulacra viis directis omnia tendunt; 4, 514 normaue si fallax rectis regionibus exit; 2, 197 nam quo magis ursimus alte directa. Recto contendere cursu is plainly not in his manner; the two ablatives are of different character, for one might run on the wrong road. To be sure, he uses recta without a noun, but viam and tramite occur in the previous line and qua takes up via; Epicurus showed the way by which, straightforward along the upward path (so Postgate, *Flaws*, etc., 14), in running we could strain on towards the highest good. Cursus occurs many times in the poem and six times without a modifying word; the adjectives used with it are longo, perennis, medio, varios, quingentos. In Livy 26, 43, 8 occurs rectus in Africam cursus est which is a supplement by a humanist; I know of no other example of rectus cursus. Recta via is found in Plaut. *As.* 54, Ter. *ITT.* 706, *And.* 600; recta alone *Phor.* 859, *Ad.* 433; Quint. 10, 1, 29 and frequently. And Cic. *Fin.* 1, 57 o praeclaram beate vivendi . . . et directam viam. The change to recta is just the change that a careless scribe would make.

**6, 129** tum perterrierepo sonitu dat missa fragorem; scissa Bernays. fissa Lachmann.

Fissa occurs only in 4, 680 fissa ferarum ungula; scissa does not occur at all in L., but he has other parts of scindo with reference to the simulacra 4, 149, 153, and to odor fumus vapor 4, 93; he uses the word also of the rending of the soul. Ellis in *Journ. Phil.* 2, 220 retains missa with the earlier editors. The

best argument for some change is Epicurus' *ρήξεις νεφών*; Lambinus interpreted "procella emissa edit fragorem." The subject of dat is not expressed; it may be procella as Lambinus thought or perhaps nubes: Lucretius was indifferent or he would have supplied a nominative. It makes little difference whether the cloud or the wind makes the crash which is compared to the explosion of a little bladder; there *displosa* does not necessitate *scissa* because the bladder has not a procella inside of it; *displosa* represents the force outside; it will not make a noise until it is exploded, but the cloud makes a noise by the action of the procella within it making its way out: *missa* and *displosa* are not parallel. But in the next paragraph, 132, he considers the theory of the tearing apart of the clouds—137 *fit quoque ut interdum validi vis incita venti perseindat nubem*. That is his way, *pedetemptim progrediens*, one thing at a time. The participle, whether it be *missa* or *scissa* or *fissa*, must be a word that is applicable to both procella and nubes, and the only one of the three is *missa*, in the sense "let go." This meaning of the word is very common: 6, 300, 310 *venti vis missa* cf. 320; 515 *nubila mittunt umorem pluvium*, and particularly 293 *tantus discidio nubis ventique procella mittitur*.

6, 131 *saepe ita dat parvum sonitum displosa repente*; *saepe det haut* Lachmann, *pariter* Marullus, *magnam* Voss, Wakefield, *noenu ita dat* Bernays, and there are many others.

The question at issue is whether the exploding little bladder makes a little or a big noise! One would suppose that a big bladder would make a big noise and a little one a little one. Here we are warned that the bladder is little because *parva* is expressly stated; Lucretius might have said simply that a bursting bladder makes a noise, or that either an ordinary or a large bladder makes a big noise or that a little one makes a little noise, i.e., thunder on a small scale; the last is what he said and what we should not say; and therefore we object to his saying it. He uses many adjectives with *sonitus*—*gravis*, *magnus*, *perterricrepus*, *ingens*, *terribilis*, *terrificus*, *fragilis*; and the *cyeni canor* is *parvus* in 4, 182; *parvus* otherwise he

uses with great freedom and with such words as *fons*, *tempus*, *humor*, *signum*, *nubes*. So Ovid has *parvus of sonus*, *Pont.* 3, 3, 10. Yet in Isidorus' time the bladder *quamvis parva magnum tamen sonitum emisit*. Seneca *N. Q.* 2, 27 discusses thunder: the first kind is the grave murmur made by *clauso vento*; the second is *fragor qualem audiri solemus cum super caput alicuius dirupta vesica est: talia eduntur tonitrua cum conglobata dissolvitur nubes et eum quo distenta fuerat spiritum emisit*—which again supports *missa* in 129.

**6, 296** *incidit in valida maturo culmine nubem; gravidam Bentley, validam Juntine, calidam Bernays; fulmine Marullus.*

The correct reading is *calidam . . . culmine*, and so Ellis. It is impossible that *fulmine*, which has occurred so frequently, should have been extruded by *culmine*, a word that occurs nowhere else in the poem; it is here a synonym of *vertex* 298; with *fulmine* in 296, *quem patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen*, 298, is gratuitous. *Culmen* and *vertex* share many meanings and Lucretius is using technical language here. On the other hand Bentley read *culmina* for *fulmina* in *Manil.* 2, 892 and in Lucretius *fientur* stands for *cientur* in 6, 520. But when Seneca in the *Naturales Quaestiones* uses such strange words as *pogoniae*, *cyparissiae*, *trabes*, *pithiae* in relation to meteorological phenomena, we should be slow to change such a word as *culmen* here.

**6, 324** *at celeri ferme perecurrunt fulmina lapsu; et Marullus.*

This verse is so dubious—Brieger and Giussani regard it as a dittography of 323—that it should be retained until some final disposition of the line be decided on.

**6, 365** *quorum utrumque opus est fabricanda ad fulmina nobis; nubi Lachmann who would not have Lucretius a Cyclops.*

*Nobis*, however, may mean "in our opinion"; *nobis* has to be supplied in 374 *freta sunt haec anni nomenclatura*, and *nos* must be supplied with *perspicere* and *videre* in 380, cf. 139. In the sixth book Memmius is not mentioned whose name turns up so unexpectedly in other books, just as *nobis* does here; cf.

5, 164, 1282. Very likely if the poet had revised the sixth book we should find Memmi here instead of nobis. There are traces of an address to some one in 73 sq. but in 80 he says *quam quidem ut a nobis ratio verissima longe reiciat*, and after 96 he does not seem to address anybody other than the reader, 113, and then rarely: e.g., 168 *videas*, 169 *cernas*; but 170 *cernimus*, 171 *accipimus*, 189 *contemplator*, 191 *videbis*, 187 *ne tibi sit frudi quod nos inferne videmus*, 194 *poteris*, 245 *te*, 251 *reamur*, 262 *nostrum caput*, 298 *vocitamus*, 314 *caedimus* (L. was then a stonecutter?), 335 *adde*, 407 *possimus*, 409 *queamus*, 411 *possis*, 477 *videmus*, 536 *percipe*, *rearis*. *Nobis* itself is general as in 3, 129; see my note there. For the position at the end of the verse, cf. 3, 9, 321; 5, 543, 872. Lambinus preferred to interpret as in 4, 1268 *nec molles opu' sunt motus uxoribus hilum*.

6, 428 *fervescunt graviter spirantibus lacita flabris; incita*  
Flor. 31.

*Incita* is a gloss on *lacita*, an obsolete word, mentioned by Festus and read by Lambinus in 4, 1146, 1206. So in 5, 1068 *lactant* (MS) is also the correct reading.

6, 429 *et quaecumque in eo tum sint deprensa tumultu | navigia*  
*in summum veniunt vexata periculum; sunt Antonius*  
*Marius, veniant Lachmann.*

“Should any ships be then caught in that turmoil, they are harried and come into great danger.” Of course a new sentence begins with 429. F. Schroeter, *Conditionalsaetze* 18, gives as examples of the present indicative followed by the perfect subjunctive 1, 410 and 4, 557; the use of the indicative in both clauses is far more frequent (*ibid.*, 7). Draeger *Synt.* II 619 cites Cic. *1 Cat.* 31 *si aquam gelidam biberint primo relevari videntur*.

6, 447 *turbinis inmanem vim provomit atque procellat; procellae*  
Flor. 31.

*Procellat* “which Wakefield absurdly retains” (Munro) does not occur anywhere else but is no stranger than Milton’s verb

“tempests”; it was read in the first three editions. Lucretius has only *procella*, *procellas* and *procellis* of *procella*, but *procellae* is supported by Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 22, 2 *videamus quanto procellae viribus ruant, quanto vertantur impetu turbines*; and he has the genitive singular at least twice. If there is such a verb as *procellare*, it is related to *procella* as *cenare* to *cena*, *bullare* to *bullae*, *comare* to *coma*, *lacrimare* to *lacrima*; cf. the list in Roby I 955. Watson translates “it vomits forth and tempests abroad the impetuous fury of a whirlwind.” In our MSS I can find no example of *t* for *e*; here *procellat* may be due to *provomit*, itself *ἀπαξ*. He likes to use strange words together.

**6, 452** *hoc super in caeli spatio; supero* Lachmann.

In 2, 602 *aeris in spatio* occurs without *supero* or any other similar adjective, and he has *ex supero* several times with no noun. *Superna* (edd. *superne*) in *statione* is found in 6, 192, *superum lumen* 6, 856; *super*, *supera*, *insuper* also occur and Bockemueller read *insuper* here and suggested *hic super*; Lambinus proposed *supera*. Before Lachmann *hoc super* was the vulgate, which Creech explained as “quod supra nostrum caput”; cf. 1, 65. *Superne* is used in the same way in 6, 491, 544, 597; 1, 1105. But *hoc* is doubtful. Why should he all at once particularize the space of heaven? Was there some other sky besides? For several hundred lines he has been referring to meteorological phenomena with only a general reference to the sky, and now “this” expanse of sky is mentioned that can be defended only by 450 *prospectu maris in magno caeloque patenti*, which includes the sea as well, and 483 *hunc caelum* that few are bold enough to read. *Hoc* has nothing to do with *caeli spatio*. The paragraph is exceptional in having no connection, or a very slight one, with the one that precedes; in this it is like 712 and 848. *Hoc super* may be explained in two ways: it either means *super* “above,” or it is adverbial in the sense “as well”; cf. 1, 649; the former suits the sense better, the latter the syntax.



**6, 454** *exiguus tamen inter se compressa teneri; compressa*  
Lambinus.

Lucretius has numerous examples of *premo* and its compounds, and of *prehendo*, and yet there is no example of such a corruption with these words, and I can find no example of the corruption of *ns* into *ss* in other words. *Tenere* is used with *oppressum* in 4, 763 and there is the sequence 5, 484 *cogebant* 486 *condensa coiret* 487 *expressus* 489 *volabant* etc. In 6, 478 *expressa feruntur . . . sufficiunt nubis* occurs and as *haec faciunt* comes here in 455 so in 6, 181 *expressa repente semina quae faciunt*. The difference in meaning is on the one hand "although they be but intertwined . . . yet press together and cling to one another" and "yet catch and cling to one another." The difficulty in the voice of the participle is no greater with one reading than with the other. The change from *compressa* to *comprendunt* in 456 is no greater than from *teneri* to *congregantur*. The emendation is a brilliant one but *compressa* need not be changed. There is no probability of *compressa* standing for *compressa*; cf. above on 5, 1035.

**6, 600** *idque suis confusa velit complere ruinis; adque* Lachmann, *imque* Lambinus.

Wakefield retained *id* as "id quod hiatu fecerit"; Ellis, *Journ. Phil.* 2, 213 as "the void." I suggested in my commentary that *id* might go with *hiatum* taken as a neuter, but I now think *id* is used as in 4, 1274 *idque sua causa consuerunt causa moveri*; and 1, 655 *id quoque*. Creech paraphrased by *illum* which should be supplied in thought, but *idque* means "and so." It occurs in 5, 1434 and 6, 1237 with general reference, and with specific reference in 3, 145 and 4, 1048. There is no good parallel in our MSS for such a corruption of *a* to *i*. For the free use of a neuter pronoun cf. above 4, 615.

**6, 624** *verrentes aequora venti; ponti Nice., ventis* Lachmann.

Ellis keeps *venti*; 5, 266 and 388 *verrentes aequora venti*. The repetition is to our taste "absurda et sine pondere" as Lachmann says, but the poet is very fond of repetitions, especially of favorite phrases. It is not strange that six lines later

he has repeated *venti nubila portant* from 4, 443, and 635-638 from 5, 269-272; this sixth book is remarkable for echoes of phrases that occurred in the earlier books. Probably if the book had been revised the poet would have made some change—perhaps *validi* for the first *venti*—but in his first draft he repeated the phrase from 5, 266.

**6, 846** *fit scilicet in coeundo; ut Lambinus.*

Wakefield kept *in*. With *coitque* 845, *coeundo* 846, *exprimat* 847 cf. *coibant* 5, 450, *coibant* 452, *expressere* 453; *cogebant* 5, 484, *coiret* 486, *expressus* 487. In *coeundo* is most natural here, but whether *ut* can be omitted is a question. It is omitted in O and Q in 3, 254 and 6, 116 where it is generally supplied by editors, and in 6, 231 item of the MSS is now read—*curat . . . diffugiant*; in 6, 406 *vult caveamus*. In 4, 668 OQ have *fit prius . . . convenient*, where editors rightly supply *ut* in one way or another. I am inclined to keep “*in*” here, although I should hesitate to do so in the passage in Book 4, by reason of the haste and incompleteness of the sixth book. It is easier to supply *ut* paleographically in all other places where it is omitted than it would be here.

**6, 870** *calido miscente vapore; gliscente Wakefield.*

*Gliscere* occurs four times with no MS variation and *ignis gliscens* 1, 474. I can find no example of the corruption of *gl* into *m*. Creech paraphrased *miscente* by *penetrante*. In the Epicurean physics it is not strange that the rarefaction of the earth should be made by ‘mixing’ heat with it. Heat is material: 2, 153 *corpuscula vaporis meant*; 6, 841 *arescit (rarescit edd.) quia terra calore et semina si quae vaporis habet*. This heat streams off sometimes: 4, 90 *odor fumus vapor e rebus abundant*; it is “mixed” 3, 232 *aura mixta vapore . . . nec calor est quisquam cui non sit mixtus et aer*; 6, 371 *et calor extremis primo cum frigore mixtus*. The thing with which another is mixed is often omitted: 4, 224; 5, 442, 1290. Watson translated “as his active heat mingles with it.” Again, *glisco* is a word of degree; he never uses *vapor* or *calor* or *ignis* with *cresco* or *augeo*, and only once *ignis* with *glisco*—the fire of

love spread in the heart of Paris 1, 471; furor iurgia gaudia gliscunt but not material objects. In our passage there was no heat to increase because it all left the night before: 865 penitus frigescit terra coitque, 867 exprimat in fontem quae semina cumque habet ignis; and in 871 it is the primordia ignis that return because at first the rarefaction admits the entrance of small particles only.

**6, 899** semina habent ignis stuppae taedaeque tenentes; tepentis Lachmann, latentis Bernays.

Lambinus compares 1, 1069 amplexi habent, but the line is mutilated. Habent tenentes means "have in possession"; tenentes here corresponds to ἔχοντες and so Faber took it; the poet has fallen into a Grecism, probably carried over from his Greek authority, whoever he was. One should be slow in removing Grecisms from this sixth book. Tenet should also be retained in 862 and tenenda in 83.

**6, 908** quam Magneta vocant patrio de nomine Grai; quem Q corr., quae Q.

Quam is right because the magnet was ἡ λίθος Μαγνήτης; the line with the one following is parenthetical. Cf. 3, 100; 6, 424.

**6, 1007** in vacuum prolapsa cadunt coniuncta fit utqui; ut quae Marullus, utque Naugerius.

Utqui has been restored by Munro in 1, 755; 2, 17; 3, 738, and is probable here. Therefore there is the alternative of retaining qui or of supplying a connective. The use of fit uti in 1033, 1028 looks toward the omission of the que here. The missing particle may be supplied by a semicolon after coniuncta, as in 6, 1248, 217, 292, 720, 771, 826.

**6, 1012** quo minus est mirum quod dicitur ex elementis; quo ducitur Lachmann, quod ducitur Bernays, [ex elementis] Bernays.

The phenomenon is due to the streaming of the particles from the iron ring into the vacuum made by the magnet. He has stated the principle involved and has mentioned the atoms several times: semina 1003, primordia 1006, elementa 1009, and

now he concludes "therefore it is the less strange, considering what is declared concerning the particles, if bodies in large numbers springing from the iron can not pass into the void without the ring following; it does do it, etc." The difficulty has arisen on account of *ex* which is used *metri gratia* for *de* as in 6, 476-7; 1, 283, where see my note.

**6, 1059** at partim; et Lachmann.

Because elsewhere *et* is used with *partim*, but *partim* also occurs several times without any conjunction. It can be retained as pointing the contrast between *pondere* and *raro corpore*: "some because they are heavy, but others because rare." In 5, 650-651 there is the sequence at . . . aut, and in 5, 680-682 -que . . . aut, so slight is the difference. See above on 5, 1067.

**6, 1064** *inpellant ut eum Magnesia flumina saxa; eo Q, eam Marullus; Magnesi Lambinus; flumine Flor. 31; saxi Lambinus.*

*Flumine* is more likely to be correct on account of *fluctu* 1053.

**6, 1069** *glutine materies taurino iungitur una; uno Lachmann; una was retained by Lambinus.*

In 1068 *saxa colescere sola calce*, mortar is the only thing that makes stones grow together into one (lead would show the joint); 1074 the purple is incorporated into the wool—*iungitur uno corpore*; 1078 there is only one thing that "copulates" gold with gold—*chrysocola*; in 1079 tin joins brass to brass, but he does not say that it is the only thing, nor does he say in 1069 that glue is the only thing by which "*materies iungitur*." Is there no way of fastening wood except by glue? and only by glue from bulls? Fish glue was used as much as bull's glue (*Bluemner Techn.* 1, 287), and in modern times resin mixed with wax or plaster, or thickened oil is used as an adhesive for wood, materials possessed by the Romans. *Una* means 'together' here, and *iungitur una* stands for *coniungitur*; the *cum* appears in the other examples—*colescere, iungitur cum corpore, copulat*; it is implied in *misceri* and expressed again in *coplata* 1088.

6, 1109 usque ad nigra virum percocto saecla calore; colore  
Lachmann on account of 722 nigra virum percocto saecla  
colore.

In both passages percoctaque saecla calore was read by Lambinus. It is possible that here there is a case of hypallage, percocto standing for percocta to be taken logically with saecla and syntactically with calore: "and so right on to the black races of men parched with heat." Whether or no colore is the correct reading in both places or in the former only, percocto colore is an unexampled phrase—"thoroughly baked color." Other cases of extraordinary hypallage have been mentioned above.

6, 1264 multa siti prostrata viam per proque voluta | corpora  
silanos ad aquarum strata tacebant; protracta Lachmann,  
iacebant Veronensis.

As Thucydides has *ἔκειντο*, at first sight iacebant seems necessary, but that is expressed by strata. Tacebant is most expressive in indicating the silence of death, and there is nothing in the entire paragraph 1252-1275 to break the silence. Note 1254 languebat, iacebant, 1268 languida; not until the closing words 1276-1286 is there any implication of sound, and the climax of it comes only in 1282 sq. in the description of the horror of the survivors: 1284 ingenti clamore locabant, 1286 rixantes. Again, corpora iacebant we can understand, but why corpora protracta? It was not the bodies that were dragged out by thirst but the persons who animated them. So primitive man "taciti respectabant somnoque sepulti" until the sun should rise again, 5, 974. Prostrata is suitable to express the exhaustion of thirst, and many sufferers have been found on our western deserts with plain signs of provoluta following on prostrata. Strata tacebant is an expression equivalent to tacita sternebantur, the latter a verb form that he did not care to use for obvious reasons. The translation is "many bodies were laid low by thirst and crawled along the street to the fountains of water and in silence were stretched out there." Earlier in the description, 1173 sq., where the delirium of thirst is described,

the patients, not their bodies, are the subjects of the verbs. In 1267 he mentions still living patients, with different nouns and verbs to express the thought.

**6, 1271** sordeque sepulta; sordique Lambinus.

Sordē is like tabē 1, 806 and contagē 3, 734.

*Transmitted September 16, 1910.*







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THE SEPARATION OF THE ATTRIBUTIVE  
ADJECTIVE FROM ITS SUBSTANTIVE  
IN PLAUTUS

BY  
WINTHROP L. KEEP

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PREFATORY NOTE

In June, 1909, I submitted to the Faculty of the University of California a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, entitled "The Separation of the Attributive Adjective from its Substantive in Plautus." The present essay is an abstract of this dissertation, as somewhat revised and shortened after further study and reflection.

I desire to express here my great gratitude to Professor H. W. Prescott for assisting me in selecting the subject of the dissertation, and giving his helpful advice and criticism in the early stages of the paper. Thanks are also due to Professors Merrill and Richardson for their kindly interest, and especially to Professor H. C. Nutting for his close criticism of the paper and his helpful suggestions.

W. L. KEEP.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,—March, 1911.

## INTRODUCTION

Normally in Plautus and, in fact, in all the other early Latin poets, the attributive adjective either immediately precedes or immediately follows its substantive.<sup>1</sup> A few concrete examples, taken at random, will illustrate the truth of this statement. The phrase *res divina* occurs twenty-four times in Plautus, and the two words are separated only once (E. 415); *supremus Iuppiter*, out of its ten occurrences, gives only one case of separation (Ps. 628); *erilis filius* (or *filia*) only two cases out of eighteen occurrences (B. 351 and Ci. 749). Such statistics might be quoted indefinitely.<sup>2</sup>

The present paper is a study of the comparatively infrequent instances in our author, in which, within the verse,<sup>3</sup> the attributive adjective is separated from its substantive. I have endeavored to point out, where possible, what are the probable factors that bring about such separations, but to a great extent the treatment can be only descriptive, as too often we are not in a position to assume the author's point of view, and to penetrate his motives for adopting a given word-order.

Before we proceed to consider the instances of separation in detail, a few observations of a general nature upon the subject may be helpful. Whenever an attributive adjective precedes, and is separated from its substantive by one or more words, as in

Magnásque adportavísse divitiás domum, (S. 412)

Pulmóneum edepol nímis velim vomitúm vomas. (R. 511)

<sup>1</sup> In order to get as much light as possible on Plautine usage by way of comparison, I read practically all the early Latin poetry written before 100 B.C., also the early inscriptions, and noted all the instances in these authors in which an adjective is separated from its substantive. As far as the collocation of the adjective and substantive is concerned, the usage of all these authors seems strikingly similar to that of Plautus.

<sup>2</sup> The reader is referred to two most useful books: Rassow, *De Plauti substantivis*, Leipzig, 1881, = *JHB. Supplbd.* 12 (1881, 639-732; and Helwig, *Adjectives in Plautus* (St. Petersburg, 1893) (in Russian, but containing in roman type an alphabetical list of the adjectives used by our author). By means of the alphabetical lists contained in these two works, all the occurrences in Plautus of any adjective or noun can readily be located.

<sup>3</sup> Of course I have omitted all instances of separation by the verse, as such have already been treated by Prescott, "Some Phases of the Relation of Thought to Verse in Plautus," *Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil.*, vol. 1, no. 7, 1907. This work was of great assistance to me in the preparation of the present paper.

there is always the possibility to be reckoned with that such an adjective acquires emphasis by occupying this position; on the other hand, when the adjective is separated from, and follows its substantive, it may be more or less amplifying,<sup>4</sup> as in

Nam ós columnatúm poetæ esse índaudivi bárbaro, (Ml. 211)

However, we must always be on our guard against reading too much meaning into the fact that an adjective is separated from its noun, as sometimes it is mere caprice on the poet's part whether it is separated or not, and if separated, whether it precedes or follows, as is clearly attested by the four passages below:

Nímia memoras míra. sed vidístin uxorém meam? (Am. 616)

Nímia mira mémoras: si istæc véra sunt, divínitus (Am. 1105)

Quod ómnis homines fácere oportet, dúm id modo fiát bono. (Am. 996)

Quín amet et scórtum ducat, quódl bono fiát modo. (Mr. 1022)

Metrical considerations can have nothing to do with the question here, as in many cases of separation, since the meter is the same in Am. 616 and 1105, and *bono* and *modo* are metrically interchangeable.

In this paper I have confined my discussion to ordinary attributive adjectives, leaving out of account pronominal adjectives<sup>5</sup> and cardinal numerals. I have also excluded the lyrical portions of the plays. Trivial separations, common to prose, such as those by the enclitics *-que*, *-ve*, *-ne*, and a preposition, are disregarded. The text employed is that of Goetz and Schoell.

#### I. CONSCIOUS ART-SEPARATIONS.

Certain separations of the adjective from its substantive are undoubtedly due to conscious art on the poet's part. Naturally the first of these conscious art-separations to be mentioned are those in which the adjective and its substantive occupy the opposite extremities of the same verse,<sup>6</sup> as in the following:

Mínóre nusquam béne fui dispéndio. (Mn. 485)

<sup>4</sup> Prescott, *loc. cit.*, 218.

<sup>5</sup> This phase of the subject has been treated by Nilsson, *de collocatione pron. adi. apud Plautum et Terentium*, Lunds Universitets Aarskrift, 37, 1901.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Norden, *Aeneis* Buch vi, 382 sq., for a full and interesting discussion of this collocation in Virgil and several other authors.

Cf. Am. 481, As. 311, 599, Al. 49,<sup>7</sup> B. 585, Cp. 64, Ca. 13, Ci. 587, Cu. 221, Po. 1080, S. 526.<sup>8</sup>

A slightly different type, in which another attributive adjective, also in agreement with the substantive, occurs in the interior of the verse, is represented by

*Magno átque solido múltat infortúnio:* (Mr. 21)

Cf. Am. 6, Mn. 520, Pe. 573,<sup>9</sup> 683, R. 597, E. 18, Tr. 331.

Two examples of the reverse type appear below; the first has alliteration as an attendant feature:

*Mercátor venit húc ad ludos Lémnius* (Ci. 157)

*Frustrátionem | hódie iníciam máxumam.* (Am. 875)

For other instances of this collocation with alliteration cf. Mn. 1, Po. 1125, S. 258; without alliteration, B. 198, 229, 256, Cu. 227, Mn. 240, Ps. 72, 694, 1167, R. 42, 843.

The tendency of long adjectives and nouns, metrically suitable, to stand at the verse-end<sup>10</sup> is doubtless a factor to be reckoned with in a number of the instances of separation so far discussed. (Cf. below, p. 156.)

It is a well-known fact that many Greek and Latin poets are fond of placing an attributive adjective immediately before the principal caesura or diaeresis, and its substantive at the end of the verse, or vice versa.<sup>11</sup> While Plautus does not adopt this balanced arrangement so frequently as some of the later Latin poets, still he has quite a number of instances like the following:

*Quod cúm peregrini cúbui uxore mílitis.* (B. 1009)

*Ét tibi sunt gemini ét trigemini, sí te bene habes, fílii.* (Ml. 717)

Cf. Am. 471, 863, B. 420, Cp. 105, 185,<sup>12</sup> Ci. 749, Cu. 200, 709,

<sup>7</sup> In Al. 49 the adnominal word-play *grandibo gradum*, is a factor in the situation to be noted. Cf. also R. 597.

<sup>8</sup> With S. 526 cf. Terence, *Heaut.* 539:

*Magnárum saepe id rémedium aegritúdinumst.*

<sup>9</sup> The anaphora in Pe. 571-573 should be noted.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Prescott, 206 sqq.; also 235 sqq., for remarks on adjectives of cretic measurement.

<sup>11</sup> Boldt, *de liberiore linguae graecae et latinae collocatione verborum capita selecta* (Göttingen, 1884), 79: "Tali verborum collocatione plerumque id, quod sub finem positum est, maiorem consequitur accentum, saepe autem utrumque vocabulum seiunctione emphasim quandam exercet."

<sup>12</sup> The interlocked word-order in Cp. 185 is probably intentional.

Mn. 4, 231, Mr. 398, Ml. 774, Mo. 808, Po. 362, 746, 1164, Ps. 548, 732, 893, S. 163, 214, 387, Tu. 87<sup>b</sup>, 350, 447, Frivolaria VII.

Not infrequently alliteration or adnominal word-play is a feature of this word order :

Ærogitare, méo minore quíd sit factum ffilio. (Cp. 952)

Neque tám facetis, quám tu vivis, víctibus. (Mo. 45)

Cf. Am. 475, 976, B. 351, 761, Cp. 27, Ps. 158, 628, 1232, S. 132, Tu. 892.

The reverse word-order (substantive before caesura and adjective at the end of the verse) sometimes occurs, as in

Quoi sérvitatem dí danunt lenóniam (Ps. 767)

These instances, however, I have classed under other categories of examples, as apparently the length of the adjective, or its metrical convenience, is the most important factor in producing such separations.

Next to be considered are a number of conscious art-separations due primarily to Plautus' fondness for adnominal word-play and *figura etymologica*.<sup>13</sup>

Sórdido vitam óblectabas páne in pannis ínopia : (As. 142)<sup>14</sup>

Pulmónéum edepol nímis velim vomitúm vomas. (R. 511)

Ómnium hominum exópto ut flam míserorum misérrumus. (Mn. 817)

Mále formido: nóvi ego huius móres morosí malos. (Po. 379)<sup>15</sup>

For very similar instances cf. B. 187, 490, Cp. 333, 914, Cu. 533, E. 306, Po. 991, Tu. 278. Cf. also Am. 137, 204, 605, 1116, Cp. 774, Ci. 231, Mn. 274, 447, Mr. 847, Ml. 198, 228, 309, 734, Po. 308, 759, Ps. 704, R. 100, 305, 886, S. 63, 383.

In his desire for sound-effects, Plautus apparently sometimes separates the adjective from its noun primarily to avail himself of alliterative possibilities:<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Of course other factors, such as metrical convenience, often must be taken into account.

<sup>14</sup> Many of the instances of adnominal word-play that concern us here are more fully discussed by Raebel, *de usu adnominationis apud Romanorum poetas comicos* (Halle, 1882), *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> Boldt, *op. cit.*, 93, calls attention to the elaborate interlocked order in Po. 379.

<sup>16</sup> Buchhold, *de adliterationis apud veteres Romanorum poetas usu* (Leipzig, 1883), *passim*.

Lárgitur pecúlium: omnem in térgo thensaurúm gerit. (As. 277)  
 At nunc dehinc scito illum ante omnes mínumi mortalém preti,  
 (As. 858)<sup>17</sup>  
 Líberos homínés per urbem módico magis par ést gradu  
 íre: (Po. 522)<sup>18</sup>  
 Perfídiæ laudes grátiasque habémus merito mágnas, (As. 545)

For other instances of separation largely due to alliteration cf. B. 988, Mr. 363, Ml. 778, Pe. 559, Po. 407, 968, 1245, Ps. 369, 761, R. 87, 101, 636. Of course there are numerous other cases of separation where alliteration is an attendant feature. Throughout this paper attention will be called to many such instances.

## II. SEPARATIONS LARGELY DUE TO LENGTH AND METRICAL CONVENIENCE OF THE ADJECTIVE.

Long adjectives, metrically suitable, tend to stand at the verse-end. The same is true of many adjectives of cretic measurement.<sup>19</sup> Even adjectives of iambic and pyrrhic measurement show this tendency to some extent.<sup>20</sup> Hence it is not at all strange that in a large number of instances the substantives with which these adjectives are in agreement precede the latter by one or more intervening words. It is true that in many of these cases other factors, such as sound-effects, must be taken into account. Frequently the substantive immediately precedes the principal caesura or diaeresis,<sup>21</sup> giving the balanced arrangement mentioned above (p. 155).

<sup>17</sup> By means of this word-order the alliterating syllables *mi-* and *mor-* both receive the metrical accent, which greatly heightens the pleasing effect. *Mínumi preti* (gen. sing.) occurs in seven other passages in Plautus, always without separation, and with *preti* always at the verse-end, as here. For an interesting parallel to this passage cf. Naevius, Incert. Fab. 1 (Ribbeck II, p. 25):

*Patí necesse est múlta mortalés mala.*

<sup>18</sup> The contrast between *liberos* and *modico* is heightened by the fact that one stands at the beginning of the verse, and the other immediately after the diaeresis.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Prescott, 207 and footnote 2; also 234-239.

<sup>20</sup> Below are a few statistical illustrations of the above statements; the figures after each adjective indicate respectively the number of times it occurs at the verse-end, and the total number of its occurrences: *pauperculús*, 4-5; *acerrimus*, 6-7; *paucillulus*, 6-8; *praesentarius*, 5-5; *argentus*, 7-7; *argentarius*, 18-19; *lenonius*, 9-11; *Atticus*, 10-18; *marumus*, 39-86; *aureus*, 15-27; *mutuus*, 14-26; *barbarus*, 5-7; *merus*, 12-23. Statistics for any other adjective can be found by consulting Helwig.

<sup>21</sup> Al. 525, B. 1018, Cu. 239, Mn. 6, 58, 67, 102, Mr. 811, Mo. 361, 621, 828, Pe. 512, Po. 139, 651, 705, 708, Ps. 80, 100, 424, 767, R. 70, S. 768, Tr. 216, 847, 962, Tu. 43, 697.



Let us first consider adjectives of four or more syllables in length. Alliteration is an attendant feature of the separation in Cu. 205:

Inter nos amóre utemur sémper subreptício!

Cf. also Al. 171, B. 94, Cp. 901, E. 159, Mn. 595, Mr. 193, Ml. 1177, Mo. 361, 913, Po. 705, R. 69, S. 138, Tu 697.

The following is a typical instance in which length is perhaps the only factor producing the separation:

Atque adeo, ut ne légi fraudem fáciant alcáriae, (Ml. 164)

Cf. B. 675, Cp. 775, Cu. 239, 660, Mn. 6, 102, 436, 845, Mo. 404, 621, Pe. 97, Po. 651, 708, Ps. 100, 146, 303, 424, 706, 766, 767, R. 70, 1320, S. 760, Tr. 216, Tu. 72, 880.

*Atticus* is a good representative of adjectives of cretic (and dactylic) measurement. In ten of its eighteen occurrences it stands at the end of the verse. Three times when in this position it concerns us:

Ego illam reperiam.—Hinc Athenis civis eam emit Atticus: (E. 602)

Civisne esset án peregrinus.—Civem esse aibant Atticum. (Mr. 635)

Immo Athenis nátus altusque éducatuque Átticis. (R. 741)

For similar instances of other adjectives of cretic (and dactylic) measurement in this position cf. *maximus* (Am. 782, Mn. 67, Mr. 632, 811, Ml. 75, Pe. 512, Po. 842, Ps. 897), *omnia* (Am. 948, B. 1018, Po. 704, 726, R. 639, Tr. 1168, Tu. 774, 798), *aureus* (Am. 144, 260, Cu. 439), *publicus* (Am. 524, Pe. 75, Tr. 1057), *mutuus* (Cu. 68, Ps. 80),<sup>22</sup> *proximus* (As. 776, R. 84, 561), *alterum* (Mn. 38, 58, 1088), *parvulus* (R. 39, S. 161), *optimus* (Cp. 946, Ml. 1210), *plumbeus* (Ca. 258, Tr. 962), *barbarus* (Ml. 211, Mo. 828), *pessumus* (Ps. 270, R. 40), and also Am. 280,<sup>23</sup> Al. 525, 626, Cp. 169, Ml. 1178, Pe. 571,<sup>24</sup> Po. 139, R. 574, 1010.

Four times, when standing at the end of the verse, *merus* is separated from its noun:

Eam ego, ut matre fúerat natum, vini | eduxí meri. (Am. 430)

Fáctumst illud, út ego illie vini hírneam ebiberím meri. (Am. 431)

Ne míhi | incoeta détis. Rem loquitúr meram. (Pe. 93)

Si sémel amoris póculum accepit meri. (Tu. 43)

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Prescott 234, for the suggestion that *mutuum* may have a substantial force.

<sup>23</sup> Note the alliteration in Am. 280.

<sup>24</sup> In Pe. 571 the artificial arrangement *ferreas*—*ferrea* should be noted.

For other adjectives of iambic and pyrrhic measurement in this position cf *bonus* (Am. 996, B. 1022, E. 107, Ml. 733, Tr. 28), *malus* (Mo. 531, Ps. 492, 974, Tr. 128, 446,<sup>25</sup> 847), *novus* (E. 229, Mo. 466, S. 768), *vetus* (Ci. 505, Mr. 771), *gravis* (As. 55, E. 557), also Al. 606, Mn. 908, Mr. 999, Po. 508, Tu. 797.

### III. INTERVENING WORDS OF AN ENCLITIC NATURE.

In the following section of this paper I propose to present a large number of examples in which it is probable that the enclitic nature of the intervening word accounts for the separation. Wackernagel<sup>26</sup> has shown that short enclitic words, including many pronouns, tend to occupy the second or third place in their sentence. The following lines illustrate how this tendency frequently affects the position of the adjective:

Voluptábilem mihi nuntium tuo adventu adportas Thésprio. (E. 21)  
 Cánóra hic voce suá tinnire tēperent, (F. 33)  
 Avis mé ferae consimilem faciam, ut praédicas. (Cp. 123)  
 Peiórem ego hominem mágisque vorsuté malum (Ps. 1017)  
 Dí me omnes magní minutique ét etiam patelláarii (Ci. 522)

There are a great many other passages in which an intervening pronoun or pronominal adverb occupies the second or third place in its sentence or clause.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes, by the law of pronominal attraction, two pronouns intervene, as in Ca. 584, E. 302, 669, Mn. 199. In Mn. 551 and Tr. 1030 a pronoun and *quidem* occupy this position; in Tr. 68 an elided pronoun and *ut*. The following lines are of especial interest:

Stilis me totum usque úlmeis conscribító. (Ps. 545)  
 Locúm sibi velle líberum praebérier, (Po. 177 and 657)

In the first, *totum usque* simply amplifies *me*; in the second, *sibi velle* is probably a stereotyped phrase.

Often the intervening pronominal word does not occupy the

<sup>25</sup> In Tr. 446 the chiasmic arrangement of *bonis* and *malas* should be observed.

<sup>26</sup> *Indog. Forsch.*, i, 406 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Am. 525, As. 69, Al. 324, 340, 482, B. 55, 913, 1141, Cp. 355, 859, 861, Ci. 369, 670, E. 693, Mr. 49, 141, 477, Ml. 21, 731, Mo. 371, 532, 779, Pe. 238, 292, Po. 75, 317, Ps. 69, 329, 474, 584, 590, 968, 1200, R. 303, 476, 1100, S. 259, 365, 420, Tr. 365, 453, 655, 997, Tu. 131, 285, 438, 812, Vid. 85, Frag. fab. inc. vii.

second or third place in its sentence;<sup>28</sup> sometimes, however, alliteration may explain this fact, as *probri me maxumi* (Ml. 364), *partem mihi maiorem* (Ml. 711), *undas me maioris* (R. 167).

Several forms of the verb *sum* (especially the monosyllabic forms) are undoubtedly enclitics. This fact probably accounts for the large number of instances in which these forms separate the adjective from its substantive. Below are three typical cases:

Itém genus est lenónium inter hómines meo quidem ánimo (Cu. 499)  
Magni sunt oneris: quicquid imponás, vehunt. (Mo. 782)  
Scio te bona esse vóce: ne clamá nimis. (Mo. 576)

The complete list of instances is as follows:

*Sum*: Am. 34, Al. 2, Mo. 564, Ps. 1025.

*Es* (contracted): As. 511, B. 74, Ml. 49, Mo. 176, Tu. 134.

*Es* (uncontracted): Cp. 427, Mo. 251.

*Est* (contracted):<sup>29</sup> Am. 506, 1054, Al. 235, Cp. 104, Ci. 80, 492, Cu. 15, 49, 189, E. 163, 425, 675, Mr. 378, Ml. 68, 682, Pe. 516, 547, 570, Po. 10, 1370, Ps. 791, R. 144, 1156, 1387, S. 116, 200, 524, 748, Tr. 24, Vid. 31.

*Est* (uncontracted): Am. 484, B. 120, Cu. 49, 499, Mn. 906, 1087, Ml. 665, Po. 200, Ps. 782, R. 1160, Tu. 149, 246.

*Estis*: Cu. 501.

*Sunt*: Mn. 94, Mr. 969, Mo. 782, Pe. 243, Po. 584, Ps. 268.

*Sis*: As. 726, Mr. 990, Mo. 396.

*Esse*:<sup>30</sup> Am. 1090, Ci. 660, E. 415, Mr. 966, Ml. 68, Mo. 576, Pe. 113,<sup>31</sup> Tr. 456.

Another class of enclitic words, sometimes separating the adjective from its noun, are the asseverative particles *hercle*, *edepol*, *mecastor*.<sup>32</sup> Three instances of this collocation are *Pulcra edepol dos* (E. 180), *Conceptis hercle verbis* (Ps. 1056), *Lepidus mecastor mortalis* (Tu. 949). Cf. also E. 192, 715, Pe. 193, Po. 45,

<sup>28</sup> Am. 926, B. 570, Cp. 539, Ca. 264, Ci. 778, E. 299, Ml. 751, Mo. 763, Pe. 565, Po. 895, Ps. 228, 729, R. 546, 999, 1147, 1221 Tr. 97, 1139, Tu. 35, 216. Before we leave this phase of the subject, three instances in which a pronoun and its governing preposition intervene should be mentioned: As. 918, Tr. 548, 1011.

<sup>29</sup> I have disregarded the intervening contracted form of *sum* in such instances as *unicust mihi filius* (Ca. 264).

<sup>30</sup> The infinitive *esse* frequently becomes monosyllabic by elision.

<sup>31</sup> Infinitive of *edo*.

<sup>32</sup> Wackernagel, *loc. cit.* 423 sq.

Ps. 992. In the following lines, one of these three words intervenes in combination with one other word: As. 471, B. 999, Mn. 1013,<sup>33</sup> Mr. 442, 521, 567, Mo. 657, Pe. 546, Po. 978.

Probably the adverbs *quidem*<sup>34</sup> (As. 762, Ml. 1282, R. 529), and *quoque*<sup>35</sup> (Mo. 1110, Tr. 753) owe their intervention to their enclitic nature.

#### IV. SINGLE INTERVENING WORDS.

In the next section of this paper will be presented all the instances of separation, not already discussed, in which a single word intervenes between the adjective and its noun. I shall classify these examples on a mechanical basis, according as the intervening word is a verb, noun, adverb, etc.

By far the largest class consists of instances in which some form of the verb separates the adjective from its noun. Sometimes the adjective begins the line, as in

Erlis praevortit metus: accúrro ut sciscam quid velit: (Am. 1069)

Cf. Am. 616, B. 782, 838, Mn. 1000, Ps. 17, R. 552, 764,<sup>36</sup> S. 412.

Another type is represented by

Gratésque agam eique ut Árabico fumíficem odore amoéne: (Ml. 412)

Cf. Am. 328, 785, As. 575, Al. 192, Cp. 56, Ca. 332, Ci. 6, 98, 128, E. 397, Mr. 859, Ml. 763, Pe. 313, Po. 331, 901, 1258, R. 530, 1123, S. 772, Tu. 484, 781. In Po. 964 and Tu. 136 an elided monosyllable and a verb intervene.

An exceedingly common word-order is represented by six instances in which the noun *manus*, standing at the end of the verse, is separated from its adjective by some form of the verb:

Quom Priami patriam Pérgamum divína moenitúm manu. (B. 926)

Pérque conservitiúm commune quód host'ica evenit manu. (Cp. 246)

Haéc per dexterám tuam te dèxtera retinéns manu. (Cp. 442)

Sì quisquam hanc liberáli asseruissét manu. (Cu. 668)

Lepidís tabellis, lépida conscriptis manu? (Ps. 28)<sup>37</sup>

Tám mihi quam illi libertatem hostilis eripuit manu: (Cp. 311)

<sup>33</sup> In Mn. 1013 and Mr. 442 the alliteration should be noted.

<sup>34</sup> Lane, *Latin Grammar* (1903), 93, (6).

<sup>35</sup> Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus* (Oxford, 1907), 92.

<sup>36</sup> The chiasmic arrangement of R. 764 gives a certain pathos. Cf. Tr. 446.

<sup>37</sup> For other instances in which the same adjective stands at the beginning of the verse and immediately after the caesura cf. Cp. 333, Ml. 228; also Am. 785.

Metrical convenience is perhaps here a factor to be taken into account, as *manu* (abl. sing.) in forty-nine out of a total of eighty-two occurrences, is at the verse-end, *manus* (nom. sing.) in six out of nine, and *manum* in thirty-one out of fifty. Other nouns often standing at the verse-end, and in more than one instance separated from the adjective by an intervening verb, are *modus* (Am. 119, B. 507<sup>b</sup>, Mr. 1022, R. 895),<sup>38</sup> *via* (As. 54, B. 692, Cu. 35), *fides* (As. 199, Ml. 456, Po. 439), *bonum* (Pe. 63, 74, Tr. 220), *gratia* (Ci. 7, Tr. 376, 659), *locus* (Ca. 537, R. 1185), *dies* (Pe. 115, S. 638). There are also numerous other instances of this collocation.<sup>39</sup> *Ut* and a verb intervene in Am. 490, As. 695. and Ca. 558; in Al. 630 a verb and elided monosyllable.

In the instances of separation just treated, the adjective preceded its substantive. Many examples of the reverse word order occur, however, as

Caúsiam habeas férrugineam et scútulam ob oculos láncam:

(Ml. 1178)

Cf. Am. 189, Al. 191, B. 370, 422, 513, 566,<sup>40</sup> 785, Cp. 862, 918, Mn. 232, 858, Mr. 41, Ml. 1179, Mo. 673, 1122, Po. 1026, R. 325, 753, 977, 1412, S. 209, Tr. 85, 171.

The many instances in which the adjective is at the verse-end, and is separated from its preceding substantive merely by an intervening verb, have already been discussed, chiefly in connection with separations due to the length or metrical convenience of the adjective.

The great number of cases in which a verb slips in between an adjective and its substantive would seem to indicate that such a separation was not considered a violent one. Even the early sepulchral monuments sometimes exhibit this word order:

Eheu, heu Taracei ut acerbo es deditus fato. (C.I.L., I, 1202)

Tu qui secura spatiarus mente viator (I, 1220)

Concordesque pari viximus ingenio. (*Ibidem*)

<sup>38</sup> Cf. also B. 490 (already discussed under adnominal word-play).

<sup>39</sup> Am. 190, 785, 1088, 1140, As. 34, Al. 313, 595, B. 71, 446, 590, Cp. 476, 722, 780, Ca. 6, 469, 511, Ci. 232, 701, Cu. 537, Mn. 73, 828, Ml. 547, Mo. 1141, Pe. 480, Po. 915, Ps. 312, 1228, R. 609, S. 500, Tu. 517.

<sup>40</sup> Note the alliteration in B. 566.

With the exception of limiting genitives<sup>41</sup> (As. 520, Cu. 334, Mr. 547, Po. 451, 524, R. 311, 402, 1318, 1344), and vocatives<sup>42</sup> (Mn. 506, Mr. 710, R. 1151), a noun seldom intervenes between the adjective and its substantive. The instances yet remaining to be mentioned are *de summo adulescens loco* (Al. 28), *servi facinus frugi* (Al. 587), *maxumam multo fidem* (Al. 667),<sup>43</sup> *in via petronem publica* (Cp. 821), *meliores opus auspicio* (Mn. 1149), *festivam mulier operam* (Ml. 591), *Fortuna faculam lucrifera* (Pe. 515).<sup>44</sup>

Still rarer are the instances in which an adjective intervenes:

Quod mé sollicitat plúrumis miserúm modis. (Al. 66)

Véluti Megadorús temptat me ómnibus miserúm modis: (Al. 462)<sup>45</sup>

To these examples are to be added *cum opulento pauper homine* (Al. 461),<sup>46</sup> and *advocatos meliust celeris* (Po. 568).

Intervening adverbs need not detain us long. *Quidem* and *quoque* have already been classed as enclitics (p. 160). *Vero* (Al. 285 and Mo. 15), *adeo* (As. 763 and Mo. 280), *profecto* (Ml. 1264), *usquam* (Mr. 35), *umquam* (Mn. 594), and *magis* (S. 485) need little comment. More worthy of note are *postremo* (Po. 1369), *minus* (B. 672), *inde* (Ps. 333), *hodie* (Pe. 474 and S. 459), *cito* (B. 202), *nunc* (R. 533), *semper* (Tu. 388), *palam* (Tu. 819), and *adaequest* (Cp. 999).

Conjunctions intervene as follows: *ut* (Am. 14, Mr. 112, Mo. 811, Po. 5, 15, 575),<sup>47</sup> *si* (As. 947, Cp. 202, Tu. 305), *autem* (Pe. 695), *ergo* (Po. 1051).

<sup>41</sup> A limiting genitive frequently intervenes in prose; e.g., *summa oratoris eloquentia*.

<sup>42</sup> Because of its parenthetical nature, an intervening vocative interrupts the thought only slightly.

<sup>43</sup> Note that a form of *fides* begins and ends this line.

<sup>44</sup> *Mores morosi malos* (Po. 379) has already been discussed under cases of adnominal word-play.

<sup>45</sup> Alliteration, interlocked order and metrical convenience are factors to be noted in Al. 66 and 462. For other cases of *modis* at the verse-end cf. above Am. 119, etc. (p. 161).

<sup>46</sup> Doubtless the juxtaposition of *opulento* and *pauper* is intentional.

<sup>47</sup> The word preceding the intervening *ut* always ends in an elided vowel, except in Mr. 112.

## V. MISCELLANEOUS SEPARATIONS.

There remain yet untreated a large class of examples in which the adjective, whether it precedes or follows the noun, is separated from the latter by two or more intervening words. Frequently the adjective acquires emphasis by preceding. The instances in which *bonus* assumes this position are well worth quoting:

Et uti bonis vos vóstrosque omnis núntiis  
 Me adficere voltis, (Am. 8)<sup>48</sup>  
 Hocíne boni esse officium servi existumas, (Mo. 27)  
 Bóno med esse ingénio ornatam quam aúro multo mávolo. (Po. 301)  
 Bonám dedistis míhi operam.—It ad mé lucrum. (Po. 683)  
 Bonám dedistis, ádvocati, operám míhi. (Po. 806)  
 Bonámst quod habeas grátiam meritó míhi, (R. 516)  
 Bonis ésse oportet déntibus lenám probam: (Tu. 224)

Other adjectives so situated with reference to the substantive are *omnis* (Am. 122, B. 373, Mr. 920, Ml. 662, R. 500, Tu. 876), *multus* (Am. 190,<sup>49</sup> Cp. 326, 554, Mo. 589, Po. 208, 687, R. 400, S. 87, Tr. 380), *nullus* (Am. 385, Cp. 518, Ci. 653, Mo. 409, 836, 839), *ullus* (As. 775, Po. 450), *magnus* (As. 143, Mn. 201, Ml. 228, Tu. 702), *alter* (Am. 153, B. 719), *alius* (As. 204, 236, Tr. 356, Tu. 936), *maximus* (Al. 485, Mo. 899), *verus* (Cp. 610, R. 1101), *paucus* (Cp. 1033, Ps. 972). For various other adjectives in this position cf. Al. 622, 767, B. 552, 911, Cp. 258, 897, Ca. 9, 639, Cu. 470, Mn. 167,<sup>50</sup> 802, Mr. 507, Mo. 195, 357, Pe. 780, Po. 602, Ps. 752, R. 406, Tr. 764, Tu. 767, 782. In many of the cases of separation just mentioned there are extenuating circumstances: for example, at least one of the intervening words is often an enclitic, as *Bono med esse ingenio* (Po. 301). Sometimes we have a stereotyped formula, as *Multa tibi dei dent bona* (Po. 208, 687).

There yet remain to be considered only a few cases in which

<sup>48</sup> Note that Am. 9 ends with the word *nuntiem*. Cf. Al. 621-22 for a very similar instance.

<sup>49</sup> It is possible that in Am. 190 there is a reminiscence of Homer, Iliad I, 2:

ὄλομένην, ἣ μὲρ Ἰὼν Ἀχαιοῖς δολγὴ ἔθηκεν.

<sup>50</sup> Note that in Mn. 167 and Tu. 767 the adjective and its noun stand respectively at the beginning of the verse and after the diaeresis.

the adjective is in the interior of the verse, and is separated from its preceding substantive by two or more intervening words. Very frequently an adjective in this position is decidedly amplifying, as will be seen in the following:

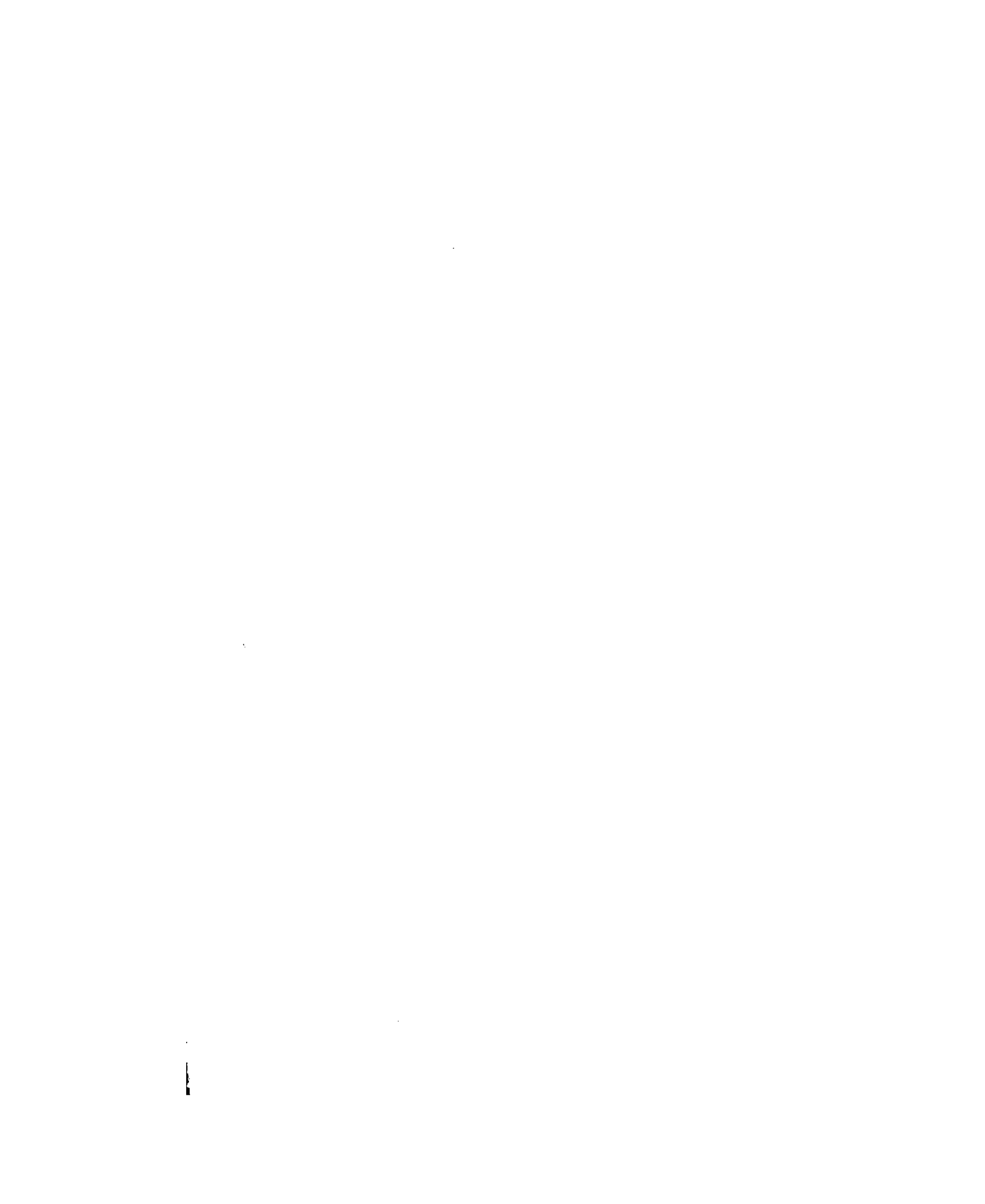
- Eos égo hodie omnis cóntruncabo duóbus solis fetibus. (B. 975)  
 Ea núnc perierunt ómnia.—Oh, Neptúne lepide, sálve: (R. 358)  
 Di illum infelícet ómnes qui post húnc diem (Po. 449)  
 Inde súm oriundus.—Dí dent tibi omnes quaé velis. (Po. 1055 )  
 Rem élocuta súm tibi omnem: séquere hac me, Selénium, (Ci. 631)  
 Réu tibi sum elocútus omnem, Chaéribule, atque ádmodum. (E. 104)  
 Et aúrum et argentúm fuit lenónis omne ibídem. (R. 396)  
 Bona súa med habiturum ómnia.—Auscultó lubens. (Tu. 400)

For other adjectives in this position cf. Am. 959, As. 50, 598, Ca. 710, Ci. 103, Mr. 139, 292, Ml. 313, Mo. 841, Pe. 35, Ps. 773, R. 352, 1109, 1133, 1281, 1421. It will be noticed that there, too, one of the intervening words is often an enclitic. Also apparently in some cases we have stereotyped phrases.

In conclusion we may say that many cases of separation are due to conscious art. Sometimes the adjective and substantive occupy the opposite extremities of the same verse; sometimes one immediately precedes the principal caesura or diaeresis, and the other is at the end of the verse. Not a few conscious art-separations are largely due to adnominal word-play and alliteration. Long adjectives and nouns, metrically convenient, many also of cretic, pyrrhic, and iambic measurement, display a very decided tendency to drift to the end of the verse. This tendency is responsible for no small number of separations. Enclitic words, especially certain pronominal words, monosyllabic forms of the verb *sum*, and a few particles, intervene very frequently. Often the separated adjective precedes because it demands emphasis; often it follows because it is amplifying. We must not lose sight of the fact that a combination of two or more of the above mentioned factors is frequently at work producing the separation. A verb seems to slip in very easily and naturally between the adjective and its noun, while except for some good reason, generally patent even to the modern reader, other single words intervene relatively infrequently.

*Transmitted April 7, 1911.*





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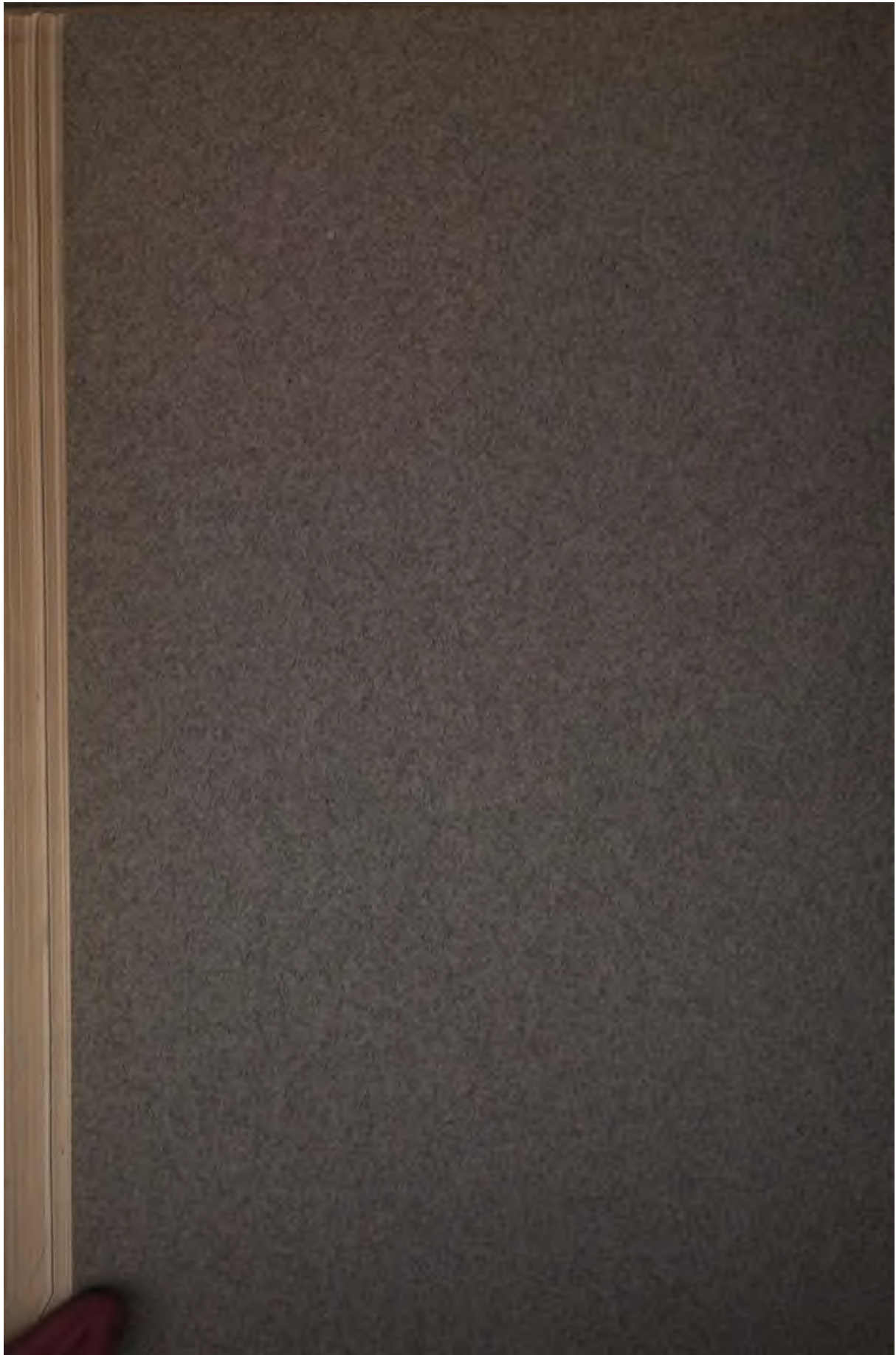
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IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Vol. 2, No. 8, pp. 165-171

October 9, 1911

THE 'OAPIETTE OF THEOCRITUS

BY

EDWARD B. CLAPP

BERKELEY  
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IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Vol. 2, No. 8, pp. 165-171

October 9, 1911

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## THE *'Oapιστίς* OF THEOCRITUS

BY

EDWARD B. CLAPP

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Theocritean scholars have been inclined to doubt the authenticity of the 27th poem in our collections, the so-called *'Oapιστίς*. It is the purpose of this brief paper to attempt to come to the rescue of the disparaged poem, or at least to show upon what an insecure foundation the judgment of those who deny its genuineness will be seen to stand.

The manuscript tradition of the text of Theocritus is an extremely uncertain one. Few of the codices, which we possess, contain all the poems which may be ascribed, even with reasonable certainty, to Theocritus, and none of these are older than the 13th century. It is moreover clear that our manuscripts, such as they are, do not offer, each, a faithful copy of a single archetype, but are rather themselves compilations from a variety of sources. To ascertain exactly what these sources were, and what poems were found in each, is a task of great difficulty,—a difficulty far beyond that of ordinary questions of manuscript genealogy. By a process of complicated and more or less hypothetical source-analysis, to be sure, Ahrens and others have attempted to show that these sources were partly good and partly bad, and that the *'Oapιστίς* was not found in the better sources.

Into these questions I cannot enter, since I have not seen the manuscripts, and am therefore unable to form an independent judgment of their origin and worth. I can only express the opinion that not enough has been actually proved to justify us.



on manuscript grounds alone, in denying the Theocritean authorship of the *Ῥαριστίς*. A doubt may reasonably be felt, but a positive rejection seems quite unwarranted.

In a matter of this kind, we shall do well to plant ourselves upon firm ground. The *Ῥαριστίς* certainly appears, and is ascribed to Theocritus, in several of the best manuscripts, and in some of the earliest printed editions. That it does not appear in all, or nearly all, need not surprise us, for we have an epigram, ascribed in the Scholia to Artemidorus, the famous grammarian of the age preceding Augustus, and included in the Palatine Anthology (9, 205), which seems to furnish a complete and satisfactory explanation of the divergence in our manuscript testimony as to the works of Theocritus. The epigram runs thus:

*Βουκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι, σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι  
ἐντὶ μᾶς μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μᾶς ἀγέλας.*

The meaning of the couplet seems to be clear. The bucolic poems, which had hitherto existed only in a scattered condition, were now brought together into a more or less complete edition by Artemidorus, into one fold and one flock. It would appear that in the generation preceding Augustus, already 200 years after the poet's death, the bucolic poems had not yet been assembled and their canon established. What wonder, then, that we find this condition of uncertainty reflected in our manuscripts? With this circumstance in mind, no significance should be attached to the fact that the *Ῥαριστίς* appears in only a few of the codices.

Before leaving the question of the ancient tradition of Theocritus, a fact of considerable significance should be mentioned. In the Florilegium of Stobaeus, 63. 19 (*περὶ Ἀφροδίτης πανδήμου*) we find cited the verse

*ἔστι καὶ ἐν κενεοῖσι φιλήμασιν ἄδεα τέρψις,*

and ascribed to Theocritus. Now this is the fourth line of the *Ῥαριστίς*, and it would seem that this undoubted quotation by Stobaeus, a scholar of great diligence and accuracy, should settle the question of the authenticity of our poem. But we are not yet free from difficulties. It happens that the same verse is

found also in Theocritus 3, 20. How are we to account for this two-fold occurrence of the same verse? Is Theocritus repeating himself, or is the verse genuine in one place and spurious in the other? If we refuse to believe that our poet is repeating himself, we are forced to attempt to decide in which poem the line is original. There can be no question that it fits perfectly in the 'Οαριστός. The rustic swain is begging for a kiss, and adds "for even in empty kisses there is sweet delight." But in the third Idyl, as well, the words seem to be quite in place, though Valckenaer took exception to them in the latter place, and declared that the verse, in 3, is interpolated from 27. In this opinion he is supported by Hermann, Meineke, Haupt, and Bücheler. But still further difficulties are introduced by the fact that Idyl 3 is strophic in structure, so that we are unable to delete a verse without finding something to take its place. Yet even here we are not without a resource. For it happens that one of the strophes in Idyl 3, in fact the next following one, contains a superfluous verse. Hence it is easy, if we are so inclined, to believe that the verse in question is genuine in the 'Οαριστός and was cited from that poem by Stobaeus; that it was interpolated into Idyl 3, and that as a result of this interpolation, the next following strophe in the latter poem contains a superfluous verse. But since Stobaeus cites elsewhere only from the regular Theocritean canon, which includes poem 3 and does not include poem 27, then still remains room for doubt.

The chief interest of this complicated and uncertain discussion lies in the fact that it illustrates how relentlessly the attack on the authenticity of the 'Οαριστός has been waged, and at the same time how insecure is the basis upon which its conclusions must rest. The broad facts remain, that the poem is found, and ascribed to Theocritus, in some of the best manuscripts, and in some of the earliest printed editions, and that it seems to be quoted as Theocritean by Stobaeus.

We pass now to the internal evidence against the genuineness of the 'Οαριστός. The argument from verse structure and language is little stronger than that from tradition. Ahrens finds, to be sure, fewer cases of the so-called bucolic diaeresis

(of sufficient importance to be emphasized by a mark of punctuation) in the *'Οαριστός* than in the other strictly bucolic poems of our author. But this difference, if it exists, is measured by very small numbers at best; while the general frequency of this pause, in our poem as compared with Homer, is still very striking. Thus we find, in the *'Οαριστός*, in 70 verses, seven cases of this pause, and in 70 consecutive verses of Idyls 10 and 11, which are unquestioned bucolic poems, there are nine cases. But in the first 70 lines of the Iliad there are but two. So that although this diaeresis may not be as frequent in the *'Οαριστός* as in many of the bucolic poems, yet the tone of its versification is still unquestionably bucolic, Ahrens to the contrary notwithstanding.

Fritzsche, in turn, lays stress upon the fact that the Daphnis of our poem is an ordinary neatherd, son of Lycidas and Nomaea, and hence an altogether different character from the mythical Daphnis of the tragic history, reputed son of Hermes, who is elsewhere celebrated in Theocritus. But the Daphnis of Idyl 6 (cf. Idyl 9) is also scarcely more than an ordinary neatherd. Why may we not believe that Theocritus himself, in poems of lighter tone, made a beginning of the more familiar use of the name of Daphnis, which was destined to become a favorite in Longus and elsewhere? Fritzsche further objects to the use of the word *μίτραν* (54) as a trochee, contrary to Theocritean usage. He apparently overlooks the fact that the word is a conjecture here. And even if it were not, the irregularity in quantity is supported by the analogous use of *κῶρα* in 51, and in Callimachus, and by similar cases in earlier writers. See G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*, p. 57. Fritzsche also calls attention to several expressions in our Idyl which suggest similar turns of expression elsewhere in Theocritus. But such resemblances prove nothing, either for or against the Theocritean authorship of the poem. Still less should any weight be attached to the occasional coincidences with Nonnus, either in language or in thought. Surely Nonnus, in the fifth century of our era, had quite as good a right to imitate Theocritus as Tennyson in the nineteenth, as has been so well pointed out by Mr. Stedman. Finally, Fritzsche doubts

the twice repeated use of the adjective "Paphian," as designating Aphrodite, since Theocritus does not elsewhere use the word. But the connection of the goddess with Paphos was known to the whole Greek world from *θ* 363. And the goddess is called ἡ Παφία, without mention of her name, as in our poem, in Bion 1, 64, in the Anthology often, in the so-called Anacreontics three or four times, as well as repeatedly in Nonnus, while in the 57th Orphic Hymn the expression Παφία κούρη is used in the same sense.

Mr. Cholmeley, the latest English editor of Theocritus, adds his opinion to the number of those who deny the genuineness of our poem. He points out a number of expressions which, in his judgment, indicate the late origin of the 'Οαριστής. Several of these have already been mentioned. But Cholmeley also cites ἴδε πῶς (45), δίδου ὄφρα (6), σείο (6), and ναὶ μάν (26) as obviously later than Theocritus. With regard to these locutions, it should be borne in mind that we possess far too little of genuine Alexandrian poetry, in the lighter vein, to warrant positive assertions on such a point. It was an age of innovation, often of conscious innovation. Any expression which appears in the Anthology, or even in Nonnus, may well have found its origin in Theocritus. The word σείο, of course, belongs to the Homeric language, and hence to the vocabulary of any Greek poet. ναὶ μάν occurs in Aratus (450), and in Nicander, ἴδε πῶς is a perfectly natural development from the ordinary use of these words. δίδου ὄφρα, if properly understood, i.e. δίδου πάλιν χεῖλεα σείο, ὄφρα φιλάσω, is good Greek of any age or style. English scholars are somewhat prone to condemn an expression which offends their nice feeling for good usage, without careful investigation of the question whether it is justified by occurrence elsewhere.

It appears, then, that the arguments against the authenticity of the 'Οαριστής are not altogether convincing in character. There remains, however, one more assertion of some general interest, as involving a principle which is of importance for the criticism of ancient literature, and may not be without its application to modern literature as well. Cholmeley says "poem 27

is condemned by the coarseness of its tone." Against this and similar judgments, it is time that someone should raise a vigorous protest.

The *'Οαριστός*, as its name indicates, is a dialogue, narrating, in speeches of a single verse each, the ardent courtship of a young neatherd addressing a rustic maiden who is a herder of goats, the coy and sensible replies of the girl, and her final yielding to his suit, with a brief epilogue,—the whole comprising but 70 verses. The dialogue is swift, sparkling and witty, the language is fitting and graceful, and the poem is in every way worthy of Theocritus at his best. Two verses, indeed, one might hesitate to read aloud, in English, in a modern drawing-room (48 and 58), and it is on these alone that Cholmeley's charge of "coarseness" must depend for support. It may, indeed, offend our sense of decorum, that wooing, consent and fruition are all included in the compass of one short interview. But we must not forget that the actors in this little drama are children of the soil, and born under the glowing sun of Sicily. Their mode of conducting courtship and marriage may indeed impress us as summary, but it need not, on that account, be judged any the less pure and dignified. That the object of the swain is honorable marriage, is apparent in almost every line. He introduces himself with mention of his father's and his mother's name (41), and tells the maiden that he has come as one of her many suitors (23). Her father will surely give his consent to her marriage, when he learns who the prospective son-in-law is (39); he promises that he will never leave her (35), that he will endow her with all his groves and pastures (33), and will build for her a suitable home and court (36f). He wishes that he could put even his very life into the scale (61), and when she dreads the cares of marriage, and the possible loss of her beauty, he reminds her that the children who are to come will prove to be a joy and blessing to their house (31). In short, every word of the charming dialogue speaks as strongly of honor and constancy as it does of ardent passion. And at last the maiden yields—who can blame her? And yet the same Theocritus, for whom this exquisite idyl is too 'coarse,'

forsooth, has elsewhere (Idyl 5) touched upon the most odious vices of Greek life, with a truly cynical frankness; and that, too, in a poem whose authorship is unquestioned. Such is literary criticism, when unassisted by a little imagination. The 'Οαριστός is not coarse, any more than Homer is coarse, or Plato is coarse. Theocritus can be coarse, when he wishes, as Mr. Cholmeley must be aware. But the English school boy may possibly be trusted to overlook the really objectionable lines in Idyl 5. And in England the needs of the schoolboy seem, perhaps happily, to be still supreme.

*July 22, 1911.*



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CORPUS TIBULLIANUM

BY

MONROE E. DEUTSCH

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NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE  
CORPUS TIBULLIANUM

BY

MONROE E. DEUTSCH

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PREFACE

The following paper was submitted to the faculty of the University of California in August, 1910, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Since that time it has been revised somewhat, but it is essentially unchanged from its original form.

I desire to acknowledge here my great indebtedness to Professor William A. Merrill, to whom I owe my instruction in the field of textual criticism.

MONROE E. DEUTSCH.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, December, 1911.

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PASSAGES DISCUSSED

- I, 2, 88.
- I, 5, 76.
- I, 6, 7.
- I, 9, 25.
- I, 10, 37.
- II, 2, 17-22.
- II, 3, 61.
- II, 4, 43.
- II, 5, 47.
- III, 6, 3.
- III, 12 (IV, 6), 19-20.
- III, 14 (IV, 8), 5-6

## I, 2, 88

Proposed reading:

at tu, qui laetus rides mala nostra, caveto  
 mox tibi: non *mi uni* saeviet usque deus.

Here AV and G unite in reading *non unus*; P, *et iratus*; and ζ, *non vanus*. None of these seems possible here; so the majority of the editors follow the early Italian scholars in reading *non uni*.<sup>1</sup> The change from *uni* to *unus* is thus explained by Belling, *Prolegomena*, p. 39, note: "Der libr. arch. schrieb *unus*, da in seiner Vorlage t das i dem Abkürzungszeichen für *us* ähnlich sah." Heyne easily accounts for it thus: "Scilicet primum s adhaeserat ex sequenti voce: tum *unis* mutatum fuisset in *unus*."

As to the interpretation of *uni*, Golbéry declares: "Sensus est: Amor non uni mihi, sed et tibi saeviet, quamvis me nunc laetus irrideas." The sense is perfectly good, but does Tibullus ever use *unus* in this way? The following are the instances of the word in the Corpus Tibullianum:

I, 6, 23 illam sequar <i>unus</i> ad aras.	III, 6, 32 <i>una</i> serena dies.*
I, 2, 9 <i>uni</i> mihi.	III, 19 (IV, 13), 5 <i>uni</i> mihi.
I, 2, 58 de me <i>uno</i> .	III, 10 (IV, 4), 19 in <i>uno</i> corpore.
	III, 7 (IV, 1), 142 <i>una</i> per ostia (Heinsius).

In other words, *unus* is never used substantively in the Corpus Tibullianum, and of the six well-authenticated instances of the word, four show it modifying some form of *ego*. Moreover, in the elegies of Tibullus himself (if we assume III, 19 to be by Tibullus), four of these six uses of *unus* occur, in all of which *unus* modifies some form of *ego*. This makes the substantive use appear improbable here.

Moreover, the substantive use of adjectives in the dative

<sup>1</sup> However, among the other suggestions are: *uni is*—Goerenz; *unis*—F. W. Richter (in vers. German, 1831); *vacuus*—Huschke; *in me*—Hiller (but Hiller reads *non unus* in *Corpus poetarum Latinorum*, 1893); *ullus*—Rabus (*Observationes in Tibulli carmina*, p. 6. Aug. Vind. 1837); *in nos*—Leo (*Philol. Unters.* 2[1881], p. 39); "caveto: mox tibi *nam durus* saeviet usque deus"—Fr. A. Rigler; "caveto: mox tibi *iam lusus* saeviet usque deus"—Kemper (*Quaest. Tibull.*, Monasterii, 1857, p. 46); *mitis*—Baehrens.

singular is rare in the Corpus Tibullianum. The following list includes all instances wherein an adjective in the dative singular stands alone, whether it is used substantively or the noun which it modifies is to be supplied from the preceding clause:<sup>2</sup>

absenti	I, 8, 53.
amanti	I, 3, 65; I, 5, 57; II, 4, 15.
anhelanti	I, 8, 37.
avarae	II, 4, 35.
fatenti	I, 6, 29.
fesso	I, 10, 42.
formosae	III, 10 (IV, 4), 4.
misero	I, 6, 2; I, 8, 23; II, 4, 4; III, 19 (IV, 13), 20.
nulli	I, 6, 77; III, 5, 7.
roganti	I, 4, 55.
securae	II, 4, 50 (dative or genitive).
sopitae	II, 6, 38.
suae	I, 4, 75; II, 5, 103.
tardo	III, 7 (IV, 1), 92.
tenero	I, 8, 51.

Of these twenty-two instances, but nineteen are in Tibullus' own elegies (even if one assumes III, 19 to be his). It will be further noted that of these nineteen, eight are participles; among the remaining eleven, comprising as they do all instances wherein the adjective in this form stands alone, we find *misero* used four times, and *suae* twice. If these were set aside from the list, but five isolated examples would remain in the elegies of Tibullus. But even if we take the whole list, exclusive of participles, the number is exceedingly small, too small to justify the introduction of the substantive use of an adjective which is never used substantively in the whole Corpus Tibullianum.

Aside from this objection to the use of *uni* alone, the usual reading would demand for *uni* the meaning of "one and the same man," a meaning not found in Tibullus.

On the other hand, as the instances of Tibullus' use of *unus* show, we should expect it to modify some form of *ego*. Moreover, the meaning of the passage demands something that is equivalent to "uni mihi" (quoting from Golbéry's note), which

<sup>2</sup> Based upon the Index Verborum in Hiller's edition.

very group of words is found twice in Tibullus. With this thought I have suggested the insertion of *mi* before *uni*; we have then exactly the phrasing that fits the sense of the passage.

It is true that the form *mi* is not found in the Corpus Tibullianum. In Propertius,<sup>3</sup> however, the shorter form is found in I, 12, 19; II, 18, 30; II, 22, 1; II, 22, 18; II, 30, 25; IV, 1, 62; IV, 8, 53; IV, 11, 47. In Catullus<sup>4</sup> the use is exceedingly frequent. Lucretius employs *mi* I, 4 and III, 105; it appears in the *Aeneid* VI, 104 and 123. That the form never appears in the Corpus Tibullianum as we now find it, is after all not strange, when one notes these figures:

	Propertius. <sup>3</sup>	Corpus Tibullianum. <sup>5</sup>
<i>me</i> (ablative)	41	11

That is, the ratio of the uses of *me* (ablative) in the Corpus Tibullianum to the uses in Propertius is 11:41. Propertius using *mi* but eight times, at this same ratio the Corpus Tibullianum would contain *mi* only twice and a fraction. In other words, *mi* should by no means be expected frequently in the Corpus.

The elision of the monosyllable which the proposed reading would introduce, has the following parallels in our text:

I, 2, 56 <i>si in.</i>	III, 6, 25, <i>qua est.</i>
I, 2, 58 <i>me uno.</i>	III, 7 (IV, 1), 75 <i>si inter-</i> <i>ructo.</i>
I, 4, 56 <i>se implicuisse.</i>	III, 7 (IV, 1), 179 <i>se accin-</i> <i>gere.</i>
I, 6, 59 <i>te adducit.</i>	III, 7 (IV, 1), 182 <i>me ad-</i> <i>versa.</i>
I, 6, 61 <i>me adfixa.</i>	III, 19 (IV, 13), 19 <i>me au-</i> <i>dacius.</i>
I, 7, 9 <i>me est (sine marte</i> <i>ibi—Baehrens).</i>	
II, 1, 69 <i>se exercuit.</i>	
II, 3, 5 <i>cum aspicerem (dum</i> <i>—Heyne).</i>	
II, 3, 61 <i>qui abducis (text</i> <i>uncertain).</i>	

Of these fourteen instances ten are in Tibullus,<sup>6</sup> one in Lygdamus, and three in the *Panegyric*; it will be further noted that, of the ten in Tibullus, seven involve personal or reflexive pronouns.

<sup>3</sup> J. S. Phillimore, *Index Verborum Propertianus*.

<sup>4</sup> Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre*, II, 349 foll.

<sup>5</sup> Index Verborum in Hiller, *Albi Tibulli Elegiae*.

<sup>6</sup> If we assume III, 19 to be by Tibullus.

The elision of the monosyllable has therefore sufficient warrant in the usage of Tibullus. It will be noted that the proposed reading, as to elision and word-order, exactly parallels *me uno*, Tib. I, 2, 58.

As *mi* is not found in the Corpus Tibullianum, for examples of elided *mi* we shall have to look elsewhere. They are frequent enough, e.g. Lucr. I, 924; Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 101; I, 2, 57; I, 3, 23; I, 4, 108; I, 9, 50; II, 6, 27; Hor. *Epist.* I, 18, 112.

That *mi* could be readily omitted in MSS (1) because elided and (2) because written in compendium, is readily apparent. For example, on Horace *Serm.* I, 9, 50 (*nil mi officit, inquam*) Orelli's apparatus criticus contains the statement:

*mi* aγRo  
*mihi* F  
omisit g(Codex Gothanus, B 61).

Again, Ennius in Cic. *de Oratore* III, 58, 218 reads:<sup>7</sup> *Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mi exanimato expectorat.* The MSS read thus: "*mihi* L, *mi* l<sup>2</sup>, om. M." It is of interest that in both of these instances *mi* suffers elision.

If it be further objected that we should then have but a solitary instance of *mi* in the whole Corpus Tibullianum, it might be noted that there is but one instance in Persius, I, 2.<sup>8</sup>

The use of the dative case (*uni* or *mi uni*) with *saevire* has always been defended by Ov. *Her.* IV, 148 *qui mihi nunc saevit, sic tibi parcat Amor.* But Leo<sup>9</sup> objects to its use, brushing aside this instance by declaring that *mihi saevit* is influenced by *tibi parcat*. In reply it might be noted that *mihi saevit* precedes *tibi parcat*, and hence would not be so likely to be influenced by the construction with *parcere* as if the reverse order were found; moreover, in the text before us we have *caveto tibi*, a use of the dative which is not uncommon; according to Leo's reasoning, then, it would not be surprising if this use of the dative influenced the other construction so as to read *mi uni saeviet*.

<sup>7</sup> Mueller-Friedrich.

<sup>8</sup> "Vocabula Satirarum Persii" in *Auli Persii Flacci Satirarum Liber*, edidit Otto Iahn.

<sup>9</sup> F. Leo, *Phil. Unters.*, II, 34-9.



For in this passage the dative with *cavere* precedes and would therefore far more easily influence the construction with *saevire*.

Leo's second objection to the usual reading is that, even if the dative were used, he would expect *nobis*. This expectation is due, I presume, to *mala nostra* of the preceding verse. Compare however the following passages:

- I, 2, 11-12 Et mala si qua tibi dixit dementia *nostra*,  
ignoscas: c. . . . . ecor illa *meo*.  
I, 4, 77-8 . . . . .  
consultent: cunctis ianua *nostra* patet.

So also I, 5 41 *me* and I, 5, 44 *nostra puella*; and I, 9, 42-3 *ipse tuli!* and *munere nostro*. These are but instances, selected at random, of what is common in Tibullus.

Finally, we should quite expect *mi* set off against *tibi*, for this is not uncommon in Tibullus:<sup>10</sup>

- I, 2, 97 At *mihi* parce, Venus: semper *tibi* dedita, etc.  
I, 1, 59 *te* spectem, *suprema mihi* cum venerit hora.  
I, 6, 3 quid *tibi* saevitiae *mecum* est?

Cf. also Hor. *Serm.* I, 4, 116 *causas reddet tibi*; *mi satis est*, etc.

I should accordingly read *uni* with the editors, but insert *mi* before it.

### I, 5, 76

Proposed reading:

utere quaeso,  
dum licet: in liquida *nam tibi* linter aqua *est*.

AV read as above, though without *est*; G also omits *est*, and substitutes for *nam* the verb *nat*, which is likewise the reading of Vm2 in the margin. This last reading is accepted by practically all editors of Tibullus. Guyet proposed *stat tibi*, which was suggested by Prop. II, 9, 30 *aut mea si staret navis in Oceano*. Rossberg<sup>11</sup> would read *nunc* for *nam*.<sup>12</sup> *Nam* is approved by Maurenbrecher,<sup>13</sup> who quotes the readings of the MSS thus:

<sup>10</sup> So too in this distich *tu* and *rides* are set off against *mala nostra*.

<sup>11</sup> *Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 119 (1879), p. 77.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the variant readings in II, 4, 12: *nunc* P, *nam* A, *iam* ζ.

<sup>13</sup> *Philologus*, 55 (1896), 439.

“*nat* G, *nam* AV, was ohne Anstoss ist.” Belling<sup>14</sup> in his text reads *nam*, without adding *est*, however, which seems to me essential to the verse. Cartault<sup>15</sup> reads *non*, and Heyne suggested that if *nam* be retained, we should read “*it liquida nam tibi linter aqua.*”

The change from *nam* to *nat* is easily understood. The position of *nam* as the third word in its clause would seem impossible; the *t* beginning *tibi* would influence the change of *nam* to *nat*, especially since this verb would appear fitting with *linter*. The clause being thus supplied with a verb, *est* would naturally be dropped. This loss would be made easier by the fact that the verse is a rather long one for a pentameter.<sup>16</sup>

It is true that *nam* stands first in its clause in practically every instance of its use in the Corpus Tibullianum. But we read as follows in III, 4, 43–4:

salve, cura deum: casto nam rite poetae  
Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque favent.

And in II, 4, 12 the reading of A is perfectly acceptable:

omnia nam tristi tempora felle madent.

Some editors, however, read *nunc*<sup>17</sup> and others *iam*.<sup>18</sup> In other words, in three separate passages in the Corpus Tibullianum, A reads *nam* in a position subsequent to the first in its clause; of these one is accepted by the editors, a second by a number, and a third rejected by practically all. If we can accept the authority of A in III, 4, 43 for a deferred *nam*, the postponement of *nam* should not in itself be an argument for the change here, when resting on the same MS authority.

Moreover, deferred *nam* is sufficiently common in the other poets of the period. We find the following instances:<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> H. Belling, *Albius Tibullus, Untersuchung und Text*, Berlin, 1897. Cf. his argument for *nam* in his *Prolegomena*, p. 63.

<sup>15</sup> *Tibulle et les auteurs du corpus Tibullianum*. Paris, 1909.

<sup>16</sup> For those MSS (AV) that read *nam* we should only have to explain the loss of *est*. The length of the verse has already been mentioned, and the ease with which *est* is dropped may be seen by noting the instances of such loss mentioned on page 183.

<sup>17</sup> e.g. Baehrens, Haupt-Vahlen, Hiller.

<sup>18</sup> e.g. Broukhusius, Heyne, Voss, L. Mueller.

<sup>19</sup> Emilius Schuenke, *De traiectione coniunctionum et pronominis relativi apud poetas Latinos*, Kiliae, 1906.

- Catullus XXIII, 7 nec mirum: bene *nam* valetis omnes  
 XXXVII, 11 puella *nam* mi, quae meo sinu fugit  
 LXIV, 301 Pelea *nam* tecum pariter soror aspernata est
- Virgil: *Georgics* IV, 16 omnia *nam* late vastant ipsasque volantis  
*Aeneid* I, 444 sic *nam*<sup>20</sup> fore bello egregiam et facilem victu  
 518 quid veniant: cunctis *nam* lecti navibus ibant  
 731 Iuppiter, hospitibus *nam* te dare iura loquuntur  
 III, 379 prohibent *nam* cetera Parcae scire Helenum.  
 IV, 421 solam *nam* perfidus ille te colere, arcanos etiam  
 tibi credere sensus  
 VI, 667 medium *nam* plurima turba hunc habet  
 IX, 803, aëriam caelo *nam* Iuppiter Irim demisit  
 X, 585 dicta parat contra, iaculum *nam* torquet in hostis.  
 XII, 206 dextra sceptrum *nam* forte gerebat
- Cir.* 221 sonitum *nam* fecerat illi  
 458 omnia *nam* potius quam te fecisse putabo.  
*Cat.* (*Priapea*) 3, 5 huius *nam* domini colunt me  
*Cat.* 4, 10 Clio *nam*<sup>21</sup> certe candida non loquitur.
- Ov. Her.* XI, 61 fratris *nam*<sup>22</sup> nupta futura es  
*Hor. Epod.* 14, 6 deus, deus *nam* me vetat  
 17, 45 et tu, potes *nam*, solve me dementia  
*Serm.* II, 3, 20 olim *nam* quaerere amabam  
 41 primum *nam* inquiram quid sit furere  
 302 insanire putas? Ego *nam* videor mihi sanus.  
 II, 6, 78 si quis *nam* laudat Arelli sollicitas ignarus opes  
*Epist.* II, 1, 186 aut ursum aut pugilis; his *nam* plebecula gaudet.  
*Carm.* I, 18, 3 siccis omnia *nam* dura deus proposuit  
 IV, 14, 9 milite *nam* tuo  
 Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus
- Propert.* IV, 8, 23 Serica *nam*<sup>23</sup> taceo vulsi carpenta nepotis

In this list it will be noted that *nam* is found in the third place in its clause in Virgil *Aen.* IX, 803 and XII, 206, and in Horace *Carm.* I, 18, 3. This position of *nam* is therefore by no means an impossible one.

If we restore *nam* then, the clause stands without a verb. Would an ellipsis of *est* here be in accordance with the style of Tibullus? The following list<sup>24</sup> contains passages wherein there is an ellipsis of *esse*, noted in the Corpus Tibullianum:

- I, 1, 75 hic ego dux milesque bonus.  
 I, 3, 5 non hic mihi mater.

<sup>20</sup> sic *nam* F M<sup>2</sup> R a<sup>2</sup> b<sup>2</sup>: *signam* M<sup>1</sup> P<sup>2</sup> γ<sup>1</sup>: *signum* γ<sup>2</sup> deteriores pauci.

<sup>21</sup> *Elionam* M: *Clio tam* Casaubonus.

<sup>22</sup> Text doubtful; above reading, Palmer's.

<sup>23</sup> *Serica nam taceo*—Beroaldus ex emend.; *serica nam tacto*—V; *si riga-nam tacto* ceteri.

<sup>24</sup> Based on the text of Hiller (1885).

- I, 3, 7 non soror.  
 I, 3, 9 Delia non usquam.  
 I, 3, 43 non fixus in agris . . . lapis.  
 I, 4, 23 gratia magna Iovi.  
 I, 6, 33 quid tenera tibi coniuge opus?  
 I, 7, 9 foll. Tarbella Pyrene  
     testis et Oceani litora Santonici,  
     testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque Garunna,  
     Carnutis et flavi caerula lymphæ Liger.  
 I, 7, 44 sed chorus et cantus et levis aptus amor,  
     sed varii flores et frons redimita corymbis,  
     fusa sed ad teneros lutea palla pedes  
     et Tyriae vestes et dulcis tibia cantu  
     et levis occultis conscia cista sacris.  
 I, 10, 3 tum caedes hominum generi, tum proelia nata.  
 I, 10, 9 non arces, non vallus erat.  
 I, 10, 26<sup>25</sup> hostiaque e plena rustica porcus hara.  
 I, 10, 63 quater ille beatus  
     quo tenera irato flere puella potest.  
 II, 1, 63 hinc et femineus labor est, hinc pensa colusque.  
 II, 1, 67-8 ipse interque greges interque armenta Cupido  
     natus et indomitas dicitur inter equas.  
 II, 1, 79 a miseri, quos hic graviter deus urget!  
 II, 1, 79-80 at ille  
     felix, cui placidus leniter adflat Amor.  
 II, 3, 19 o quotiens ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta,  
     rumpere mugitu carmina docta boves!  
 II, 3, 27 Delos ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est, ubi Delphica Pytho?  
 II, 3, 32 fabula sit mavult quam sine amore deus.  
 II, 4, 11 nunc et amara dies et noctis amarior umbra est.  
 II, 4, 45 At bona quae nec avara fuit.  
 II, 5, 15 te duce Romanos numquam frustrata Sibylla.  
 II, 5, 107 ars bona!  
 II, 6, 13 iuravi quotiens rediturum ad limina numquam!  
 III, 19 (IV, 13), 11<sup>26</sup> tu mihi curarum requies, tu nocte vel atra  
     lumen, et in solis tu mihi turba locis.

Aside from the above in the elegies of Tibullus, the following were found in the Corpus: III, 1, 20; III, 1, 26; III, 1, 27; III, 2, 5; III, 2, 5-6; III, 4, 30; III, 4, 51-2; III, 4, 83; III, 4, 94; III, 6, 19; III, 6, 43; III, 7 (IV, 1), 9-10; III, 7 (IV, 1), 25; III, 7 (IV, 1), 25-6; III, 7 (IV, 1), 32; III, 7 (IV, 1), 37; III, 7 (IV, 1), 40; III, 7 (IV, 1), 81; III, 7 (IV, 1), 87; III, 7 (IV, 1), 107 foll.; III, 7 (IV, 1) 180; III, 7 (IV, 1), 198-9; III, 9 (IV, 3), 7; III, 10 (IV, 4), 23; III, 15 (IV, 9), 1; III, 16 (IV, 10), 3-4.

<sup>25</sup> Text uncertain.

<sup>26</sup> Assuming that it may be by Tibullus.

In the list of ellipses in Tibullus, a large number occur where a form of *esse* either immediately precedes or follows, e.g. I, 7, 44; I, 10, 9; II, 1, 63; II, 3, 27; II, 3, 32; II, 4, 11; II, 4, 45, and here may be classed (as following I, 3, 5) I, 3, 7 and I, 3, 9. A second group comprises instances of the omission of *esse* in compound verb-forms, e.g., I, 10, 3; II, 1, 67-8; II, 3, 19; II, 5, 15; and II, 6, 13. A third group comprises those cases wherein a predicate noun or adjective occurs, e.g. I, 1, 75; I, 3, 43; I, 7, 9 (bis); I, 10, 26; I, 10, 63; II, 1, 79; II, 1, 80; II, 5, 107; and III, 19 (IV, 13), 11. A fourth group comprises those instances where the construction demands a form of the verb *esse* (e.g. dative of the possessor); such we find in I, 3, 5; I, 4, 23; and I, 6, 33. These four groups comprise all instances of the ellipsis of *esse* in Tibullus. Restated they are:

1. When *esse* immediately precedes or follows.
2. Compound verb-forms.
3. When a predicate adjective or noun occurs.
4. Where the construction demands a form of *esse*.

As none of these conditions holds true in the verse under consideration, it seems to be impossible to admit of an ellipsis of *esse* here.

The following table<sup>27</sup> shows the position of *est* in the pentameter in the elegies of Tibullus:

	<i>Elision</i>	<i>No elision</i>
Before diaeresis	9 <sup>28</sup>	1 <sup>32</sup>
Begins second foot	4 <sup>29</sup>	2 <sup>33</sup>
After diaeresis	0	6 <sup>34</sup>
Ends verse	4 <sup>30</sup>	0
Ends first foot	1 <sup>31</sup>	0
Begins verse	0	4 <sup>35</sup>
	—	—
	18	13

<sup>27</sup> Based on Hiller's text.

<sup>28</sup> I, 1, 22; I, 1, 34; I, 4, 32; I, 5, 68; I, 8, 76; II, 1, 46; II, 3, 24; II, 5, 36; III 19 (IV, 13), 2.

<sup>29</sup> I, 2, 16; I, 2, 42; I, 9, 20; III, 19 (IV, 13), 4.

<sup>30</sup> I, 4, 4; I, 10, 4; II, 6, 10; II, 6 44.

<sup>31</sup> I, 5, 46.

<sup>32</sup> II, 3, 74.

<sup>33</sup> II, 3, 2; II, 4, 52.

<sup>34</sup> I, 3, 36; I, 6, 66; II, 3, 16; II, 3, 36; II, 4, 24; III, 19 (IV, 13), 16.

<sup>35</sup> I, 6, 44; I, 8, 64; I, 9, 24; II, 1, 30.

The most common position of *est* in the pentameter of Tibullus where it causes elision, is just before the diaeresis; this, however, would put *nam* in the fourth place in its clause, a position in which it is apparently not found in classical Latin. Next in frequency are the position at the end of the verse, and that at the beginning of the second foot. The latter being impossible, if we retain the MS reading, I have accordingly placed *est* at the end of the verse. This position moreover furnishes an easy explanation of its loss.

Omissions of *est* are not unparalleled in the MSS of the Corpus Tibullianum:

- I, 1, 34, *magno* Fr. Par. 1.  
*magno est* A Par. 2.  
 III, 2, 7 *pudor est* G.  
*est* om. A.  
 III, 3, 20 *invidia est* Par.  
*invida quae* A.

Moreover the ease with which it may be omitted at the end of the verse is shown in Propertius II, 14, 1; II, 18, 25; and II, 34, 55.

The verse with this wording suggests, even more than in its usual form, Horace *Epist.* I, 18, 87 *dum tua navis in alto est*, frequently cited as parallel. Moreover in Terence *Hauton Timorumenos* 343–7 we find a resemblance in language: *quod boni . . . datur, fruare dum licet: nam nescias . . . eius sit potestas posthac an numquam tibi.*

#### I, 6, 7

Proposed reading:

*illa quidem per multa negat, sed credere durum est.*

This reading is that of all the MSS save that they unite in reading *tam* for *per*. All the early editors followed the MS reading, but we see signs of dissatisfaction with it in Scaliger's suggestion of *iam multa*, Burmann's *insimulata*, and Santen's *delicta*. Heyne, however, was the first to object seriously to the reading, and he hazarded both *sua furta* and *iurata*. The former reading need not detain us, but the latter is decidedly worthy of consideration. It was suggested to Heyne by a careful read-

ing of Ovid's *Tristia* II, 447 foll., which verses repeat a considerable portion of this elegy in words which are very like those of Tibullus. The first two verses of Ovid's paraphrase run:

credere iuranti durum putat esse Tibullus,  
sic etiam de se quod neget illa viro.

Heyne saw that no word corresponding to Ovid's *iuranti* appeared in this verse in Tibullus, and inserted the only form possible from the standpoint of sense and meter *iurata*, a form which is found, for example, in Propertius I, 8, 27. The word has met with the approval of L. Mueller, Baehrens, H. Bubendey, Belling, H. Magnus,<sup>36</sup> B. Maurenbrecher<sup>37</sup> and Postgate.<sup>38</sup> Hiller proposed and read *mihī cuncta*,<sup>39</sup> comparing III, 7 (IV, 1), 129, but cf. Belling, *Prolegomena zu Tibull*, p. 75. Cartault (1909) reads *quam multa*, though earlier<sup>40</sup> he favored *iurata*.

The only reading<sup>41</sup> thus far proposed that is worth consideration is Heyne's *iurata*, but to it I have two objections. 1. Palaeographical. How can the change of *iurata* to *tam multa* be explained? They have only their last two letters in common. We must note, moreover, that all the MSS unite in the reading *tam multa*. 2. The view that some word corresponding exactly to *iuranti* must appear in Tibullus is not sound, for Ovid handles this passage in the main quite freely. To be sure, some verses are strikingly alike; compare e.g. verses 25-26 of this elegy of Tibullus:

saepe, velut gemmas eius signumque probarem,  
per causam memini me tetigisse manum.

with Ovid's version of the same (451-2):

saepe, velut gemmam dominae signumve probaret.  
per causam meminit se tetigisse manum.

But even here, where the resemblance is so great, there are variations that cannot be explained as due to a change of person

<sup>36</sup> *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 5 (1885), 589.

<sup>37</sup> *Philol.*, 55 (1896), 450.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Classical Review*, 9 (1895), 77.

<sup>39</sup> But *tam multa* in the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (1893).

<sup>40</sup> *À propos du corpus Tibullianum*.

<sup>41</sup> F. Wilhelm (*J. P. P.*, 151 [1895], 114) and G. Friedrich (*Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht des evang. Gymnasiums in Schweidnitz*, Ostern, 1898) defend *tam multa*.

or the exigencies of meter. Why, for example, did Ovid write *-ve* instead of *-que*? Why did he not retain the plural *gemmas*? And if we pass from this to the passages where the correspondence is not so great, we can easily see the freedom with which Ovid has handled his original. Thus Tibullus reads in verses 19–20:

neu te decipiat nutu, digitoque liquorem  
ne trahat et mensae ducat in orbe notas.

but Ovid (in 453–4) as follows:

utque refert, digitis saepe est nutuque locutus,  
et tacitam mensae duxit in orbe notam.

It should be noted that *neu te decipiat* has no expression corresponding to it in Ovid's lines, that *nutu* is joined with the following clause, and that *digito . . . liquorem . . . trahat* appears as *digitis . . . est . . . locutus*; moreover words are added, some to be sure to keep the original speaker in mind, as *utque refert*, but others with no such purpose, as *saepe* and *tacitam*.

The freedom of Ovid's treatment being thus apparent, we have no right to demand that some form of *iurare* appear in Tibullus; if we had, should we not similarly try to insert *negat*, or some form thereof, in the corresponding verse of Ovid? All we can say is that the one word, *iuranti*, in Ovid corresponds roughly to the clause *illa quidem . . . multa negat* in Tibullus; in other words, though *iurare* itself may not appear in Tibullus, the idea of an oath should naturally suggest itself.

The reading *per multa*, which is now proposed, was suggested by Tibullus I, 2, 38:

perque deos omnes se meminisse neget.

In other words, Tibullus uses the expression *per aliquem negare*, from which of course it is but a step to *per aliquid negare*. In his comment on the above verse of Tibullus, Heyne says: "h. l. iuret per deos omnes se non meminisse," that is to say, *negare per* is a synonym of *iurare per . . . non*.<sup>42</sup>

The Corpus Tibullianum is exceedingly fond of the use of *per* in asseverations:

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Martial XI, 94, 7: "Ecce negas iurasque mihi per templa Tonantis."



- I, 5, 7-8 *parce tamen, per te furtivi foedera lecti,*  
*per Venerem quaeso compositumque caput.*  
 I, 4, 25-6 *perque suas impune sinit Dictynna sagittas*  
*adfirmes, crines perque Minerva suos.*  
 II, 6, 29 *parce, per immatura tuae preeor ossa sororis.*

So also III, 1, 15-16, III, 6, 47-8, and III, 11 (IV, 5), 7-8. The use therefore of *per* in asseverations in general and with *negare* in particular is paralleled in Tibullus.

What then would *per multa* mean? Consider such a plea as that in Virgil *Aen.* IV, 514-5:

*per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te*  
*(quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),*  
*per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,*  
*si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam*  
*dulce meum, miserere domus labentis.*

Or turn to that in Silius Italicus V, 82 foll.:

*Iliacas per te flammis Tarpeiaque saxa,*  
*per patrios, consul, muros, suspensaque nostrae*  
*eventu pugnae natorum pignora, cedas*  
*oramus superis.*

If we desired to describe these appeals briefly, should we not say that in each case the speaker "*per multa oravit*"? We have moreover the oath in the *Aeneid* XII, 197 foll.:

*haec eadem, Aenea, terram, mare, sidera, iuro*  
*Latoniaeque genus duplex Ianumque bifrontem,*  
*vimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis.*

There is also that in Juvenal XIII, 78 foll.:

*per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat*  
*et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis,*  
*per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae*  
*perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem;*  
*addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae*  
*quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.*

These oaths could readily be summarized by saying "*per multa iuravit.*"

It can hardly be objected that there are absolutely no examples in Latin of asseverations where *per* is followed by the neuter of an adjective or pronoun used substantively, for we find in Servius on *Aen.* X, 45: "*Sallustius in primo postremo ipsos colonos per miserias et incerta humani generis orare.*" *Per incerta* is parallel to *per multa*. Somewhat analagous are also

Stat. *Theb.* XI, 368–9 *per si quid in illa dulce domo* and Quint. *Declam.* IV, 22 *per ego, si fas est, quicquid feci, . . .* We find also in Auct. ad Herennium IV, 52:

‘parce,’ inquit, ‘et per quae tibi dulcissima sunt in vita, miserere nostri.’<sup>43</sup>

The change palaeographically is not a great one. *Multa* is retained; *per*, through the influence of the following word, might readily have converted *r* into *m*. Both words are of exactly the same length; and the interchange of *p* and *t* appears also e.g. in Tibullus I, 10, 36 where for *puppis* A (*pupis* and *pauppis*, Par.) *turpis*, the reading of ζ, is accepted by scholars:

## I, 9, 25

Proposed reading:

ipse deus tacito permisit *vina* ministro,  
ederet ut multo libera verba mero.

MSS *leve* AV (*lene* Vm2), *lene* G.

*lena*, *laeva*, *leva*, *seva*, *saeva* ζ.

Readings:

*lingua*—Rigler, followed by L. Mueller,<sup>44</sup> Haupt-Vahlen, Belling (Tibullus), and F. Wilhelm.<sup>45</sup>

*verba*—and in verse 26 *lingua* for *verba*—Francken.<sup>46</sup>

*nonne*—suggested by Lachmann.

*saepe*—proposed by Muretus: followed by Hiller.<sup>47</sup>

*lene*—Aldus, Sessa, Muretus, Grasser, Maittaire, Lachmann, Gruppe, Baehrens.

*vela*—Scaliger, followed by Broukhusius and Volpi.

*vela magister*—Guyet.

*laeva*—Voss.

*frena*—Burmam II and Huschke.

*lora*—Santen.

*lena*—Stadius, Passerat, Heyne, Huschke, Golbéry, Dissen, and Kemper.

*laeve*—Némethy.

*tormentum admovit lene ministro*<sup>48</sup>—Cartault (1909).

<sup>43</sup> So Baiter and Kayser: Orelli reads “per ea quae, etc.”

<sup>44</sup> L. Mueller ascribes this reading to exc. Par.

<sup>45</sup> *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 151 (1895), 769.

<sup>46</sup> *Mnemos.* n.s., 6 (1878), 187.

<sup>47</sup> But in the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (1893), *leve*.

<sup>48</sup> F. Jacoby, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 29 (1909), 1467, calls it “die plumpe Herübernahme aus Horat. c. III, 21, 13.”

Postgate impales *lene* as corrupt, suggesting that *lenae* was perhaps written as an explanation of *ministro*; but he proposes as a possible reading *vina*. Prior to seeing Postgate's note, this reading had appeared to me the correct one, and the fact that it has suggested itself to so eminent a scholar has of course intensified my belief in the soundness of *vina*.<sup>49</sup>

If we assume that *lene*, whether as adjective or adverb, is impossible here, we have in *vina* a word that fits the thought admirably. The distich translated would read: "The god himself granted wine to the silent servant, to cause him to utter free-spoken words through the influence of abundant liquor." The expression *ipse deus . . . permisit vina* is paralleled by Ov. *Fast.* I, 403 *vina dabat Liber*.

That both *vinum* and *merum* are found in the same distich is not in any wise abnormal in Tibullus:

I, 2, 1 Adde *merum vinoque* novos compesce dolores.  
I, 5, 37-8 saepe ego temptavi curas depellere *vino*:  
at dolor in lacrimas verterat omne *merum*.

So also Prop. II, 33, 31-32:

tuque, o Eurytion, *vino*, centaure, peristi,  
nec non Ismario tu, Polypheme, *mero*.

Both of the other instances of *permittere* in the Corpus Tibullianum<sup>50</sup> show the verb with an object, though of course the expressions are not parallel. While there are no instances in Tibullus of *permittere* with an object and also a clause of purpose, yet he shows several instances of *dare* with both:

I, 8, 29-30 det munera canus amator,  
ut foveat molli frigida membra sinu.  
I, 6, 13 tunc sucos herbasque dedi, quis livor abiret.

For a concrete noun as object of *permittere*, may be compared Lucan VII, 123-4:

Sic fatur et arma  
permittit populis.

Palaeographically the change is not difficult, even if we feel by no means certain of Postgate's theory that *lenae* was a gloss on *ministro*. *Vina* and *leve* (reading of AV) are words of exactly

<sup>49</sup> For Postgate's discussion, see *Classical Review*, 19 (1905), 213-4, and 23, 186-7.

<sup>50</sup> III, 7 (IV, 1), 92, and III, 16 (IV, 10), 1-2.

the same length. Confusion of initial *l* and *v* is also found in the MSS of Lucr. III, 95 (*locatum*—Marullus; *vocatum*—OQ) and Lucr. V, 12 (*locavit*—L; *vocavit*—OQ). For the ease with which *e* and *i* are interchanged, compare:

- I, 2, 65 *posset*—G; *possit*—A.  
 I, 2, 79 *magni*—A; *magnae*—others.  
 I, 4, 9 *fuge te*—others; *fugite*—Fr.  
 I, 4, 40 *vincit*— $\zeta$ ; *vincet*—AVG.

The *v* and *n* are easily interchanged; note the various MS readings of this very word, as well as I, 8, 2 *lenia* V, *levia* A, and I, 8, 57 *lenis* G, *levis* A. The final *a* for *e* is found in the reading of several of the inferior MSS. In I, 1, 5 the same error is found, *vita*, P. Fr., appearing as *vite* in A.

Moreover the other readings proposed are not satisfactory. *Lena* and *lingua* introduce a very peculiar word-order: we should then have the subject of the subordinate clause inserted in the main clause. There are, it is true, examples throughout the Corpus Tibullianum of the deferring of the conjunction<sup>51</sup> of the subordinate clause.<sup>52</sup> But the only instances I have noted wherein one or more words belonging to the subordinate clause are placed before a word belonging to the main clause, are the following:<sup>53</sup>

(1) Where the main clause consists of but one word (a verb) and no conjunction<sup>54</sup> is employed:

- I, 2, 12 *capiti sint precor illa meo.*  
 67 *ille licet Cilicium victas agat ante catervas.*  
 3, 83 *at tu casta precor maneat.*  
 4, 53–4 *rapias tum cara licebit oscula.*  
 6, 56 *sit precor illa levis.*  
 9, 40 *sit precor exemplo sit levis illa tuo.*  
 9, 49 *illa velim rapida Vulcanus carmina flamma etc.*  
 III, 6, 26 *quid valeat laesi sentiat ira dei.*

<sup>51</sup> See Emilius Schuenke, *De traiectione coniunctionum et pronominis relativi apud poetas Latinos*, Kiliae, 1906. It does not, however, deal with books III and IV.

<sup>52</sup> Goldbéry defends the word-order (reading *lena*) by Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 88, which is not at all conclusive: (1) because it is only an instance of the traiection of the relative, and (2) were it an even more complicated order, such order in Horace would not justify its introduction into the text of Tibullus.

<sup>53</sup> Of course sentences are not included wherein the whole subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

<sup>54</sup> We have, however, an interrogative pronoun in the verse from Lygdamus.

This use is quite characteristic of the Corpus Tibullianum and might be a development of the purely parenthetical use, as in

II, 3, 74 *mos precor ille redi.*

III, 12 (IV, 6), 8 *sed iuveni quaeso mutua vincla para.*

(2) This isolated case:

I, 4, 25-6 *perque suas impune sinit Dictynna sagittas*  
adfirmes, crines perque Minerva suos.

Leaving this passage for the present, we find besides the following instances of peculiar word-order:

II, 3, 14 *quidquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor.*

III, 16 (IV, 10), 5-6 *solliciti sunt pro nobis, quibus illa doloris*  
*ne cedam ignoto maxima causa toro.*

In these last two instances, however, instead of a thrusting forward of a portion of the subordinate clause into the main clause, we have the reverse condition, i.e. where a word of the modifying clause (which precedes the clause on which it depends) is delayed and placed in the main clause; but in both instances of the delayed word, a modifying adjective (*medicae*, II, 3, 14, and *ignoto*, III, 16 [IV, 10], 6) causes the mind to remain in suspense, waiting for the noun each is to modify (*artis*, II, 3, 14, and *toro*, III, 16 [IV, 10], 6).

I, 4, 25-6, to recur to that passage, resembles class 1, cited above, in that the subordinate clause has no conjunction; moreover, the only portion of the subordinate clause that has thrust itself forward is *per suas*: the mind, as in the two instances just discussed, waits for the noun which *suas* is to modify, which appears in *sagittas*, the first word of the subordinate clause.

Nowhere, therefore, in the Corpus Tibullianum do we find a single word taken from out of the subordinate clause (and in fact the subject of that clause), and embedded in the main clause—a condition which would be demanded by reading *lena* or *lingua*.

*Nonne* never appears in the Corpus Tibullianum; *-ne* is always appended to the first word in the sentence and verse, save in III, 11 (IV, 5), 20, where it appears twice in an indirect question, but in its usual position in the clause.

The chief difficulty in the reading *saepe* (and it seems to me insuperable) is the palaeographical one. But it may also be

noted that its position is unusual. The word is found in the *Corpus Tibullianum*<sup>55</sup> nineteen times,<sup>56</sup> of which eighteen are in books I and II, and one in III, 6, 4; of these uses, eighteen precede the verb and only one follows it, this being I, 6, 21 where we have the expression *quam saepe*. (Note that the deferred *quam cito* in I, 4, 28 also follows its verb.) Again, of these nineteen uses, fourteen appear as the first word in the verse and word-group, two as the second word in the verse and sentence (I, 9, 61 and II, 5, 35) and only three later in the sentence and verse, of which two involve the expression *quam saepe* (I, 6, 21 and I, 8, 53) and the third is at the earliest possible position in its clause (II, 3, 59). Consequently the use of *saepe* in Tibullus is decidedly against its employment here in this position in the sentence and verse, even aside from the palaeographical difficulties and Wilhelm's well-taken criticism<sup>57</sup> that it is superfluous when employed with *permisit*, which is here used, like *iussit*, as a gnomic aorist.

Francken's insertion of *verba* here and the substitution of *lingua* for *verba* in the following verse appear changes altogether too violent to be probable.

The fact therefore that the readings thus far proposed are so unsatisfactory, should make us welcome Postgate's suggestion of *vina* all the more.

## I, 10, 37

Proposed reading:

illic (*parce!*) *ustisque genis ustoque capillo*  
errat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus.

For the words suggested the reading of AVG is *percussisque*; P, *percissisque*; and ζ, *perculsisque*. The bulk of the editions read as A or P, *percussisque* appearing, for example, in Muretus, Huschke, Maittaire, Lachmann, Dissen, Baehrens, and Postgate. *Percissisque* is the reading of Guyet, Scaliger (editions of 1600 and 1607), Volz, Francken,<sup>58</sup> L. Mueller, Hiller, Ramsay, and

<sup>55</sup> III, 14 (IV, 8), 6 is too unsettled to cite in this list.

<sup>56</sup> See the Index Verborum in Hiller's edition.

<sup>57</sup> *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 151 (1895), 769.

<sup>58</sup> *Philol.*, 28 (1869); 573.

Schulze. In the editions before 1600, Scaliger read *percissisque*. Heinsius' conjecture of *exesisque* was adopted by Broukhusius, Heyne, and Becker. Voss, Bach, and Bauer read *perculsisque*. Livineius and Dousa P. suggested *pertusisque*, which Postgate introduced into his *Selections*. Lachmann's conjecture, *rescissisque*,<sup>59</sup> was approved and accepted by Gruppe, Haupt-Vahlen,<sup>60</sup> and Jacoby. Goerenz read *peresisque*, which is unmetrical. Moreover Rabus proposed *percoctisque*; Belling, *praescissisque*; B. Fabricius, *exustisque*, which was also read by G. Némethy,<sup>61</sup> who changed in addition *ustoque* to *tostoque*. Némethy had previously (1905) proposed *perfossisque*.

Many scholars accept the readings named with reluctance. Thus Ramsay would prefer *exesisque*, save that "it involves a great change in the text." Wratislaw and Sutton declare *percussisque* corrupt, but add that "no satisfactory emendation has been proposed." Dissen also calls it "corrupta lectio" and feels that such a word as *exesisque* gives the sense required: "consilio loci accommodatissima, pr. excavatis, absumta carne per ignem rogi."

To take *percussis* as "struck with fear" is bold; moreover the linking of such a thought with *usto capillo* is exceedingly unnatural; to give it the meaning "driven in, i.e. hollow, sunken" seems entirely unwarranted. As to *perscissis*, it would be appropriate if used of the mourners, not of the dead themselves. In the same way *percussis* with its literal meaning would fit the mourners but not the dead. Voss' interpretation of *perculsis*, "mit Wangen voll Todesangst, d.i. blass und verzerrt," is ludicrous.

Exactly the thought that such scholars as Dissen suggest, "excavatis, absumta carne per ignem rogi," would be obtained by reading *ustis*. "*Parce!*" is the expression falling from the poet's lips as the grewsome picture presents itself to his mind. "There (ah, spare me!) with cheeks burned away and hair burned away, the wan throng wanders by the dark pools."

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *Kleinere Schriften*, II (1876), 147.

<sup>60</sup> In the edition of 1904 *percussisque* appears.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Rhein. Museum*, 64 (1909), 471.

No instance of *ustae genae* has come to my notice, but a rather interesting parallel is found in Propertius III, 12, 26:

*exustaeque tuae mox, Polypheme, genae.*<sup>62</sup>

One may cite Propertius IV, 1, 44 for some points of similarity:

*et verita est umeros urere flamma pios.*

Moreover, the burning of the funeral-pyre is also referred to in Propertius III, 15, 46:

*te solam et lignis funeris ustus amem.*

Propertius IV, 7, 7-9 (of Cynthia's ghost) is sometimes cited with reference to this passage:

*eosdem habuit secum quibus est elata capillis,  
eosdem oculos lateri vestis adusta fuit,  
et solitum digito beryllon adederat ignis.*

It must be noted, however, that the very first verse of this quotation contradicts our *usto capillo*.

In Tibullus' elegy the horrors of death are portrayed, and the picture that he is seeking to present is of *atra mors*. Therefore he represents the *pallida turba* of ghosts wandering by the *obscurus lacus*, mere skeletons with hair and flesh burned from them. It is not the dead individual whose loved image is being recalled as it was in the prime of life or as last seen on earth, but the throng of the dead, each as the flames of the funeral-pyre have left him. And as this horrible picture comes before his mind, Tibullus shrinks back and pleads "parce!" Just so he pleads for escape from death in I, 3, 51, *parce, pater*. The picture here being more gruesome, the "parce!" falls from his lips even before he depicts the scene.

The words *parce!* and *parcite!* are frequently found in Tibullus: in books I and II<sup>63</sup> we find thirteen instances as compared with five in all of Propertius.<sup>64</sup> As an appeal for protection we find *at mihi parce, Venus* (I, 2, 97). In I, 3, 51 we have just seen that it is used with reference to death; there *mihi* is also omitted as here. The dative is likewise omitted in I, 4, 83; I, 5, 7; I, 9, 5; and II, 6, 29. Of these I, 5, 7 most nearly resembles the

<sup>62</sup> Here *genae* = "die Augenhöhlung oder das Auge" (Rothstein).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Index Verborum in Hiller's edition.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Phillimore, *Index Verborum Propertianus*.



proposed reading, because not only is the dative omitted, but no vocative is expressed:

*parce tamen, per te furtivi foedera lecti  
per venerem quaeso compositumque caput.*

In II, 6, 29 also, both vocative and dative are omitted with *parce*, but as the vocative, *dura puella*, appeared in the preceding verse, its omission is less striking.

One does not have to search far in Tibullus for examples of such repetitions as *ustis—usto*. Of this very verb, *urere*, there are three examples in Tibullus:

II, 4, 5-6 *et seu quid merui seu quid peccavimus, urit.*  
*uror, io, remove, saeva puella, facies.*  
II, 2, 3 *urantur pia tura focis, urantur odores.*  
I, 9, 15 *uretur facies, urentur sole capilli.*

Of these three examples, the first and last are interesting as not employing *urere* in precisely the same form in the two uses; this is also the case in the proposed reading.

No example of elided *parce* appears in the Corpus Tibullianum, but we find *parce oculis* in Propertius IV, 9, 53 and similar elisions in Juvenal VIII, 117 and Seneca *Her. Oet.* 1447. Sentences of command limited to the imperative appear in II, 1, 87 (*ludite*), II, 3, 79 (*ducite*), II, 5, 121 (*adnue*). Parenthetical expressions we find for example in I, 3, 26 (an elided *memini*) and I, 8, 69 (*moneo*). Moreover the use of such an expression to impart vividness appears in II, 2, 10:

*en age (quid cessas? adnuit ille) roga.*

The change from (*parce!*) *ustisque* to *percussisque* is very easily explained palaeographically. The moment the scribe failed to see that he had two words, and regarded them as one,<sup>65</sup> it was easy for the first syllable of *parce* to be altered to *per*. The interchange moreover of *a* and *e* is frequent in the MSS. To change *t* of *ustisque* to another *s* was natural, owing to the presence of this letter twice in the word, and the fact that the word *percussis* is a common one.

Tibullus then represents a ghastly throng as wandering by

<sup>65</sup> For examples of similar errors in incorrect division into words, see page 216.

the pools of the lower world; in other words, his picture of the déad is closely akin to that in Ovid *Ibis* 143-4:

tum quoque factorum veniam memor umbra tuorum,  
insequar et vultus ossea forma tuos.

II, 2, 17-22

Proposed reading:

vota cadunt: 'utinam strepitantibus advolet alis  
flavaque coniugio vincula portet Amor,  
vincula, quae maneant semper, dum tarda senectus  
inducat rugas inficiatque comas.'

hic veniat (Natalis, *ades*) prolemque ministret,  
ludat et ante tuos turba novella pedes.

These verses read in A exactly as above (disregarding *vinculaque manent*) save that *ades* appears as *avis*. In but few of the editions is the MS reading retained, and, in addition to difficulties of reading, those of interpretation also arise in considering these verses.

*Utinam* is read by most editors, but *viden ut*, the conjecture of Guyet and Heinsius (suggested by II, 1, 25) appears in the editions of Broukhusius, Volpi, Heyne, Voss, Huschke, Golbéry, L. Mueller, and Postgate.<sup>66</sup> Baehrens proposed *ut iam* and altered to *advolat* and *portat*; these readings Woltjer and Jurenka followed.

The inferior reading, *trepidantibus*, which Broukhusius introduced into his text, is now universally rejected and need not detain us.

On the score of a reading *cadant* ζ, Haupt proposed *vota cadant utinam! str.*, etc. Postgate also independently made this suggestion,<sup>67</sup> but later<sup>68</sup> rejected it and proposed *vota cadant tibi, nam*.

Verse 21 is the most altered of all the verses. The MS reading *hic* (hęc G) *veniat natalis avis prolemque ministret*, is fol-

<sup>66</sup> *Selections*. In his complete edition, Postgate reads *utinam*, commenting however "quod vix sanum." Dissen, while not placing *viden ut* in the text, approves of it as "praeclara coniectura."

<sup>67</sup> *Journal of Philology*, 25 (1897), 51.

<sup>68</sup> *Journal of Philology*, 26, 184 foll.

lowed by Goldbéry and Haupt-Vahlen,<sup>69</sup> and, with a change to *prolesque*, by Rothstein.<sup>70</sup> The MS reading with the capitalization of *Natalis*, is followed by Lachmann<sup>71</sup> and Gruppe. Drenckhahn would punctuate *hic veniat natalis, avis prolemque ministret*. The earlier scholars, e.g. Muretus and Scaliger, read *huc veniat natalis avis, prolemque ministret*. Heinsius proposed *huc veniat natalis, avis prolemque ministret*, and *hac veniat natalis avi prolemque ministret*, and also the latter with *venias* and *ministres*. The last of these (with a capitalization of *Natalis*) was accepted by Broukhusius, Heyne,<sup>72</sup> Voss, the Delphin Classics, and Becker. This conjecture, *hac . . . avi*, but with the verbs retained in the third person, is approved by Huschke, Dissen, Hiller, L. Mueller, Jacoby,<sup>73</sup> and Jurenka. Bauer reads *huc venias, Natalis avis, prolemque ministres*. Baehrens (in Tib. Bl., p. 89) suggests *hic veniat Natalis avis (avo?) prolesque ministret Ludat ut ante*, etc.; in his edition, however, we find *haec veniat genialis avis; prolesque ministret*, in which Woltjer follows him. Graef thinks the distich spurious or that the genuine words of the hexameter (perhaps *interea, Natalis, ave prolemque ministra*) have been very seriously corrupted. *Eveniāt* was Housman's suggestion for the beginning of the verse; Postgate's *haec (hęc G) valeat* (which he incorporated in his *Selections*)<sup>74</sup> and *haec veniat, Natalis, avis, etc.*, which appears in his complete edition. Belling read *sic*<sup>75</sup> *veniāt natalis avis, prolesque ministret*.

In the final verse, *et* found in practically all of the editions is converted into *ut* (ζ) by Voss, Huschke, Baehrens, and Woltjer; and Dissen also approves of it.

<sup>69</sup> H. Magnus, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 13 (1893), 1550 declares the MS reading "gewiss nicht unecht."

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *Bursian Jahr.*, 51, 336 foll.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *Kleinere Schriften*, II (1876), 147.

<sup>72</sup> Heyne was, however, dissatisfied with the reading and proposed: "Sic venias, Natalis, avis" or "Hic veniat natalis avis, prolemque ministret" (the MS reading).

<sup>73</sup> Jacoby: "Ist *avis* nicht vielleicht nur durch Dittographie von *-alis* entstanden und hat ein anderes Wort verdrängt?"

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *Journal of Philology*, 26 (1898-9), 184 foll. In the *Classical Review*, 9 (1895), 74-8, he favored *prolesque ministret . . . ut*.

<sup>75</sup> R. Ehwald, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 16 Jahrg. (1895), 937-40, had proposed: "sic veniat natalis avis." See also *Philol.*, 54 (1895), 459.

“*Utinam*,” according to Postgate, “is clearly wrong, as the appearance of Love is the sign that the prayer is granted”; and similarly Broukhusius declares: “post vota rata, quid hic faciat *utinam*, optandi particula, vix bene perspici potest.” It is such objections that have caused suspicion to be cast on, or changes to be made in *utinam*.

Let us rather, however, take the text as it stands, and consider the meaning of the individual words from their context. *Vota* would of course be the prayers of Cornutus, those which he was urged to make in verse 10 and the contents of which the poet foretells (note the tense of *optabis*) in verses 11 to 16 inclusive. Passing over *cadunt* for the time being, we come to *utinam*. Here we evidently have the *vota* themselves.<sup>76</sup> That is, the long-delayed prayers of Cornutus begin with the word *utinam* and continue to the end of verse 20. As we are waiting for the prayers, *vota* at once brings them sharply before the mind and *utinam* introduces them. What now of *cadunt*? It evidently cannot mean “frustranea et irrita sunt,”<sup>77</sup> for this would make their subsequent statement entirely out of place, and would moreover be contradictory to verses 9–10:

adnuat et, Cornute, tibi quodcumque rogabis.  
en age (quid cessas? adnuit ille) roga.

But, with very few exceptions, *cadunt* is interpreted *rata sunt*, *eveniunt*, and yet, as has been stated, for the prayers to follow immediately on a statement that they “are realized,” is hardly natural. The difficulty, it appears to me, is to be met by taking a different interpretation of *cadunt*, rather than by altering *utinam*. Does *cadere* ever mean precisely *ratum esse*? Becker (*Elegeia Romana*) says: “Seire tamen velim quo alio loco *cadere* i.e. *accidere* positum sit pro *evenire*, *ratum esse* (in Erfüllung gehen).” Is it not rather true that *cadere* when applied to such words as *verbum*, *vox*, *votum*, merely means “fall

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Hor. *Serm.* II, 6, 59–62:

perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis:  
o rus, quando ego te adspiciam? quandoque licebit  
nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,  
ducere sollicitae iucunda obliviae vitae?

Cf. also Hor. *Serm.* II, 6, 1.

<sup>77</sup> Delphin Classics.

from the lips," and are not the meanings "be lost," "fail," or the like due to some word used with *cadere* that has tinged its meaning? Compare Horace *Epist.* I, 18, 12 *sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit*. E. C. Wickham translates "picks up every word he lets drop." The verse from Horace gives us "verba cadunt" untinged by a modifying adjective, adverb, or phrase. "The words fall; he picks them up." Juvenal VI, 440 reads *verborum tanta cadit vis*, which is translated by John Delaware Lewis "such a power of words falls from her." If *verba cadunt* has this meaning, clearly *vota cadunt* can also.

In Ovid *Her.* 3, 98 *at mea pro nullo pondere verba cadunt*, *verba cadunt* simply means "the words fall"; the idea that they are vain comes from "pro nullo pondere" ("as of no weight"—Palmer). Propertius contains three passages that are similar:

I, 10, 24 *neu tibi pro vano verba benigna cadant.*

I, 16, 34 *at mea nocturno verba cadunt Zephyro.*

I, 17, 4 *omniaque ingrato litore vota cadunt.*

In each of these the futility of the words or prayers rests not in *cadere*, but in *pro vano*, *nocturno Zephyro*, and *ingrato litore*; they are vain because they do not reach their goal<sup>78</sup> and fall either on the wind or the shore.

In the only passage in Tibullus resembling that under discussion, I, 6, 85, we find:

*haec aliis maledicta cadant.*

The word *aliis* mentioning the goal that the *maledicta* are to reach, serves to differentiate this passage from that under consideration. Aside from that however, "May these imprecations fall upon others!" is perfectly clear, and while we may translate: "May these curses come true in the case of others!" the first rendering is satisfactory.<sup>79</sup>

The meaning of *cadere* here defended is that first maintained (as far as known to me) by Becker (*Elegeia Romana*),<sup>80</sup> who

<sup>78</sup> Rothstein on Prop. I, 10, 24.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Becker, *Elegeia Romana*.

<sup>80</sup> A view similar to this is put forth by Belling, *Wochenschrift f. Philol.*, 15 (1898), 459, who however makes no mention of Becker's statement. Thus Belling: "*vota cadunt*—Es muss heissen 'werden ausgesprochen.'" He does not discuss the following verses.

suggests that *cadunt* here means "pronuntiantur, funduntur." In so far I agree with Becker; he appears, however, to take *cadunt* as an historical present, and thus deals with the following verses: "Iam, inquit, pronunciata sunt vota. Utinam iis respondens advolet quam celerrime Amor, portetque felicissima coniugii vincula."

If, however, one examines carefully the sentence introduced by *utinam*, he will find that he has here the prayer in expanded form that was foretold in verse 11:

auguror, uxoris fidos optabis amores.

The idea in *optare* is of course found in *utinam* and the following subjunctives; *amores* is expressed in *advolet . . . Amor*; *uxoris* we find altered to *coniugio*, and *fidos* is amplified into *vincula, quae maneant semper*, etc. In other words, we have in full that prayer which was anticipated and briefly summarized.

It is not, then: "The prayers have been uttered; etc.," but rather: "The prayers come: 'May Love fly, etc.'" This prayer is concluded at the end of verse 20 and then the poet continues:

hic veniat (Natalis, ades) prolemque ministret.

*Hic* can only refer to Amor whose coming has just been prayed for; that is, the poet's "hic veniat" is his own reiteration of Cornutus' "advolet . . . Amor." The same pronoun, *hic*, is the subject of *ministret*. The term *ministrare*, as applied to the god Amor, Tibullus used in I, 10, 57 *at lascivus Amor rixae mala verba ministrat*, and it also appears in III, 12 (IV, 6), 12 *fallendique vias mille ministret Amor*. That moreover Amor should be called on to bring offspring, is in harmony with II, 1, 83-4, where he is to be called to the herd to make it prolific:

vos celebrem cantate deum (Amor, v. 80) pecorique vocate,  
voce palam pecori, clam sibi quisque vocet.

The change of the MS reading *avis* to *ades* is in itself but a slight one, and is also in some measure defended by the fact that the reverse mistake (*ades* written instead of *avis*) is found in the MSS of Tibullus, II, 1, 34.<sup>81</sup>

*Ades* here of course is equal to *fave*: and it is used after a prayer or wish, as in III, 3, 31-33:

<sup>81</sup> Cf. also Jacoby's note on page 196 of this paper.

haec alii cupiant; liceat mihi paupere cultu  
 securo cara coniuge posse frui.  
 adsis et timidis faveas, Saturnia, votis.

The direct address to the deity after the prayer, and the reference to *vota* are parallel to this passage. The use of *adesse* closely associated with some form of *votum* is found e.g. in Ovid *Fast.* III, 256; *Trist.* III, 1, 78; *Her.* VI, 151-2; Seneca *Herc. Fur.* 645-6; *Phaedra* 423; so too with *precibus*, Ovid *Am.* II, 13, 21.

That in a poem dealing with a birthday, the poet should at the end recur to the *Natalis*, addressing him directly, is closely paralleled by III, 11 (IV, 5), where verses 19 and 20 return to a direct address to *Natalis*:

at tu, natalis, quoniam deus omnia sentis,  
 adnue.

In this passage moreover *adnue* is parallel to *ades*; and, besides, these verses conclude a prayer for mutual love as in our elegy:

(verses 7-9) mutuus adsit amor, per te dulcissima furta  
 perque tuos oculos per geniumque rogo.  
 mane geni, cape tura libens votisque faveto.

Verses 13-16 contain a reference to the *vincula* that in our passage Love is to bring.

III, 12 (IV, 6) is addressed to *Natalis Iuno*; in it verses 13 and 14 bid *dea casta, adnue*, and verses 7 and 8 are closely parallel to portions of the elegy under discussion:

at tu, sancta, fave, neu quis divellat amantes,  
 sed iuveni quaeso mutua vincla para.

In I, 7 (one of Tibullus' own elegies) the last distich makes a direct address to *Natalis*:

at tu, natalis multos celebrande por annos,  
 candidior semper candidiorque veni.

The coupling of the appeal to *Natalis* and the prayer for progeny also bears some resemblance to I, 7, where we find in I, 7, 55 *at tibi succrescat proles*, etc., and in 63-4, just quoted, an appeal to the natal god. The appeal is perfectly natural in the light of the following statement in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, I, 1615: "Dem Genius lag dem Gesagten gemäss vornehmlich die Tutel

des Ehebettes ob, welches nach ihm ständig *lectus genialis* hiess (so an vielen Stellen: bei Catull 64, 47 auch *pulvinar geniale; torus* bei Liv. 30, 12, 21 ist unsicher). *Nuptiis sternitur in honorem genii* erklärt Festi epit. 94. . . . Beim Laberius (v. 54 R.) heisst derselbe *generis nostri parens* d.i. 'das die Familie von einer Generation zur andern erhaltende Prinzip.' (Preller)." Cf. Arnobius 2, 67 *cum in matrimonium convenitis, toga sternitis lectulos et maritorum genios advocatis . . . .!* And so too Preller (*Röm. Mythol.* 1, 78) speaks of the *lectus genialis* "wo der Genius der Familie segnend und befruchtend waltet, dass es dem Hause nie an Kindern fehle."

And finally with the interpretation thus far given of the passage, *tuos* (v. 22) would clearly refer to *Natalis* just preceding.

## II, 3, 61

Proposed reading:

at tibi, dura, (seges, Nemesis, quia ducit ab urbe)  
persolvat nulla semina terra fide.

In this distich the reading of A is:

at tibi dura seges nemesis qui abduc<sup>82</sup> ab urbe,  
persolvat nulla semina terra fide.

The reading of V is also *nemesis*, but in Vm2 and G we read *nemesim*. For *qui*, ζ have *quae*. Instead of *abduc*, V reads *abducit*; ζ, *abducis*. Some inferior MSS read *quia ducis*, where A has *qui abduc*.

All editors, as far as I know, read *Nemesim* or *Nemesin*<sup>83</sup> and change *abducit* or *ducit* to the second person.<sup>84</sup> (Rigler proposed *quae abduxit*). A typical reading is that of Hiller:

at tibi dura seges, Nemesim qui abducis ab urbe,  
persolvat nulla semina certa fide.

<sup>82</sup> So Hiller and Wilhelm: *abducit* say Baehrens and Postgate. See *Wochenschrift für klass. Phil.*, 23 (1906), 1148.

<sup>83</sup> In *Berliner phil. Wochenschrift*, 29 (1909), 1467, Cartault (1909)—whose work I have not seen—is said to read "At tibi dura seges Nemesis qui abducit ab urbe."

<sup>84</sup> Save F. Wilhelm, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 151 (1895), 770, who defends *abducit*, its subject being *qui* which in turn refers to *tibi*, by Tib. I, 2, 33. This does not appear analogous. But in *Rhein. Museum* 59 (1904), 283, he discusses the passage, reading *abducis*. Belling (*Prolegomena*, 62) approves of *quia ducit*, but in his "Tibullus" he reverts to *quae abducis*.



*Tibi*, thus taken, refers to the rich lover just mentioned. The reading *certa* (ascribed to Pucci) is a substitute for *terra* O.<sup>85</sup>

The following variations in the readings are found:

*at* changed to *sit*—Rossbach, followed by Baehrens.

*seges* changed to *Ceres*—N. Heinsius, followed by Broukhusius, Joh. Schrader, Heyne, Voss, Golbéry, Dissen, L. Mueller, and Belling.

*qui* changed to *quae* (ζ)—Aldus, Scaligér, Grasser, Broukhusius, Mattaire, Joh. Schrader, Heyne, Voss, Golbéry, Dissen, Rigler, Belling, Postgate.

*quia ducis* ζ

*quae ducis* ζ—Aldus, Grasser, Voss.

*Nemesim* changed to *Venerem*—Joh. Schrader.

*terra* changed to *certa*—Lachmann, Gruppe, Hiller, Haupt-Vahlen, L. Mueller, R. Ullrich, F. Wilhelm.

For *terra* Statius and Canter proposed *tecta*.

As has been pointed out, practically none of the editors keep *Nemesis* and *abducit*, and most of them make at least one other alteration in the MS reading. The reading proposed follows A in detail, save that *quia* (ζ) *ducit* appears for *qui abducit*; in other words, an effort is made to restore the text by dropping but a single letter of the MS reading and in one instance altering the division into words.

The translation would run: "But to thee, O cruel one, because 'tis the crop, Nemesis, that leads thee from the city, may the earth prove false and fail to give back the seeds."

The word *quia* appears in Tib. I, 4, 13, and the frequency of its use in Propertius<sup>86</sup> warrants its appropriateness in elegiac poetry of this period.

The trajection of conjunctions in Tibullus is exceedingly common, as this list<sup>87</sup> witnesses:<sup>88</sup>

*cum*—I, 1, 47; I, 1, 59; I, 2, 65; I, 3, 9; I, 4, 33; I, 5, 12; I, 7, 21; I, 7, 61; I, 10, 8; II, 1, 47; II, 3, 29; II, 5, 14; II, 5, 109.

*dum*—I, 2, 4; I, 2, 73; I, 3, 25; I, 3, 56; II, 3, 19.

*dummodo*—I, 1, 58.

*modo*—I, 2, 31.

<sup>85</sup> But cf. Postgate, *Journal of Philology*, 26 (1898-9), 186.

<sup>86</sup> See Phillimore, *Index Verborum Propertianus*.

<sup>87</sup> Derived from E. Schuenke, *De traiectione coniunctionum*, etc., Kiliae, 1906.

<sup>88</sup> This list is confined to books I and II.

- ne*—I, 1, 67; I, 3, 21; I, 5, 5; I, 6, 20; I, 8, 29; I, 9, 17.  
*ni*—I, 4, 63.  
*qua*—II, 2, 16; II, 5, 96.  
*quam* (*saepe*)—I, 6, 21.  
*qui* (all forms of the relative)—I, 1, 50; I, 3, 7; I, 7, 3; I, 7, 13;  
 I, 9, 24; I, 9, 72; I, 10, 1; I, 10, 6; II, 4, 10; II, 4, 45; II, 5, 16;  
 II, 5, 40; II, 5, 68; II, 6, 5; II, 6, 8.  
*quicumque*—I, 2, 39; I, 4, 39; I, 10, 59; II, 2, 13.  
*quod*—I, 3, 79.  
*quotiens*—II, 6, 13.  
*si*—I, 1, 44; I, 2, 71; I, 4, 15; I, 4, 49; I, 6, 23; I, 6, 33; I, 6, 74;  
 I, 8, 61; I, 9, 19; II, 4, 33; II, 4, 53.  
*ubi*—I, 4, 31.  
*ut*—I, 1, 18; I, 2, 2; I, 4, 52; I, 6, 16; I, 9, 26; I, 10, 48; II, 1, 2;  
 II, 1, 15; II, 1, 50; II, 3, 45; II, 5, 72; II, 6, 42.

While there are no instances of a postponed *quia* in Tibullus, it may be noted that the causal conjunction *quod* is found thus deferred. But the trajection of *quia* is sufficiently common in other authors to justify this position here. It is found in :

- Plautus—*As.* 386; *Curc.* 225; *Men.* 513; *Mil.* 54; *Trin.* 1165.  
 Lucretius—I, 169; I, 176; I, 221; II, 607; III, 278; III, 364; III,  
 746; III, 1070; IV, 92; IV, 241; IV, 355; IV, 694; IV, 1242;  
 V, 357; VI, 349; VI, 353; VI, 841; VI, 909; VI, 1059.  
 Terence—*Hec.* 681.  
 Cicero—*Aratea* 12.  
 Virgil—*Aen.* VIII, 650.  
 Horace—*Serm.* I, 3, 92-3 and I, 9, 51; *Epist.* II, 3, 295 and II, 3,  
 376; *Carm.* IV, 9, 28.  
 Aetna—284.

In its opening as well as in the trajection, the verse resembles Propertius III, 18, 31-2:

at tibi, nauta, pias hominum qui traicis umbras,  
 huc animae portent corpus inane tuae.

In the trajection and the appearance of another vocative in the subordinate clause, Virgil *Aen.* XII, 179-180 is parallel:

tuque inclute Mavors,  
 cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques.

Tibullus himself in II, 5, 113-4 has a distich that closely resembles the one under discussion:

at tu, nam divum servat tutela poetas,  
 praemoneo, vati parce, puella, sacro.

The beginning *at tu* resembles the *at tibi* under discussion; in each instance we have the causal clause closely following; and in each instance we have a delayed vocative.

Moreover, in the same way in which the *quia*-clause here precedes the major portion of the main clause, it appears in the only other instance of the word's use in Tibullus, I, 4, 13:

hic, quia fortis adest audacia, cepit.

Cf. also I, 3, 57-8 and Propertius IV, 2, 11 and IV, 10, 47.

The object of *ducit* is so clearly apparent that it would seem needless to express it in this verse. So we find *abducere* without an object in III, 9 (IV, 3), 5:

sed procul abducit venandi Delia cura.

And still nearer at hand, we have in verse 79 of this very elegy:

ducite: ad imperium dominae sulcabitur agros.

If *abducere* should be thought preferable to *ducere* here, it would be well to notice that neither with *abducit*, III, 9 (IV, 3), 5, nor *abducta*, III, 14 (IV, 8), 7, is the *locus a quo* mentioned. Tibullus writes, however, (I, 2, 43) *hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi*, using the simple verb; and in the following instances Propertius uses *ducere* together with the *locus a quo*:

II, 13, 6 aut possim Ismaria ducere valle feras.

II, 1, 56 ex hac ducentur funera nostra domo.

*Durus*, as applied to Nemesis, is perfectly appropriate, "nam" (as Pichon<sup>89</sup> says) "*duri dicuntur qui amorem oblatum respuunt neque precibus commoventur.*" Thus in Tibullus I, 8, 50 we find *in veteres esto dura, puella*,<sup>90</sup> *scenes*. And in II, 6, 28 Nemesis is directly called so: *ci mihi, ne vincas, dura puella, deam*. She is also called *sarva puella* in II, 4, 6. Other passages where mistresses are termed *dura* are: Propertius I, 1, 9-10; I, 7, 6; I, 17, 16; II, 1, 78; II, 22, 11; II, 22, 43; II, 24, 47; IV, 2, 23; Ovid *Am.* I, 9, 19; *Her.* XX, 5; *Ars Am.* II, 527; *Fast.* IV, 111 and VI, 120.

While *dura* is not used substantively in Tibullus, yet note that it is in the last passage cited (Ovid *Fast.* VI, 120):

<sup>89</sup> René Pichon, *De sermone amatorio apud Latinos elegiarum scriptores*, Paris, 1902. From it the following instances are drawn.

<sup>90</sup> Note the sense-pause between *dura* and *puella*. So *dura* and *seges* in this passage.

viderat hanc Ianus, visaeque cupidine captus  
ad duram verbis mollibus usus erat.

Moreover the authors of the Corpus (including Tibullus himself) use other adjectives substantively in the vocative case, often indeed with forms of *tu*:

- I, 9, 65 nec tu, stultissime, sentis.
- II, 1, 81. sancte, veni dapibus festis.
- III, 8 (IV, 2), 3 at tu, violente, caveto.
- III, 10 (IV, 4), 9 sancte, veni.
- III, 12 (IV, 6), 7 at tu, sancta, fave.

It may also be noted that in this very elegy (II, 3), we find in the immediate vicinity the following feminine forms of adjectives used substantively: *formosas* (65) and *mea* (77).

As to the form *Nemesis*, Postgate<sup>91</sup> admits that the vocative in *-is* of such Greek words is found in prose and comedy, "but," he assumes, "it was not tolerated in the refined compositions of the Hellenizing poesy." The form *Nēmēsī* is, however, of course "metrically unavailable," and we do find the vocative *Nemesis* in Auson. *Idyll.* 8, 41 (III, 5, 41 in the edition of R. Peiper) *mitibus audi auribus hoc, Nemesis*. Moreover, the statement in Charisius I, 17 implies no such limitation: "Mysis o *Mysis* Terentius, ut o *crinis funis cinis*. Graeci demunt s litteram, nostri parem nominativo vocativum servant." And, most important of all, in this passage *Nemesis* is the reading of AV.

In the text as reconstituted *seges* assumes a very prominent position and justly so, for it is the wealth of the country, its crops and vintage, that lead *Nemesis* away from the city. And it is just because the wealth of the country has enticed her away that the poet prays that the earth may fail to send up a harvest.

The method in which the text became corrupted is apparent: *dura*, standing next to *seges*, was taken to modify it; because *tibi* was supposed to refer to the lover just mentioned, it was easy for *quia* to be made into the relative *qui*, the antecedent of which was *tibi*. The *a* remaining, together with *ducit*, under the influence of *ab urbe*, easily became *abducit*.

<sup>91</sup> *Classical Review*, 23, 186-7. The vocative form is discussed in Neue-Wagener *Formenlehre*, 1, 443.

## II, 4, 43

## Proposed reading:

*Sed veniet tibi mors, nec erit qui lugeat ullus,  
nec qui det maestas munus in exsequias.*

Where the above reading proposes *sed*, all the MSS (as far as known to me) unite in the reading *seu*, nor is it known that *seu* has ever been questioned. *Veniet* has not escaped thus, however; the reading of A (*veniet*) appears as *veniat* in VG, and this latter reading is accepted by Scaliger, Broukhusius, Voss, Wunderlich, Bach, and Baehrens. Moreover Scaliger, Dousa, and Broukhusius alter *nec erit* to *neque sit*.<sup>92</sup> Belling, too, though not incorporating it in his text, approves of *nec sit*.<sup>93</sup> By these changes we should secure a succession of present subjunctives to harmonize with *eripiant* (40), *spectent* (41), and *addat* (42). *Veniet* (and far more, *erit*) has maintained its position (1) because the reading of A; (2) as Dissen points out, “*neque enim dubium venturam mortem*”; (3) because of its agreement with *erit*.<sup>94</sup> Reading then *veniet*, we should have the verse:

*seu veniet tibi mors, nec erit qui lugeat ullus.*

First of all, the verse seems suspicious because of the thought: “Or if death comes.”<sup>95</sup> But death will come; how can it be stated conditionally? Tibullus could of course have easily referred to an early death conditionally, or a long-deferred death, but hardly to death in general. Thus in the former two cases, we find in the *Panegyric*, III, 7 (IV, 1), 205–6:

*seu matura dies celerem properat mihi mortem,  
longa manet seu vita.*

<sup>92</sup> The earlier editions (e.g. Aldus and Muretus) have *neque erit*.

<sup>93</sup> *Philol.*, 47, 382.

<sup>94</sup> Of the examples cited by Voss wherein a present subjunctive in the protasis is found coupled with a future indicative in the apodosis, *Virg. Ecl.*, IV, 58, “Pan . . . . mecum si . . . . certet, Pan . . . . dicet se . . . . victum,” should evidently be read *dicat*. In *Prop.* II, 26, 29, clearly the fact stated in the protasis is unlikely to come to pass (therefore present subjunctive); but should it come true, the conclusion would inevitably be realized (therefore future indicative). But in our passage the first is absolutely certain, is not in any sense unlikely.

<sup>95</sup> Cranstoun translates: “When death shall come,” but no authority is cited for this meaning.

But as to the inevitableness of death, listen to Tibullus I, 1, 70:

iam veniet tenebris mors adoperta caput.

and I, 10, 34:

imminet [mors] et tacito clam venit illa pede.

The time may be doubtful, but never the fact:

I, 1, 59-60 te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,  
te teneam moriens deficiente manu.

So too III, 2, 9 foll. and III, 3, 9-10.<sup>96</sup> The only conditional expressions noted in the Corpus Tibullianum in connection with death are:

I, 3, 53 quod si fatales iam nunc explevimus annos.  
III, 5, 31-2 vivite felices, memores et vivite nostri,  
sive erimus seu nos fata fuisse velint.

But in neither of these is it doubted that death will surely come, the only element of doubt being that of its coming at a specific time. The second quotation, for example, reads: "Live happily and live remembering me whether (at that time) I shall be living or the fates should wish my life to be no more." In other words, "if I shall be living at a definite time" (expressed or implied) is quite a different thing from saying "if death shall come."

The second objection to the verse lies in the word *seu*. *Sive* and *seu* are found in pairs<sup>97</sup> in the following passages in the Corpus Tibullianum:

I, 1, 11-12.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 45-6.
I, 2, 17-18	III, 7 (IV, 1), 66.
I, 2, 33.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 79-80.
I, 10, 21-22.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 95.
II, 4, 5.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 96.
II, 6, 3.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 101-3.
III, 1, 6.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 159-60.
III, 1, 26.	III, 8 (IV, 2), 9-10.
III, 3, 14.	III, 8 (IV, 2), 11-12.
III, 4, 11-12.	III, 9 (IV, 3), 1-2.
III, 5, 32.	

We find a group of three in III, 7 (IV, 1), 25-6 and a group of

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Prop. II, 13, 17, "quandocumque igitur nostros mors claudet ocellos."

<sup>97</sup> i.e. *sive* (or *seu*) used twice, or *sive* with *seu*.

five in III, 7 (IV, 1), 205-9. The only uses of a single *seu*<sup>98</sup> or *sive* are the following:

I, 6, 21 *exibit quam saepe, time, seu visere dicet  
sacra Bonae maribus non adeunda Deae.*

III, 7 (IV, 1), 94 *seu libeat.*

The first (the only one in Tibullus) is to be translated "even if";<sup>99</sup> the second, "or if." The first meaning is not possible here; it would take the fact of death, already conditioned so abnormally, and place it even farther in the range of improbability. The second is, of course, no criterion for the usage of Tibullus, as it occurs in the *Panegyric*; moreover it would retain the conditional force which is so unnatural here.

Draeger<sup>100</sup> cites the following examples of a single *sive* or *seu* = "or if" in the poets: Horace *Od.* I, 6, 19; I, 15, 24; III, 27, 61; *Serm.* II, 1, 59; perhaps Virgil *Aen.* XI, 327; Tibullus II, 4, 43;<sup>101</sup> IV, I, 93; Propertius III, 21, 8 and 33; IV, 6, 81 and Ovid *Her.* X, 97. The use is therefore a rather rare one, and in the meaning here suggested has no warrant in Tibullus' diction.

The objections to *seu* are therefore two-fold: first and more important, as to sense, and second, as to the use of *seu* in Tibullus.

For it the reading *sed* is proposed. This involves the change of but a single letter, and the alteration of the *d* can easily be accounted for by the initial letter of the following word. We should then have (after the wishes of verses 39-42): "But death will come to thee, and there will be no one to mourn." In other words, the adversative conjunction *sed* with the future indicative, stating a fact as unmistakable after a previous wish, acquires the tone of "but however that may be," "but however my wish may turn out"; that is, it discusses the destined future state even if the wish be not fulfilled. For this use, compare Horace *Serm.* II, 1, 42-6:

<sup>98</sup> Excluding the passage under discussion, of course.

<sup>99</sup> See Dissen's note. This use is classed by Draeger under the following: "Dies *sive*, welches für *vel si* steht, ist zuweilen, aber nur in der Sprache der Juristen und der Dichter, einem voraufgehenden Satze oder Ausdrücke coordinirt, der zwar nicht die Form, aber den Sinn eines Bedingungssatzes hat."

<sup>100</sup> *Historische Syntax der Lateinischen Sprache*, II, 149.

<sup>101</sup> The passage here under discussion.

o pater et rex  
Iuppiter, ut pereat positum rubigine telum,  
nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! *at* ille  
qui me commorit (melius non tangere, clamo),  
flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

Somewhat analogous is Propertius I, 8, 9 foll.:

O utinam hibernae duplicentur tempora brumae,  
et sit iners tardis navita Vergiliis,  
nec tibi Tyrrhena solvatur funis harena,  
neve inimica meas elevet aura preces!  
atque ego non videam tales subsidere ventos,  
cum tibi provectas auferet unda rates,  
ut me defixum vacua patiatur in ora  
crudellem infesta saepe vocare manu!  
*sed* quocumque modo de me, periura, mereris,  
sit Galatea tuae non aliena viae.

Cf. also Lygdamus III, 5, 27–8:

atque utinam vano nequiquam terrear aestu!  
languent ter quinos *sed* mea membra dies.

III, 4, 62–3 also bears on this use of *sed*:

a pereat, didicit fallere si qua virum.  
*sed* flecti poterit: mens est mutabilis illis.

We find an excellent parallel, though the adversative conjunction is not expressed, in I, 9, 11 foll.:

at deus illa  
in cinerem et liquidas munera vertat aquas.  
iam mihi persolvat poenas, pulvisque decorem  
detrahet et ventis horrida facta coma;  
uretur facies, urentur sole capilli,  
deteret invaidos et via longa pedes.

The position of *sed* at the beginning of the sentence and verse is sufficiently justified by I, 10, 15; I, 10, 53; II, 1, 31; II, 4, 24, etc.

As to the uniting of three coördinate members by *nec* between the first and second, and also between the second and third, one may readily compare the following:

- I, 1, 37–8 *adsitis, divi, nec* [neu A] *vos e paupere mensa  
dona nec e puris spernite fictilibus.*  
I, 1, 71–2 *iam subrepet iners aetas, nec* *amare decebit,  
dicere nec cano blanditias capite.*  
II, 3, 11–13 *pavit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo,  
nec cithara intonsae profueruntve comae,  
nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis.*



And again, for *sed . . . . nec . . . . nec*, a pretty close parallel may be found in this very elegy, II, 4, 33-4:

*sed pretium si grande feras, custodia vieta est,  
nec prohibent claves, et canis ipse tacet.*

In other words, by reading *sed* we remove the thought of death as conditional and a rather suspicious use of *seu* in Tibullus. We introduce a word, the loss of which may easily be accounted for palaeographically, and which fits the sense of the passage and is in harmony with Tibullus' usage.

II, 5, 47

Proposed reading:

ecce mihi lucent *rutilus* incendia castris.

This reading is simply a restoration of the spelling of A and V. *Rutilus*, as spelled in ζ,<sup>102</sup> is found in every edition of Tibullus known to me. The first suggestion that another reading might be preferable is found in Statius: "In scriptis nonnullis, *Rutilus*. Forte *rutila*, fulgentia dixit, ut Horat. in I od.<sup>103</sup> 'seu te fulgentia signis Castra tenent.'" The only other scholar, as far as known to me, who suspected *Rutilus*, was Carlo Pascal,<sup>104</sup> who proposed *ecce mihi lucent rutilus incendia classis*.<sup>105</sup>

It is, to be sure, but a slight change from *rutilus* to *Rutilus*, and the reference to the early conflicts of Aeneas in Italy might easily suggest a mention of his enemies, the Rutulians. Reading *Rutilus* then, three possible interpretations of the passage are suggested. First, that the *Rutula . . . . castra* was the city of Ardea,<sup>106</sup> the burning of which is mentioned, for example, in Ovid *Met.* XIV, 572 foll.:<sup>107</sup>

<sup>102</sup> What appears in G, I do not know, but from Baehrens' critical note I infer that *Rutilus* is its reading.

<sup>103</sup> Hor. *Od.* I, 7, 19-20.

<sup>104</sup> *Rivista di Filologia*, 17 (1889), 452-4.

<sup>105</sup> This reading takes *rutilus* as an adjective of the third declension, but, as Cartault points out, its use here would be "avec une faute de quantité."

<sup>106</sup> Suggested as a possibility by Heyne.

<sup>107</sup> It is of course true that in some respects the two passages resemble each other.



from this that it is mentioned in some other author, but, if so, the various editors have entered into a conspiracy of silence. It is surely true that there may have been a firing of the Rutulian camp by the Trojans, but what right have we to alter the reading of the MSS in order to get an allusion to an event, the only mention of which appears in this very word?

Recurring to the whole passage, we find that the Sibyl refers only to the more important events in the future history of the Trojans, the events familiar to everyone who has even a slight knowledge of the classics. Thus in verse 40 we have the reference to the exiled Aeneas bearing the Trojan *sacra* in his ships; in verses 43 and 44 the death of Aeneas, the purification in the Numicius and his becoming "deus indiges"<sup>110</sup> are all mentioned. And in the following verses we have allusions to Turnus' death, Laurentum, Lavinium, the founding of Alba Longa, Rhea Silvia and the love of Mars. Finally the wide domain of the future Roman state is foretold. In this summary of important events in the history of the Trojan settlement in Italy, *ecce mihi lucent . . . incendia* would suggest but one thing, i.e. the attempt of the Rutulians to burn the Trojan fleet and camp. Cf. Virgil *Aen.* IX, 69:

*classsem, quae lateri castrorum adiuncta latebat.*

This attempt, frustrated only by the gods, is described at length in the *Aeneid* IX, 69 foll. and Ovid *Met.* XIV, 530 foll. As has been mentioned previously, the ships were actually on fire, so that the term *incendia* is perfectly appropriate.

Let us now turn to the word *rutilus*. It is used frequently in Latin as an epithet of fire:

Virgil *Aen.* VIII, 430 *rutili tris (radios) ignis.*

Virgil *Georg.* I, 454 *rutilo . . . igni.*

Ovid *Fast.* III, 285-6 *Eece deum genitor rutilas per nubila flammam spargit.*

Ovid *Met.* IV, 402 foll. *Tecta repente quati, pinguesque ardere videntur lampades et rutilis collucere ignibus aedes.*

So too Ovid *Met.* XI, 435-6 and XII, 294-5; *Her.* III, 64; and Stat. *Theb.* IV, 5-6. From this it would be but a step to the use of *rutilus* in connection with objects reddened by fire. We

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Ov. *Met.* XIV, 597-608.

find in Sil. Ital. XVI, 232 *sed prorupturis rutilabant aequora flammis* (of the dawn); Stat. *Theb.* X, 840-4 reads:

ardua mox torvo metitur culmina visu,  
 innumerosque gradus, gemina latus arbore clusus,  
 aërium sibi portat iter, longeque timendus  
 multifidam quercum flagranti lumine vibrat;  
 arma rubent una clipeoque incenditur ignis.

And, while it is not strictly parallel, mention may be made of Ovid *Met.* XII, 276-7, *ferrum igne rubens* (red-hot).

The adjective "red" is not a permanent epithet of the camp; it is simply *rutilus* because of the fire. Thus in Virgil *Georg.* III, 358-9 we read *nec cum praecipitem Oceani rubro [Sol] lavit aequore currum*. Forbiger's note is: "*rubro aequore pro rubescente a sole, igneo.*" Again Horace *Od.* I, 2, 2-4 run as follows:

et rubente  
 dextera sacras iaculatus arces  
 [Pater] terruit Urbem.

E. C. Wickham's comment is "red from the flames of the bolt which he is launching," and the note in the edition of Orelli-Baiter-Hirschfelder reads "a repercusso fulminum rubore." But a far bolder use is that in Valerius Flaccus V, 450-1:

et iam rutilus correpta venenis  
 implicat igne domos.

The lexicon of Facciolatus and Forcellinus comments: "rutilus; h.e. incendia portantibus." On the basis of such passages, particularly Horace *Od.* I, 2, 2-4 and Virgil *Georg.* III, 358-9, it seems possible to take *rutilus . . . castris* as the camp reddened by flames. The meaning of *rutilus* is surely made clear by *lucent* and *incendia*.

If it be urged that a reference to the attempted burning of the fleet is out of place in a prophecy wherein the future triumphs of the Trojans and their descendants are mentioned, it may be noted that several other unfortunate circumstances are alluded to, though in each case a compensation for it is mentioned. In verse 42 the *lares* are termed *errantes*, though in the same verse *vocat . . . hospita terra*. The death of Aeneas which is implied is compensated for by his deification. The ships

are termed *fessae*, but Victory at last comes to them. So might one not feel here that for the attempted burning alluded to in verse 47 the death of Turnus is retribution?

ecce mihi lucent rutilis incendia castris:  
iam tibi praedico, barbare Turne, necem.

## III, 6, 3

Proposed reading:

aufer et ipse meum pariter *medica arte* dolorem.

This verse, on the reading of which all the best MSS agree, has been the happy hunting-ground of the emendator. The reading of AVG Plant. is *pariter medicando*.<sup>111</sup> This reading is found in editions before Broukhusius, as well as in Maittaire and Lachmann. Statius made the change of *medicando* to *medicande*, which was accepted among others by Guyet, Bronkhusius, Voss, Golbéry, Dissen and F. Wilhelm.<sup>112</sup> Waardenburg's *patera medicante* has been chosen by Santen, Gruppe, Haupt-Vahlen, L. Mueller, Hiller, and Postgate.<sup>113</sup> Among other readings suggested are: Huschke—*medicate*; Heyne—*pater et medicare*;<sup>114</sup> Baehrens—*pater o, medicare*; Birt (*ad hist. hexam. Lat. symb.* Bonnae 1876, p. 47)—*patera medicare*. Belling in his *Prolegomena* suggests "huc ades atque meum pariter medicare dolorem," and in his *Albius Tibullus: Untersuchung und Text, pariter temptate*. Postgate's suggestion is *pariles medicate*.<sup>115</sup>

The reading of the MSS (*pariter medicando*) seems syntactically, and, more especially, metrically impossible (i.e. at this period of Latin).<sup>115</sup> *Medicande*, involving the slightest change, would mean "you who also need to be cured," and a reference

<sup>111</sup> "pariter comp." Hiller says.

<sup>112</sup> *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 147 (1893), 769 foll.

<sup>113</sup> But note Postgate's objection to *patera* in the *Classical Review*, 9 (1895), 77, and the *Journal of Philology*, 25 (1897), 59.

<sup>114</sup> Heyne says: "Wacker Medebach. in Amoen. p. 72 nuper emendare vidimus: 'Adfer et ipse merum, pater, et medicare dolorem.'" Heyne also suggested (though admitting its remoteness from the MS reading): "Aufer et indomitum succo medicante dolorem."

<sup>115</sup> See Belling, *Prol.*, 76-7.

to Bacchus' love for Ariadne is suggested.<sup>116</sup> But love's pain is to be cured by forgetfulness; does Bacchus, the successful lover, need that sort of remedy? As Belling<sup>117</sup> puts it, "jener Ausdruck, der den Gott als gegenwärtig *liebeskrank*, als unglücklich Liebenden vorstellt, (ist) unerträglich schief." The love affair with Ariadne (see verses 39 foll. of this elegy) is past; he is therefore not now *medicandus*. Moreover it is not an adventure in which Bacchus' situation as represented by Lygdamus is in any wise comparable with his own.

The conjectures which introduce the word *patera* are unhappy; the *patera*<sup>118</sup> is the libation bowl, not the cup the lover will use to drain draughts of healing for his love.

I have therefore suggested for *medicando*, *medica arte*. The expression appears in the Corpus Tibullianum, II, 3, 14:

quidquid erat *medicae* vicerat *artis* amor.

*Medicus* appears also in III, 10 (IV, 4), 3-4:

crede mihi, *propera*: nec te iam, Phoebe, pigebit  
*formosae medicas* applicuisse manus.

The appropriateness of the expression is apparent, *pariter* looking forward to the next verse, as others have noted. "Do thou even thyself remove in like wise my pain by thy healing skill; often has love perished, conquered by thy gift." For similarities in expression one may compare:

Propertius III, 17, 3-4<sup>118</sup> tu potes *insanae Veneris* compescere *fastus*,  
*curarumque* tuo fit *medicina* mero.

Tibullus I, 2, 1 adde merum vinoque *novos* compesce *dolores*.

Ovid *Rem. Am.* 75-7<sup>119</sup> Te precor *incipiens*, adsit tua *laurea* nobis,  
*carminis* et *medicae*, Phoebe, repertor *opis*;  
 tu *pariter* vati, *pariter* succurre *medenti*.

Ovid *Rem. Am.* 131-2 *temporis ars medicina* ferest: *data* tempore  
*prosunt*,

et *data* non *apto* tempore *vina* nocent.

Ovid *Rem. Am.* 135 *nostrae medicabilis* arti.

<sup>116</sup> For a defence of *medicande*, see F. Wilhelm's articles, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 1893, p. 769, and 1895, p. 775.

<sup>117</sup> *Prol.*, p. 76.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. also Prop. I, 5, 27-8; II, 1, 57; III, 17, 9-10.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. René Pichon, *De sermone amatorio*, etc., Paris, 1902 (sub *medicina, mederi, medicus*).

The change palaeographically from *medica arte* to *medicando*<sup>120</sup> is not difficult to explain. The ending *-do* is clearly due to the following word, *dolorem*. (The corruption of *-te* to *-do* is also found in Ovid *Her.* IX, 126: *tegente* P; *tegendo* G.) I have noted the following instances in the Corpus Tibullianum where the error in the MS reading may to some extent have been due to the beginning of the following word:<sup>121</sup>

	following word
I, 3, 87 <i>at</i> Par; <i>ac</i> A	circa.
I, 7, 13 <i>an</i> ξ; <i>at</i> A	te.
III, 7 (IV, 1), 78 <i>erroris</i> F; <i>errorum</i> A	miseri.
III, 16, (IV, 10) 6 <i>ne</i> ξ; <i>nec</i> A	cedam.
II, 4, 2 <i>paterna</i> G; <i>paterve</i> A	vale.

The confusion between *arte* and *ante* appears in Tib. II, 1, 24 where for *ante*, ζ read *arte*. In Prop. II, 3, 42, for *in arte* D (the accepted reading), NFV read *in ante*.

The error in the MS reading (if the conjecture be accepted) is in large measure due to an improper division of words, two words being written as one. The following instances of this very mistake appear in the MSS of Tibullus:<sup>122</sup>

I, 1, 44 <i>si licet</i> ξ; <i>scilicet</i> A Par.	
I, 5, 7 <i>per te</i> G; <i>parce</i> A.	
I, 6, 40 <i>et fluit</i> ξ; <i>effluit</i> A.	
I, 8, 39 <i>iuvant quae</i> V; <i>iuvatque</i> A.	
II, 4, 17 <i>et qualis</i> ξ; <i>equalis</i> A. •	
II, 6, 16 <i>si licet</i> ξ; <i>scilicet</i> A.	
III, 1, 15 <i>per vos</i> G; <i>parvos</i> A.	
III, 4, 87 <i>canis anguinea</i> G Cuiacianus Plant. } <i>canis anguina</i> Postgate } ; <i>consanguinea</i> A.	
III, 7 (IV, 1), 70 <i>inter geminae</i> F; { <i>termine</i> A (supra scr. ab al. manu <i>ge</i> ). <i>tergeminę</i> , G Cuiacianus.	
III, 7 (IV, 1), 189 <i>ante actos</i> (accepted reading); { <i>anteactos</i> F. <i>accitos</i> V Cuiacianus. <i>accitus</i> A.	
III, 17 (IV, 11), 1 <i>pia cura</i> ξ; <i>placitura</i> A.	

At other times the improper division of words has corrupted the reading by breaking up one word into two. The MSS of Tibullus show the following instances of this sort of corruption:

<sup>120</sup> A possible order of corruption is: *medica arte*—*medicarte*—*medicante*—*medicando*.

<sup>121</sup> There is no attempt at completeness in this list.

<sup>122</sup> There is no attempt at completeness in this list.

- I, 4, 29 *deperdit* Par.; *te perdit* A.  
 I, 7, 9 *Tarbella* Scaliger; *tua bella* A.  
 I, 9, 19 *divitiis* §; *O viciis* AV.  
 III, 7, (IV, 1), 39 *castrisve* Par. Plant.; *cartis ne* A.  
 III, 7 (IV, 1), 73 *more* § Plant.; *in ore* A.  
 III, 7 (IV, 1), 103 *sciunctim* Salmasius;  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{seu iunctum} \textit{ A Plant.} \\ \textit{seu vinctum} \textit{ Par.} \end{array} \right.$

Finally error is caused by improperly dividing words, even where the number of words employed is not altered, e.g. II, 6, 21, in which *credit aratis* appears in Fr. as *credita ratis*.

It is apparent, then, how numerous the instances are wherein the text of the Corpus Tibullianum has suffered through an improper word-division; the other changes in *medica arte* are easily explainable palaeographically. The expression is moreover in harmony with the elegiac diction and appropriate to the sense of the passage.

### III, 12 (IV, 6), 19–20

Proposed reading:

si iuveni grata est, veniet cum proximus annus,  
 hic idem votis mutuus adsit amor.

MSS:

- sis* F; *si* AVG A (of Lachmann); *sit* G<sup>2</sup>; *sic* §.  
*iuveni* AFVG.  
*veniet* AVG Cuiacianus; *et veniet* §; *ac veniet* §; *adveniet* G<sup>2</sup> Plant.  
*iam vetus* O Plant. (where *mutuus* stands in verse 20).  
*esset* O; *adsit* § Plant.; *ut sit* G<sup>2</sup>.

The reading of verse 19 is seriously disputed; in verse 20 all editions seen read *adsit* save Scaliger's, which retain *esset*.<sup>123</sup> *Vetus* is also generally read;<sup>124</sup> Prien<sup>125</sup> however proposed *ratus*, which Baehrens incorporated in his text<sup>126</sup> and H. Graef<sup>127</sup> approved. C. M. Francken<sup>128</sup> is also dissatisfied with *vetus*.

<sup>123</sup> Statius—*ut sit*: Baehrens—"fort. extet": Cartault (1909)—*erstet* and *vobis* for *votis*.

<sup>124</sup> As far as I know, no one alters *iam*.

<sup>125</sup> *Die Symmetrie und Responion der römischen Elegie*, p. 8.

<sup>126</sup> See also Baehrens' *Tibullische Blätter*, p. 91.

<sup>127</sup> *Annotationes ad Tibullum* (Particula altera), Memel, 1885.

<sup>128</sup> *Mnemos.* n.s., 13 (1885), 185.



It is, however, in the first verse that we find the main difficulties, and so the less unanimity of agreement on the part of scholars. The various important readings are as follows:

sit iuveni grata, adveniet—Aldus, Sessa, Muretus, Grassar.

sic iuveni gratum, veniet—Stattius, Kraffert (with colon after *gratum*).<sup>129</sup>

sic iuveni grata, veniet—Scaliger.<sup>130</sup>

sic iuveni gratis, veniet—Heinsius,<sup>131</sup> Broukhusius, Volpi, Heyne.<sup>132</sup>

sit iuveni grata, ac, veniet—Passerat, J. Douss, Maittaire, Delphin Classics, Voss, Wunderlich, Bach, Golbéry, Hertzberg, L. Doederlein. Heyne also approves of this reading, after changing the order of the preceding distichs.

sternuit illa: ratum est—Herel (see Heyne's edition).

sic iuveni placeat: veniet—Huschke.

si, iuveni grata veniet—Lachmann, Dissen.

si. iuveni gratae veniet—Lachmann proposed.

sis iuveni cara—Dissen proposed.

sis, Iuno, grata { ac } veniet—Gruppe, Prien, Graef. So also, substituting *ut* (Eberz) before *veniet*—Hiller,<sup>133</sup> Postgate,<sup>134</sup> Jurenka.

diva, veni grata, ut verteret cum—Baehrens.<sup>135</sup>

sit iuveni grata, et veniet—Vahlen (ed. V), Jacoby.

sit iuveni gratum: veniet—Mueller.

si iuveni gratum, veniet—Rigler.

sis iuveni grata; adveniet—Roszbach.

sit iuveni grata: veniet—K. P. Schulze.<sup>136</sup>

sit iuveni grata, ut, veniet—A. Otto.<sup>137</sup>

sic iuveni gratae, veniet—Belling.<sup>138</sup>

sic iuveni grato veniet—Ehwald.<sup>139</sup>

sis iuveni grata ac—Cartault.

<sup>129</sup> *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung lateinischer Autoren*, III Teil, Aurich, 1883.

<sup>130</sup> Scaliger: "*grata hoc est grate.*"

<sup>131</sup> Heinsius: "*gratis iuveni votis adsit Amor iterum anno proxime venturo.*"

<sup>132</sup> But he was dissatisfied with this reading.

<sup>133</sup> In the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (1893), he reads: "*sis iuveni grata, ut.*"

<sup>134</sup> In his *Selections*; in his edition he marks the verse corrupt, suggesting "*fort. grate.*"

<sup>135</sup> Cf. *Tibullische Blätter*, p. 91.

<sup>136</sup> *Beiträge zur Erklärung der römischen Elegiker*, Berlin, 1893, p. 22; and *Wochenschrift für Phil.*, 2 (1885), 598. He also thought that perhaps *votis* should be *iunctis*.

<sup>137</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Gymnasialwesen*, 39 (1885), 225.

<sup>138</sup> C. M. Francken (*Mnemos. n.s.*, 13, 185) believes that the thought should be to this effect:

sic iuveni gratae, veniet cum proximus annus,  
his palam votis arbiter adsit Amor.

<sup>139</sup> *Philol.*, 54 (1895), 458-9.

This list, an incomplete one, should perhaps be sufficient to deter one from a fresh attempt, but it shows at any rate that the reading of the distich is not yet settled.

In the reading proposed the word *est* is inserted after *grata*; the text at present is unmetrical, and it is obvious that *est* could readily be dropped, particularly if *si* became altered to *sis* or *sit*, thus demanding the elimination of the following verb.<sup>140</sup> This clause is the protasis of the condition, and the *cum*-clause is a part of the apodosis, i.e., "if she is dear to the youth, then when the next year comes, etc." *Iuveni* is of course Cerinthus, as in verse 8 of this elegy; and the feminine subject of *est* implied in *grata* is the *docta puella* of verse 2, *illa* of verses 5, 10 and 16.

There is, to be sure, no certain instance of *gratus* referring to a person in the Corpus Tibullianum; though it may be that in II, 5, 68 the reading of A (*grata*) is correct, and *Herophile Phoebo grata* would be parallel to this passage. We do find *gratus* with a dependent dative in III, 7 (IV, 1), 8–9, but modifying a non-personal noun: *etiam Phoebo gratissima dona Cres tulit*. But outside of the Corpus Tibullianum the instances are numerous enough:

Ovid *Fast.* III, 467–8 inter captivas facie praestante puellas  
grata nimis Baccho filia regis erat.

*Am.* II, 19, 30 factast, quam fuerat, gratior illa Iovi.

*Fast.* III, 495 vitio tibi gratior ipso est.

*Met.* VIII, 771 Nympha sub hoc ego sum Cereri gratissima ligno.

*Met.* XIII, 528 proles gratissima matri.

Horace *C.* I, 10, 19–20 superis deorum gratus (Mercurius) et imis.

*C.* III, 9, 1 donec gratus eram tibi.

Propertius I, 2, 31 his tu semper eris nostrae gratissima vitae.<sup>141</sup>

In other words, we have that meaning that Pichon refers to when he says, "Ad personas hoc verbum (*gratus*) refertur quae carae sunt amantibus."

<sup>140</sup> Voss says: "In anderen (Handschriften) war *et veniet* verderbt in *est veniet* und *eveniet*," and again: "In den meinigen verschrieb einer 'Si iuveni grata est'; einer 'si iuveni grata est.'" Broukhusius also says: "*grata est unus St.*" According to Heyne, *Guelf. 3* read: "Si iuveni grata est, veniet cum etc." Belling (*Prol.*, p. 70) says: "Soviel ist sicher, dass an der Commissur der Worte *grata* und *veniet* ein Fehler der Überlieferung steckt."

<sup>141</sup> Note also Prop. I, 12, 7, "olim gratus eram."

The fact that the *cum*-clause is taken as modifying the following wish and not as dependent upon the protasis which it immediately succeeds, may seem unusual, and yet there are several instances of such a use in the *Corpus Tibullianum*. Thus in I, 4, 49-50:

nec, velit insidiis altas si claudere valles,  
dum placeas, useri retia ferre negent.

the second clause does not depend upon the first, which, it may incidentally be noted, is a *si*-clause as here. Again, in I, 6, 41-2:

quisquis et occurret, ne possit crimen habere,  
stet procul ante, alia stet procul ante via.

the *ne*-clause modifies, not the preceding, but the succeeding clause. And I, 8, 65-6:

dum mihi venturam fingo, quodcumque movetur,  
illius credo tunc sonuisse pedes.

shows the same usage. And the elegy preceding the one under discussion, namely III, 11 (IV, 5) shows something rather similar in verses 5-6:

iuvat hoc, Cerinthe, quod uror,  
si tibi de nobis mutus ignis adest.

for the second subordinate clause does not depend upon the clause immediately preceding.

Let us now turn to the meaning of the clause as a whole: "If she is dear to the youth, then, etc." It is, however, clearly felt that the love is reciprocated, or else verse 7:

at tu, saneta, fave, neu quis divellat amantes.

would be inappropriate; and even more convincing is verse 11:

nec possit cupidos vigilans dependere custos.

Therefore the expression means: "If she is dear to the youth (and she surely is), then, etc." The previous elegy, which has so many correspondences with this one, contains a thought closely parallel to this in verses 9-10:

mane Geni, cape tura libens votisque faveto,  
si modo, cum de me cogitat, ille calet.<sup>142</sup>

Here *si modo . . . ille calet* is parallel to *si iuveni grata est*; note further that the conclusion to this protasis is in part *votis*

<sup>142</sup> But the expressions of confidence in Cerinthus' love are far stronger in III, 12 (IV, 6).

*faveto*, as in verse 20 of our passage it is *votis . . . adsit amor*. In other words, it is only if he loves her (and the writer of this elegy feels that he does) that the speaker wishes the prayers granted.

Next stands the clause *veniet cum proximus annus*. As these prayers are offered upon her birthday, clearly this must mean "when her next birthday comes." So also in verse 20 the *vota* are those to be offered up on that next birthday, as Heyne points out: "*Vota* versu ultimo intellige, quae puella proximo anno eadem die conceptura est." These birthday prayers are frequently alluded to in the *Corpus*: thus II, 2, 9-10 (note also *vota*, v. 17); III, 11 (IV, 5), and in particular v. 9 *votisque faveto*; III, 12 (IV, 6) itself; and I, 7, the birthday poem to Messalla. It is interesting to compare Ovid *Tristia* III, 13, and particularly verse 18:

concipiamque bonas ore favente preces†

as well as Ovid *Tristia* V, 5, in which after the introductory verses the prayer begins in verse 13:

optime Natalis, quamvis procul absumus, opto  
candidus hue venias dissimilisque meo, etc.

The expression *votis adsit amor* means, I believe, "may love be present at her (next birthday-) prayers," i.e., "may the love still exist when the prayers are offered up on her next birthday." While there are not a great many instances of *adesse* with its subject non-personal as well as the dative used with it, still a number of them is found.<sup>143</sup> In most of these, however, the meaning of *adesse* does not appear very different from that of *esse*. But in the following instances the true force of *adesse* is clearly shown:

Virgil *Aen.* X, 547-8 vimque adfore verbo crediderat.<sup>144</sup>

Ovid *Her.* XIV, 10 quaeque aderant sacris, (pater) tendat in ora faces.

*Iam vetus* appears inappropriate to me, as it did to Prien, Baehrens, and Francken. If the love is "already old," not a hint to that effect is given in the elegies; if, on the other hand, *iam vetus* is taken to mean, as it usually is, "by that time old," what

<sup>143</sup> See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, *assum*.

<sup>144</sup> Conington, "he thought that his prowess would second his word."

point is there in the addition of these words? What does the prayer gain by having this idea added to it?

The change palaeographically to *mutuus* is much less difficult than it appears at first sight. If in copying, the *m* were separated from the rest of the word, we should have remaining *utuus*. If we place beside each other *utuus* and *uetus*, the close resemblance becomes apparent; both are not only words of five letters, but in fact contain exactly the same letters, with a single exception, arranged in a slightly different order. The *m* remaining by itself would then be expanded into the "Flickwort" *iam*.

The word *mutuus* is a favorite one in this group of elegies; thus in verse 8 of this elegy, we have *mutua vincla*, and in III, 11 (IV, 5) we have in verse 6 *mutuus ignis adest* and in the next verse this very group of words, *mutuus adsit amor*. This very correspondence may be urged as an objection to the proposed reading, but it might be claimed that such an objection would in some measure apply to the substitution of *adsit* for the MS *eset*, which gives us these two words in precisely the same order as in III, 11 (IV, 5). And yet this change is made by practically every editor of the Corpus Tibullianum. Moreover, in III, 11 (IV, 5) we have *mutuus ignis adest* followed immediately by *mutuus adsit amor*.

But, aside from this, is not the prayer that the *mutual* love may only last, a frequently recurring one in these elegies? Cf. e.g. III, 10 (IV, 4), 16:

tu modo semper ama: salva puella tibi est.

This fear that Cerinthus' love may not last we find again in III, 17 (IV, 11).

The distich then as a whole would mean: "If she is dear to the youth (and she really is), then at the coming of the next year may this same mutual affection exist when the birthday-prayers are offered up."

## III, 14 (IV, 8), 5-6

Proposed reading:

iam, nimium Messalla mei studiose, quiescas:  
*non tempestivae saepe, propinque, viae.*

The reading above is that of the MSS, save that for *non ζ*, AVG read *neu*. *Sepe propinque* is read in compendium in A. The reading given is moreover that of the large majority of the editors, who, however, place a comma after *quiescas*, and remove that after *saepe*. Those who read thus are Muretus, Scaliger, Grasser, Broukhusius, Maittaire, Heyne, Huschke, Golbéry, Lachmann, Dissen, Gruppe, L. Mueller, Haupt-Vahlen, and Belling;<sup>145</sup> of these, however, Heyne, Huschke, and Dissen feel that something is wrong in the pentameter. Heyne proposes *non tempestivam sic properare viam*. Baehrens and Postgate<sup>146</sup> both mark *saepe propinque* as corrupt, though in his *Selections*, Postgate accepts *non . . . saeve propinque* (the conjecture of R. Unger) as a "stop-gap." Baehrens<sup>147</sup> suggested *perge monere* (retaining *neu*), which Hiller<sup>148</sup> accepted and inserted into his text. Jurenka would read: *neu tempestivae saepe moneto viae*.

Rigler, at first accepting *non tempestivae, saeve propinque, viae*, later proposed *non tempestivae, quae procul urbe, viae*. Ayrmann, *Vit. Tib.*, § 82 suggested *non tempestivae simque propinqua viae*. Francken read for *saepe propinque, parce, propinque*.<sup>149</sup> Cartault (1909) proposed *seu tempestivast, sive propinqua via*.<sup>150</sup>

In these various readings *viae* is taken either as a genitive

<sup>145</sup> But with no punctuation save a colon after *viae*.

<sup>146</sup> He proposes in the *Journal of Philology*, 25, 64, *semper amice* for *saepe propinque*.

<sup>147</sup> Baehrens thought the following possible: "quiescas Ceu tempestivae, saeve propinque, viae."

<sup>148</sup> In the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (1893) it is marked corrupt.

<sup>149</sup> *Mnemos.* n.s., 13 (1885), 186.

<sup>150</sup> Statius suggested *fugae* for *viae*. Heyne made a second suggestion: "non tempestive saepe propinque tuae." Voss read as the majority of the editors, substituting however *nec* for *non*, and *tempestive* for *tempestivae*. After this paper was in print, I noted the proposal of J. J. Hartman, *Mnemos.* n.s. 39 (1911), 399, *Non tempestiva est, saeve propinque via*.

depending upon *quiescas*,<sup>151</sup> or as depending upon *propinque*. Thus Scaliger: "Qui saepe te accingis itineri intempestivo."

The reading suggested by me follows the MS reading, save in substituting *non* for *neu*. A colon is, however, placed after *quiescas*, and by putting a comma both before and after *propinque*, *saepe* is completely separated from it in construction. The verse *non tempestivae saepe, propinque, viae* would then be translated: "Journeys are often unseasonable, kinsman."

The only other instances of *quiescere* in the Corpus Tibullianum are II, 4, 49, and II, 6, 30, and in neither of these do we have a noun used directly with it or an infinitive, but the use in each case parallels that proposed:

II, 4, 49 et 'bene' discedens dicet 'placideque quiescas.'

II, 6, 30 sic bene sub tenera parva quiescat humo.

The ellipsis of *sunt* which has been assumed is quite in accord with usages in the Corpus Tibullianum. In discussing the reading of I, 5, 76 (page 182), the instances of ellipses of *esse* in the Corpus Tibullianum are classified under four heads, of which the third "comprises those cases wherein a predicate noun or adjective occurs," which is the condition we have in this verse. The following instances fell under this head:

I, 1, 75 hic ego dux milesque bonus.

I, 3, 43 non fixus in agris,  
qui regeret certis finibus arva, lapis.

I, 7 9 foll. Tarbella Pyrene  
testis et Oceani litora Santonici,  
testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque Garunna,  
Carnutis et flavi caerulea lympha Liger.

I, 10, 26 (text dubious) hostiaque e plena rustica porcus hara.

I, 10, 63 quater ille beatus  
quo tenera irato flere puella potest.

II, 1, 79 a miseri, quos hic graviter deus urget!

II, 1, 80 at ille  
felix, cui placidus leniter adflat Amor.

II, 5, 107 ars bona!

III, 2, 5 non ego firmus in hoc.

III, 4, 51-2 tantum cara tibi quantum nec filia matri,  
quantum nec cupido bella puella viro.

III, 4, 94 isque pater, quo non alter amabilior.

<sup>151</sup> Postgate, *Selections*: "*viae* gen. after *quiescas*. 'cease from unreasonable travel,' i.e., give up the journey, an imitation of the Greek construction."

- III, 6, 19 *nec torvus Liber in illis.*  
 III, 6, 43 *felix, quicumque dolore  
 alterius disces posse cavere tuo.*  
 III, 7 (IV, 1), 9–10 *et cunctis Baccho iucundior hospes  
 Icarus.*  
 III, 7 (IV, 1), 40 *nec tamen hic aut hic tibi laus maiorve minorve.*  
 III, 7 (IV, 1), 107 foll. *testis mihi victae  
 fortis Iapydiae miles, testis quoque fallax  
 Pannonius, gelidas passim disiectus in Alpes,  
 testis Arupinis et pauper natus in arvis.*  
 III, 19 (IV, 13), 11 *tu mihi curarum requies, tu nocte vel atra  
 lumen, et in solis tu mihi turba locis.*

In the group of elegies by Sulpicia we find the following instances of an omission of *esse*:

- III, 15 (IV, 9), 1: in a compound verb-form.  
 III, 16 (IV, 10), 3–4: where another form of *esse* is found in the same sentence.

In other words, ellipses of *esse* of this type are frequent in the Corpus Tibullianum, and while none appears in the poems by Sulpicia, yet in this small group of elegies there are two instances of the omission of *esse*.

It may be objected that the thought in this verse is not a very profound one, but generalizations and those too not very abstruse are not uncommon throughout the Corpus. Thus, for an example of such a generalization following a command (cf. this distich), we have in III, 10 (IV, 4), 15:

*pone metum, Cerinthe: deus non laedit amantes.*

Compare also:

- III, 2, 6 *frangit fortia corda dolor.*  
 III, 3, 20 *falso plurima vulgus amat.*  
 III, 3, 21 *non opibus mentes hominum curaeque levantur.*  
 III, 4, 63 *mens est mutabilis illis.*  
 III, 4, 76 *vincuntur molli pectora dura prece.*  
 III, 6, 34 *difficile est tristi fingere mente iocum.*  
 III, 14 (IV, 8), 3 *dulcius urbe quid est?*  
 I, 4, 28 *non segnis stat remeatque dies.*  
 I, 4, 77 *gloria cuique sua est.*

While it must be admitted that *saepe* holds this position in the verse nowhere else in the Corpus Tibullianum, yet it may be noted that of fifty-two instances<sup>152</sup> of *saepe* in Propertius,<sup>153</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Including II, 25, 12.

<sup>153</sup> See Phillimore, *Index Verborum Propertianus*.



twenty-one appear in exactly the position *saepe* has here, i.e., immediately following the diaeresis in the pentameter, and thirty-one in all other possible positions.

Moreover I have come upon two cases where *saepe* and *propinquus* stand next to each other, and in neither case does *saepe* modify *propinquus*:

Propertius II, 6, 7 quin etiam falsos fingis tibi saepe propinquos.

Martial IX, 54, 11-12 (which is more interesting because the words appear in the same position in the pentameter as in the verse under consideration):

mittimus ergo tibi parvae minusecula chortis.  
qualia si recipis, saepe propinquus eris.

As to the exact relationship that Messalla bore to Sulpicia, that cannot of course be determined with certainty, but Haupt's<sup>154</sup> suggestion that Valeria, the sister of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (the Messalla of this elegy), who married Servius Sulpicius,<sup>155</sup> was the mother of Sulpicia, seems likely.

*Transmitted January 8, 1912.*

<sup>154</sup> Haupt. *Opuscula*, iii, 502-3, number lxii, which is the same as *Hermes*, 5 (1871), 32-4.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. III, 16 (IV, 10), 4.

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THE ARCHETYPE OF LUCRETIVS

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

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## THE ARCHETYPE OF LUCRETIIUS

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

All students of Lucretius are familiar with the brilliant hypothesis of Lachmann concerning the lost archetype from which all surviving manuscripts of Lucretius descend. As is well known, the Quadratus manuscript has certain passages of the poem added at the end in the following order: II 737-806, V 928-979, I 734-785, II 253-304. All these passages contain a number of lines that is a multiple of 26 if the headings are included, hence the archetype must have contained 26 lines on each page. Lachmann's arguments are contained on pages 3 and 427 of his commentary and in his notes to I 734, 1093, II 253, 659, 757, III 357, IV 126, 144, 323, V 928, VI 563, 840, 1225, and 1273. These notes, like many others, are not easily intelligible, especially when one is hurried. It is so easy to fall into error in hasty calculation of any one page of the archetype that the writer has found it necessary, in order to guard against mistakes, to reconstruct the archetype mechanically into quires, leaves, and pages; and as it may be found useful, perhaps, to other scholars I have thought it worth while to print it, as follows:

Quat.	Folio	Page	Quat.	Folio	Page
I	1	1 vacant	I	4	7 126-150 + 1
	2	I 1-26		8	151-176
	2	3 27-51 +		5	9 177-202
		1 heading		10	203-227 + 1
	4	52-76 + 1		6	11 228-253
	3	5 77-101 + 1		12	254-277 + 2
	6	102-125 + 2		7	13 278-302 + 1
				14	303-326 + 2

Quat.	Folio	Page	Quat.	Folio	Page		
I	8	15	327-351 + 1	IV	62	382-403 + 4	
		16	352-376 + 1		32	63	404-428 + 1
II	9	17	377-402		64	429-453 + 1	
		18	403-428 (+ 1)	V	33	65	454-477 + 1
		10	19		429-453 + 1	66	478-502 + 1
		20	454-479		34	67	503-527 + 1
		11	21		480-504 + 1	68	528-553
		22	505-530		35	69	554-579
		12	23		531-555 + 1	70	580-603 + 2
		24	556-580 + 1		36	71	604-629
		13	25		581-606	72	630-654 + 1
		26	607-632		37	73	655-680
		14	27		633-657 + 1	74	681-706
		28	658-683		38	75	707-731 + 1
		15	29		684-708 + 1	76	732-756 + 1
		30	709-733 + 1		39	77	757-782
16	31	734-759	78		783-806 + 2		
32	760-785	40	79	807-832			
III	17	33	786-811		80	833-856 + 2	
		34	812-836 + 1	VI	41	81	857-881 + 1
		18	35		837-862	82	882-907
		36	863-888		42	83	908-933
		19	37		889-914	84	934-959
		38	915-940		43	85	960-985
		20	39		941-965 + 1	86	986-1011
		40	966-991		44	87	1012-1037
		21	41		992-1016 + vacant line	88	1038-1061 + 2
		42	empty		45	89	1062-1087
		22	43		1017-1042	90	1088-1112 + 1
		44	1043-1067 + 1		46	91	1113-1138
		23	45		1068-1093	92	1139-1163 + 1
		46	1094-1117 + inscript.		47	93	1164-1174 + 2
24	47	II, 1-25 + 1	94		III, 1-26		
48	26-51	48	95	27-51 + 1			
IV	25	49	52-76 + 1	96	52-77		
		50	77-101 + 1	VII	49	97	78-102 + 1
		26	51		102-126 + 1	98	103-128
		52	127-151 + 1		50	99	129-153
		27	53		152-177	100	154-179
		54	178-201 + 1 = 2		51	101	180-204
		28	55		202-226 + 1	102	205-229
		56	227-252		52	103	230-254 + 1
		29	57		253-278	104	255-279 + 1
		58	279-304		53	105	280-304 + 1
		30	59		305-330	106	305-330
		60	331-355		54	107	331-355 + 1
		31	61		356-381	108	356-379 + 2
						55	109
			110		406-430 + 1		
			56	111	431-453 + 1		

Quat.	Folio	Page	Quat.	Folio	Page
VII		112 454-479	XI	81 161	549-573 + 1
VIII	57	113 480-505			162 574-598 + 1
		114 506-531	82	163	599-623 + 1
	58	115 532-557		164	624-648 + 1
		116 558-583	83	165	649-673 + 1
	59	117 584-609		166	674-699
		118 610-634 + 1	84	167	700-724 + 1
	60	119 635-660		168	725-750
		120 661-685 + 1	85	169	751-776
	61	121 686-710 + 1		170	777-801 + 1
		122 711-736	86	171	802-827
	62	123 737-763		172	828-852 + 1
		124 764-789	87	173	853-877 + 1
	63	125 790-815		174	878-903
		126 816-841	88	175	904-928 + 1
	64	127 842-867		176	929-954
		128 868-893	XII	89 177	955-979 + 1
IX	65	129 894-919		178	980-1005
		130 920-945		90 179	1006-1030 + 1
	66	131 946-971		180	1031-1056
		132 972-996 + 1	91	181	1057-1082
	67	133 997-1022		182	1083-1108
		134 1023-1048	92	183	1109-1134
	68	135 1049-1074		184	1135-1160
		136 1075-1094 + 3	93	185	1161-1186
	69	137 Capitula of IV		186	1187-1212
		138 IV 1-25 + 1	94	187	1213-1238
	70	139 26-50 + 1		188	1239-1264
		140 51-76	95	189	1265-1287 +
	71	141 77-101 + 1			inscript.
		142 102-126 + 1		190	vacant
	72	143 vacant + 1	96	191	Capit. of V
		144 127-151 + 1		192	V 1-26
X	73	145 152-176 + 1	XIII	97 193	27-52
		146 177-202		194	53-75 + 3
	74	147 203-228	98	195	76-99 + 1
		148 [222-228]		196	100-125
		229-247 + 1	99	197	126-149 + 2
	75	149 248-272 + 1		198	150-175
		150 273-298	100	199	176-200 + 1
	76	151 299-322 + 2		200	201-226
		152 323-347 + 1	101	201	227-250 + 2
	77	153 348-371 + 2		202	251-274 + 2
		154 372-396 + 1	102	203	275-298 + 2
	78	155 397-422		204	299-323 + 1
		156 423-448	103	205	324-348 + 1
	79	157 449-474		206	349-373 + 1
		158 475-499 + 1	104	207	374-397 + 2
	80	159 500-523 + 2		208	398-422 + 1
		160 524-548 + 1			

Quat.	Folio	Page	Quat.	Folio	Page		
XIV	105	209	423-448	XVII	129	257	181-205 + 1
		210	449-472 + 2			258	206-229 + 2
	106	211	473-498		130	259	230-254 + 1
		212	499-524			260	255-280
	107	213	525-550		131	261	281-305 + 1
		214	551-576 + 1			262	306-331
	108	215	577-601 + 1		132	263	333-356 + 1
		216	602-626 + 1			264	357-382
	109	217	627-651 + 1		133	265	383-408
		218	652-676 + 1			266	409-434
	110	219	677-701 + 1		134	267	435-459 + 1
		220	702-726 + 1			268	460-485
	111	221	727-751 + 1		135	269	486-509 + 1
		222	752-776 + 1			270	510-534 + 1
112	223	777-801 + 1	136	271	535-559 + 1		
	224	802-827		272	560-585		
XV	113	225	828-853	XVIII	137	273	586-610 + 1
		226	854-878 + 1			274	611-636
	114	227	879-902 + 2		138	275	637-661 + 1
		228	903-927 + 1			276	662-687
	115	229	928-953		139	277	688-712 + 1
		230	954-979			278	713-737 + 1
	116	231	980-1005		140	279	738-761 + 2
		232	1006-1031			280	762-787
	117	233	1032-1057		141	281	788-813
		234	1058-1083			282	814-839
	118	235	1084-1109		142	283	Lost
		236	1110-1135			284	Lost
119	237	1136-1160 + 1	143	285	840-863 + 2		
	238	1161-1186		286	864-887 + 2		
120	239	1187-1212	144	287	888-913		
	240	1213-1238		288	914-937 + 1		
XVI	121	241	1239-1263	XIX	145	289	938-964
		242	1264-1288 + 1			290	965-991
	122	243	1289-1314		146	291	992-1016
		244	1315-1340			292	1017-1042
	123	245	1341-1366		147	293	1043-1068
		246	1367-1392			294	1069-1093 + 1
	124	247	1393-1418		148	295	1094-1119
		248	1419-1444			296	1120-1144 + 1
	125	249	1445-1457 +		149	297	1145-1170
			inscript. and			298	1171-1196
	capit.	150	299	1197-1222			
	250	VI 1-26	300	1223-1248			
126	251	27-52	151	301	1249-1274		
	252	53-78		302	1275-1286 +		
127	253	79-103 + 1		inscript.			
	254	104-129	152	303	vacant		
128	255	130-155		304	vacant		
		256	156-180				

This reconstruction agrees with Lachmann's notes except for what he says on VI 1225 and 1273. He makes the page which contained VI 1223-1248 the 48th of Book VI; I make it the 49th; then page 301, leaf 151, the 50th page of Book VI he makes the 49th. Consequently page 302 was the last written page and the 152nd leaf was vacant on both sides, filling out the last quire, thus making two vacant pages at the end instead of one. It may be that I have still misunderstood the haughty scholar and have failed to make the calculation correctly; but I am supported by Polle, *De Artis Vocab. Lucret.*, page 66, who noted the same discrepancy. So far as I know, Polle's correction, made as long ago as 1866, has not been disputed, although it has aroused no comment.

In the photographic reproduction of the Oblongus manuscript, issued by Sijthoff at Leyden in 1908, there is a preface by M. Chatelain, who gives on page vi a reconstruction of the archetype. This reconstruction differs from the one given above in the following details:

- Q. I, fol. 2-8, I 1-374 + 16 titles.
- Q. II, fol. 9-16, 379-785 + 8 titles.
- Q. V, fol. 33-40, II 454-858 + 11 titles.
- Q. VI, fol. 41-48, 859-III 75 + 8 titles.
- Q. VII, fol. 49-56, III 76-479 + 12 titles.
- Q. VIII, fol. 57-64, 480-891 + 4 titles.
- Q. IX, fol. 65-72, 882-IV 145 + titles.
- Q. X, fol. 73-80, IV 146-526 + titles.
- Q. XI, fol. 81-88, 549-954 + titles.
- Q. XIII, fol. 97-104, V 27-426 + 20 titles.
- Q. XIV, fol. 105-112, V 427-827 + 15 titles.
- Q. XVI, fol. 121-128, V 1239-VI 172 + titles.
- Q. XVII, fol. 129-136, 173-578 + 10 titles.
- Q. XVIII, fol. 137-144, 579-984 + 13 titles.
- Q. XIX, fol. 145-150, 985-1286.

This discrepancy is not easy to explain. One cause, at least, is the uncertainty of the number of titles, and there may be misprints. Thus, in the first quire, following Lachmann, I count 14 titles, Chatelain 16, and in several cases he merely says "cum titulis" without giving the exact number of them. Whether he wished to reconstruct the archetype by Lachmann's rules is not plain: after giving his scheme he adds "sic archetypum Lach-



manni conceptum, fama universali concelebratum, referre debuimus."

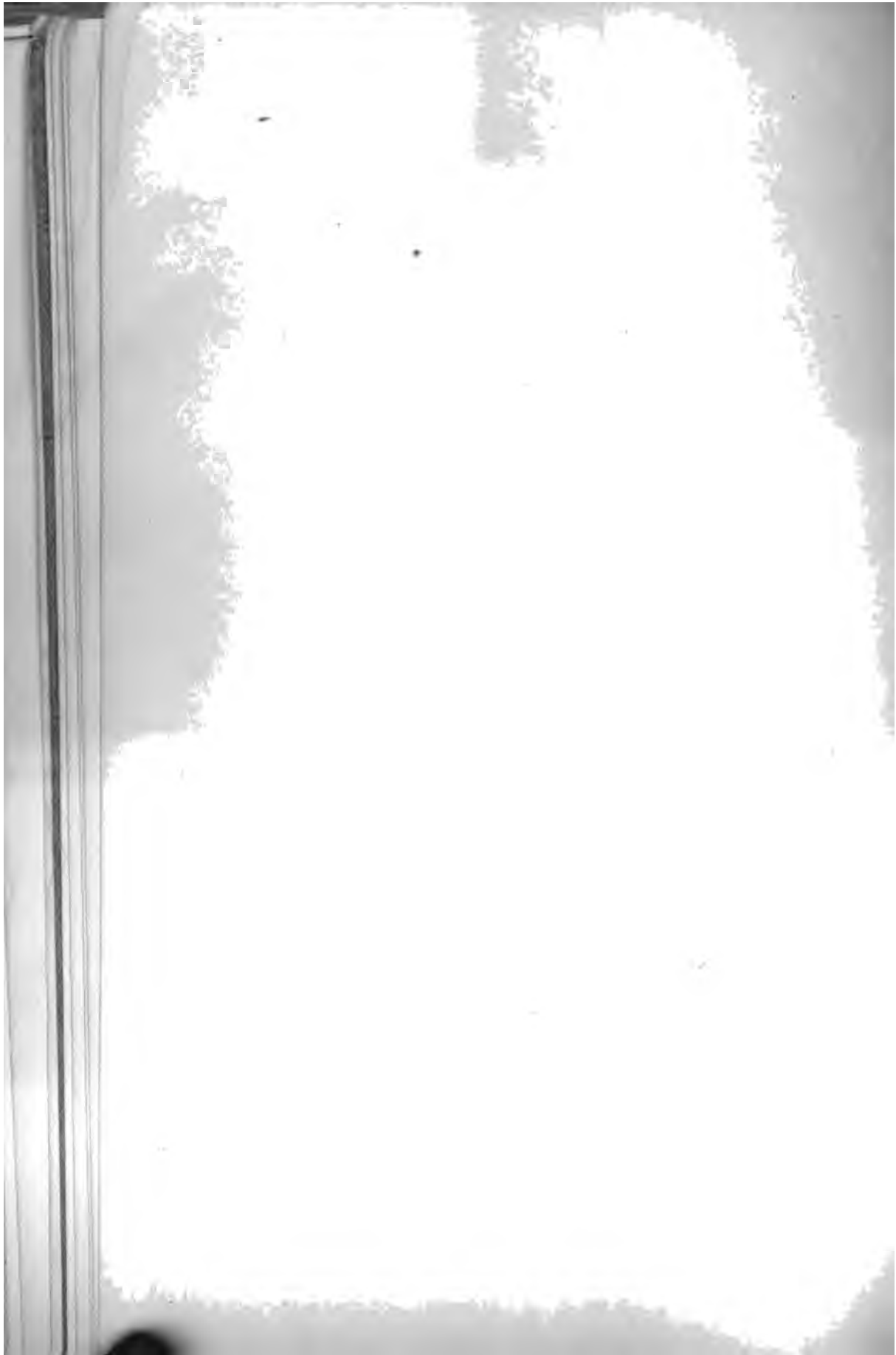
Lachmann's conception has met with general approval, although it must be inferred from silence rather than from express statements. But in slight details Goebel and Susemihl have differed, as may be learned from Polle's article in *Philologus*, 25, 529, and Susemihl's in the same journal, 29, 429. Goebel would have no lacuna after I 1013, and page 33 he would not have empty (I make 42 the empty page), putting 786-811 on that page; then on page 39 [38] Lachmann, 915-939 is for Goebel 941-965; page 41 [40] 965-990 L.—992-1013 G.; finally, page 46, 1094-1117 L.—1117 G. Again; he would have page 137 vacant, 138, index, 139, IV 1-25, and 143, 102-126. Susemihl would have four vacant lines after I, 1013 and 23 empty ones on the next page after I 1014, and then page 41 [43] beginning with I 1017. Munro, vol. 1, page 28, suggests that one leaf was lost after IV 126; IV and V have an index prefixed, and one page was left blank before the index of IV. Pages 41 and 143 are the most vulnerable of Lachmann's hypothesis.

Finally, Woltjer, in *Jahrb.* 123 (1881), 769 sq., endeavored to reconstruct a new archetype with pages of double columns of 13 lines each. This reconstruction was criticized by Brieger in the same journal, 127, 553 sq., and has since received no notice.

The archetype of Lachmann confirms and also refutes some instances of transposition. Thus I 326 is placed after 327 by Brieger; but 326 came at the bottom of page 14, and 327 at the top of page 15, and for a like reason the transposition of II 453 and 454 is improbable, as 453 was at the foot of page 64 and 454 at the top of 65. II 655-659 are transferred by some to follow 651, but 655 following were at the head of page 73. II 680 was the last line of page 73 and is rightly transferred to follow 659. III 430, at the foot of page 110, Lachmann rejected. III 763 was at the foot of page 123; it is rejected as a gloss. IV 49-50, at the foot of page 139, are generally rejected. IV 347 was at the foot of page 152, and Giussani transfers both 346 and 347 to follow 331. IV 801 was at the foot of page 170; many editors reject 799, 800, 801; see the note in my edition. V 26 was the last line on page 192; it is transferred with 27 to follow 36 by

Kannengiesser; 27 was at the top of page 193. Line 175 was at the foot of page 198; many editors read in the order 175–176–174; I make 176 the top line of page 199. V 801 was at the foot of page 223; 801–4 were bracketed by Giussani. VI 228–9 are compressed into one verse by Lachmann; Gneisse would reject both, and Bentley, 228; line 229 was at the foot of page 258. VI 254 was at the foot of page 259; Brieger rejects 253–4, Neumann and Gneisse 251–4. VI 434–5 were rejected by Lotze; 434 was at the top of page 266. VI 509 was at the foot of page 269 and yet *viventi* of OQ is repeated from 510 at the top of page 270. This is one of many instances that show that the Lachmannian archetype is itself a copy. VI 636 was at the foot of page 274; Bockemueller rejected 635–638. The number of instances where a word in the last line is corrupt is so great that I have made no attempt to record the cases.

Turning now to the evidence that may be inferred from the lines at the top of the page, the following changes are supported or weakened. I 102 was at the top of page 6; 102–135 are bracketed by Bockemueller as a later addition. I 454, so frequently rejected, came at the top of page 20. 505, rejected by Tohte, was at the top of page 22. 531 was at the top of page 23, and is transferred in brackets by Brieger to follow 537; others place it elsewhere or reject it. II 478–9 were rejected by Gneisse; they were at the top of page 66. Lines 655–9 were at the top of page 73; they are placed after 651 or bracketed. After 681, the top line of page 74, a lacuna is postulated. IV 127–8 were at the head of page 144; Winckelmann and Brieger put them after a lacuna following 41. 299 began page 151; Brieger brackets 299–363. V 1006 was at the head of page 232, and is rejected by many editors. 1315 was rejected by Faber and Lachmann; it stood at the head of page 244. 1341 was at the top of page 245; it was rejected with others by Munro and Giussani and by other scholars who make other changes. VI 383–5 are rejected by Brieger; they stood at the head of page 265. 535 was at the head of page 271; 535–556 were transferred by Brieger and Kannengiesser to follow 638. 1017–1021 stood at the top of page 292; Giussani transfers them to follow 1032. The junction of the quires justifies no suspicion whatever of dislocation at such points.



thought to be corrupt. 634–669 were bracketed by Brieger; 634 was at the top of page 114. 690 was at the foot of page 115; 690–4 were transferred by many editors. 955 was at the foot of page 125; it is transferred to follow 951. V 210 was at the top of page 193, which began a new quire; a lacuna is postulated by some before 210. 573 was at the foot of page 205; it is transferred generally to follow 569. 574, at the top of page 206, is omitted by all. V 1396 was at the foot of page 236; 1392–6 were rejected by some. VI 317 was at the foot of page 251; 317–8 are bracketed by Giusanni. 502, at the foot of page 258, was rejected by Lambinus. 608 was at the top of page 263; 608–38 are variously treated and Giussani infers a lacuna after 607; early editors supplied a verse. 635 was at the top of page 264; 635–8 are rejected by Bockemueller. 1247 was at the foot of page 288; the line is variously treated.

Thus little is gained for textual criticism by the proposed arrangement. The number of cases explainable by such a conception of the archetype is so small in comparison with the number of accepted transfers that the result is futile. Nothing at all is gained for the problems of Book IV, where help is most needed. The two passages—II 484 sq. and VI 79—which led Chatelain to suggest a page of 27 lines do not work out as beginning pages; page 63 began with II 471 and page 242 with VI 55.

Again, starting from the inversion of I 14 and 15 as a possible indication that the original archetype had 15 lines to the page like the Vatican of Cicero's *Republic*, I endeavored to reconstruct such an archetype, but the attempt was fruitless. I mention this that no one may similarly waste his effort.

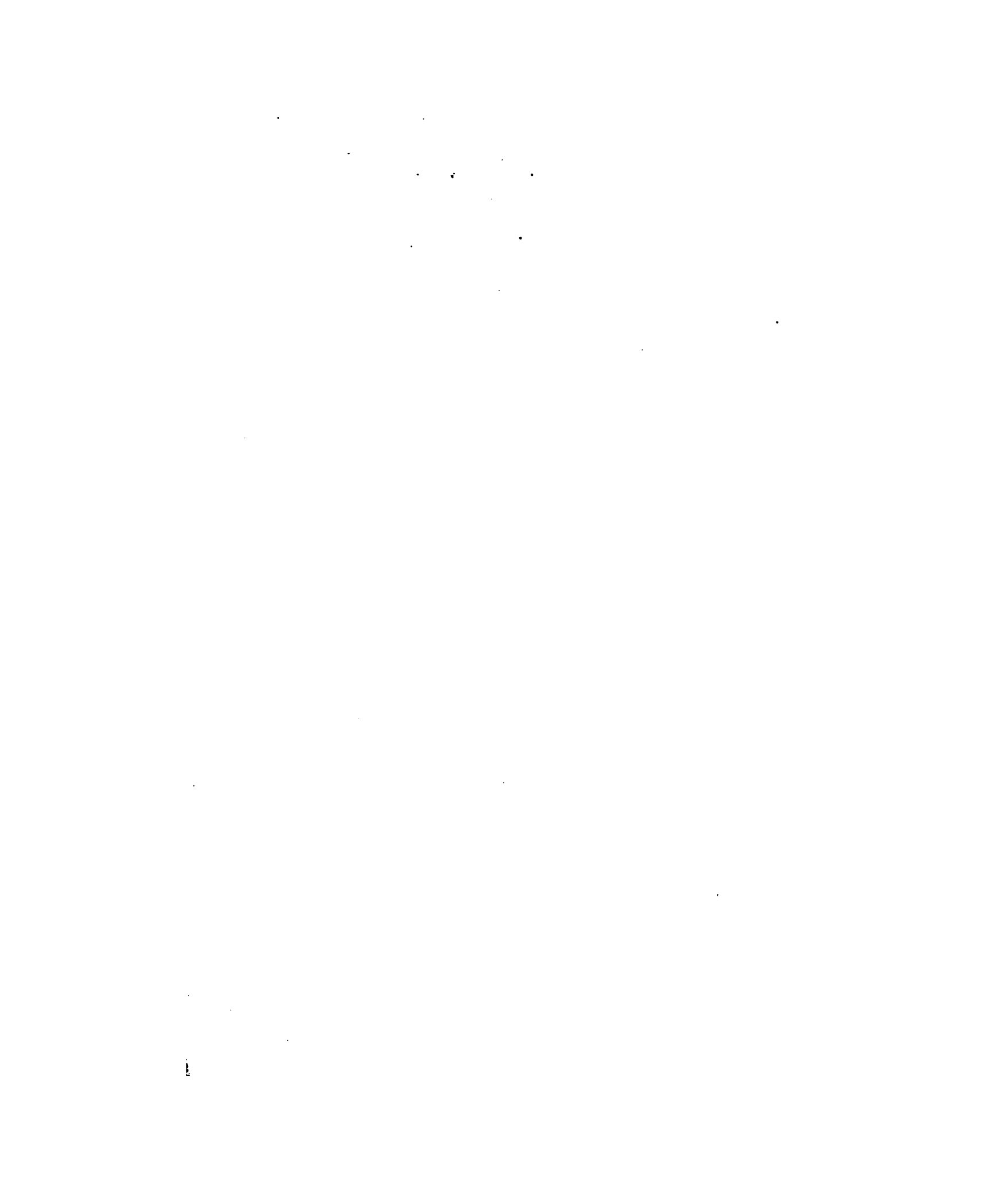
In conclusion I feel that all attempts to solve critical difficulties in the poem by appealing either to the Lachmannian archetype or to any other will prove unavailing. The problems must be approached in other ways and arguments must rest on logical principles, and not on the hypothetical mechanical arrangement of lines and pages. Occasionally the 26-line archetype will confirm changes which would be made in every case on other grounds. Lucretian scholars have been wise in generally neglecting the archetype as an effective instrument of criticism.

*Transmitted June 28, 1913.*

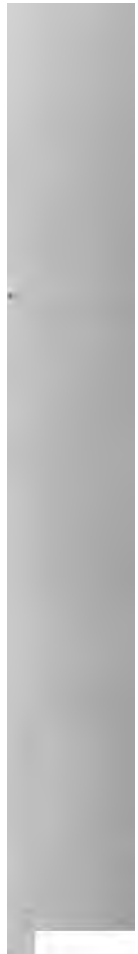












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IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

Vol. 2, No. 11, pp. 237-253

August 24, 1914

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CORRUPTION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS OF  
LUCRETIUS

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS  
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Vol. 2, No. 11, pp. 237-253

August 24, 1914

CORRUPTION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS OF  
LUCRETIUS

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

In preparing a new recension of the text of Lucretius the writer has made the following collection of variants to aid in testing proposed conjectures; and the lists, it is hoped, may be of use to scholars.

In making up the lists the writer has used the reproductions of the two Leyden manuscripts published by Sijthoff in 1908 and 1913, and he has endeavored to note the variations from his own edition of 1907. Occasionally groups of letters, and even words, have been entered as groups and also analyzed into the separate letters of the group. An attempt has been made at completeness, yet perfection in such a task is well nigh impossible.

- |                                     |                                      |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a for ab, ii 648                    | a for i, ii 283, 449, 708, 778, 786; |
| a for ai, <i>passim</i>             | iii 2, 6, 212, 311, 436, 566, 640,   |
| a for c, ii 645                     | 835; iv 437, 1124; v 2, 22, 502,     |
| a for ci, ii 345                    | 1212, 1248, 1253; vi 7, 19, 59,      |
| a for e, i 141, 269, 403, 542, 626, | 180, 777, 913, 1079, 1278            |
| 959, 982, 1058; ii 29, 52, 278,     | a for im, i 866                      |
| 376, 452, 535, 559, 678, 719,       | a for n, vi 428                      |
| 781; iii 39, 58, 81, 156, 431,      | a for o, i 1025, 1036, 1038; ii 486, |
| 766, 804, 847, 857, 908; iv 357,    | 491, 503, 530, 929, 954, 1139;       |
| 444, 479, 482, 545. 1034, 1275;     | iii 15, 33, 418; iv 79, 107, 118,    |
| v 236, 491, 718, 888, 1019, 1067,   | 1240; v 239, 756, 1065, 1090,        |
| 1142, 1301, 1319, 1374, 1392;       | 1111; vi 28, 205, 227, 641, 1069,    |
| vi 86, 192, 254, 269, 297, 324,     | 1109, 1115, 1251                     |
| 403, 639, 718, 764, 897, 908, 940,  | a for q, v 1259                      |
| 942, 1059, 1064, 1076               | a for r, i 570, 919                  |
| a for et, iii 58                    | a for s, v 31                        |

- a for u*, i 741; ii 134, 1056, 1066;  
 iii 403, 748, 1031; iv 218, 345,  
 393, 495, 609, 698, 805; v 35,  
 839, 1336; vi 396, 455, 849,  
 1150  
*a for um*, ii 112; vi 817  
*a for us*, i 718  
*a for x*, i 785; ii 791, 932; iii 582,  
 596; vi 385  
*a inserted*, i 452; ii 147, 314, 555,  
 561, 706, 860, 1005, 1127; iii 18,  
 77, 389, 429, 437, 479, 663, 744,  
 857, 858; iv 17, 309, 388, 815,  
 949; v 4, 148, 224, 307, 545,  
 627, 683, 950, 1179, 1277, 1425;  
 vi 144, 237, 285, 367, 461, 604,  
 744, 772, 923  
*a omitted*, i 176, 491, 520, 542,  
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 342, 483, 547, 555, 611, 626, 691,  
 850, 861, 982; iii 32, 168, 255,  
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 945; iv 309, 324, 341, 486, 803,  
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 563, 662, 690, 804, 862, 888,  
 898, 925, 957, 972, 973, 985, 991,  
 1027, 1049, 1063, 1134, 1217  
*abs inserted*, i 410  
*ac omitted*, v 241  
*ac for hanc*, v, 747  
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December 19, 1914

PROPOSED EMENDATIONS  
OF LUCRETIUS

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

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PROPOSED EMENDATIONS OF LUCRETIUS •

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

At a later time arguments defending these proposals will be made.

- |        |   |         |   |
|--------|---|---------|---|
| i 126  | coepisse et rerum naturam<br>pandere dictis                                 | ii 515  | denique ab ignibus ad geli-<br>das brumae usque pruinas |
| i 469  | namque aliud per res aliud<br>regionibus ipsis                              | ii 547  | quippe etenim quoque uti<br>sumam hoc finita per omne   |
| i 491  | dissiliuntque fere ferventi<br>saxa vapore                                  | ii 630  | quos memorant Phrygios<br>qui inter se forte crepantes  |
| i 709  | constituere aut umorem<br>quicumque putantve                                | ii 673  | si nil praeterea tamen haec<br>in corpore tractant      |
| i 752  | extremum quod habent<br>minimum consistere posse                            | ii 696  | multarum rerum cum sint<br>primordia mixta              |
| i 874  | ex alienigenis alienigena<br>exoriuntur                                     | ii 854  | propterea tandem debent<br>primordia rerum              |
| i 777  | cum terra simul atque va-<br>por cum rore manere                            | ii 903  | constituunt porro migrant<br>sentire sueti              |
| ii 43  | ornatas armis porro pari-<br>terque animatas                                | ii 919  | atque animalibu' mortali-<br>bus sint una eademque      |
| ii 105 | cetera quae porro magnum<br>per inane vagantur<br>paucula dissiliunt longe— | ii 926  | tum praeterea quod sump-<br>simus ante                  |
| ii 114 | contemplator enim cum<br>solis lumina seque                                 | ii 941  | nec congressa semel vitalis<br>convenientis             |
| ii 181 | naturam mundi quam mag-<br>nast praedita culpa                              | ii 1080 | in primis animalia iudicio<br>sunt                      |
| ii 356 | concit humi pedibus ves-<br>tigia pressa bisulcis                           | ii 1089 | quam genus omne quidem<br>generatim rebus abundans      |
| ii 453 | namque papaveris haustus<br>itemst facilis quo aquarum                      | ii 1120 | omnibus his aetas debet<br>consistere creta             |
| ii 483 | namque in eadem una<br>cuiusvis haec brevitate                              | ii 1168 | tristis item vetulae vitis<br>sator atque caduceae      |

- iii 11 floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia rimant  
 iii 58 eliciuntur et eripitur persona homini re  
 iii 84 rumpere et in summa pietatem evertere suesse  
 iii 173 brutus et in terra mentis qui gignitur aestus  
 iii 306 intertrāsque ita sunt cervos saevosque leones  
 iii 319 illud in his rebus fido firmare potesse  
 iii 335 sed communibus inter se conflatur utrimque  
 iii 365 quod foribus non fit neque enim qui cernimus ipsi  
 iii 394 et quam illa his intervallistudentia possint  
 iii 493 turbat agens animam spumas ut in aequore salso  
 iii 504 tum quasi homo titubans primum consurgit  
 iii 617 sedibus et certis regionibus corporis haeret  
 iii 620 atque ita multimodis perdoctis artibus esse  
 iii 790 quod si iam posset multo prius ipsa animi vis  
 iii 852 et nunc nil ad nos de nobis attinet ante qui fuimus nil iam de illis nos adficit angor  
 iii 876 non ut opinor enim dat quod promittit et und' det  
 iii 935 nam gratis fuit id tibi vita anteaeta priorque  
 iii 962 aequo animoque age nunc annis concede necessest  
 iii 992 quem livor lacerat atque exest anxius angor  
 iii 1061 esse domi per quem taesumst subitoque remigrat  
 iv 71 pauca queunt et iam sunt prima fronte locata  
 iv 77 per malos volitata trabesque tremantia fluctant  
 iv 79 scenai speciem patrum matrumque decores  
 iv 91 consimiles ideō diffuse rebus abundant  
 iv 117 integra pars nulla possit ratione videri  
 iv 146 et hoc laxas cum pervenit in res  
 iv 166 quandoquidem speculum quocumque obvertimus oculus  
 iv 178 longo spatio ut brevis hora petatur  
 iv 290 si quae illic reddunt  
 iv 321 continuo rerum quaedam simulacra secuntur  
 iv 545 et validi eyeni cantu oris ex Heliconis  
 iv 594 humanum genus est avidum nimis auscultare  
 iv 611 saepe potest per saeptā

*Transmitted October 26, 1914.*





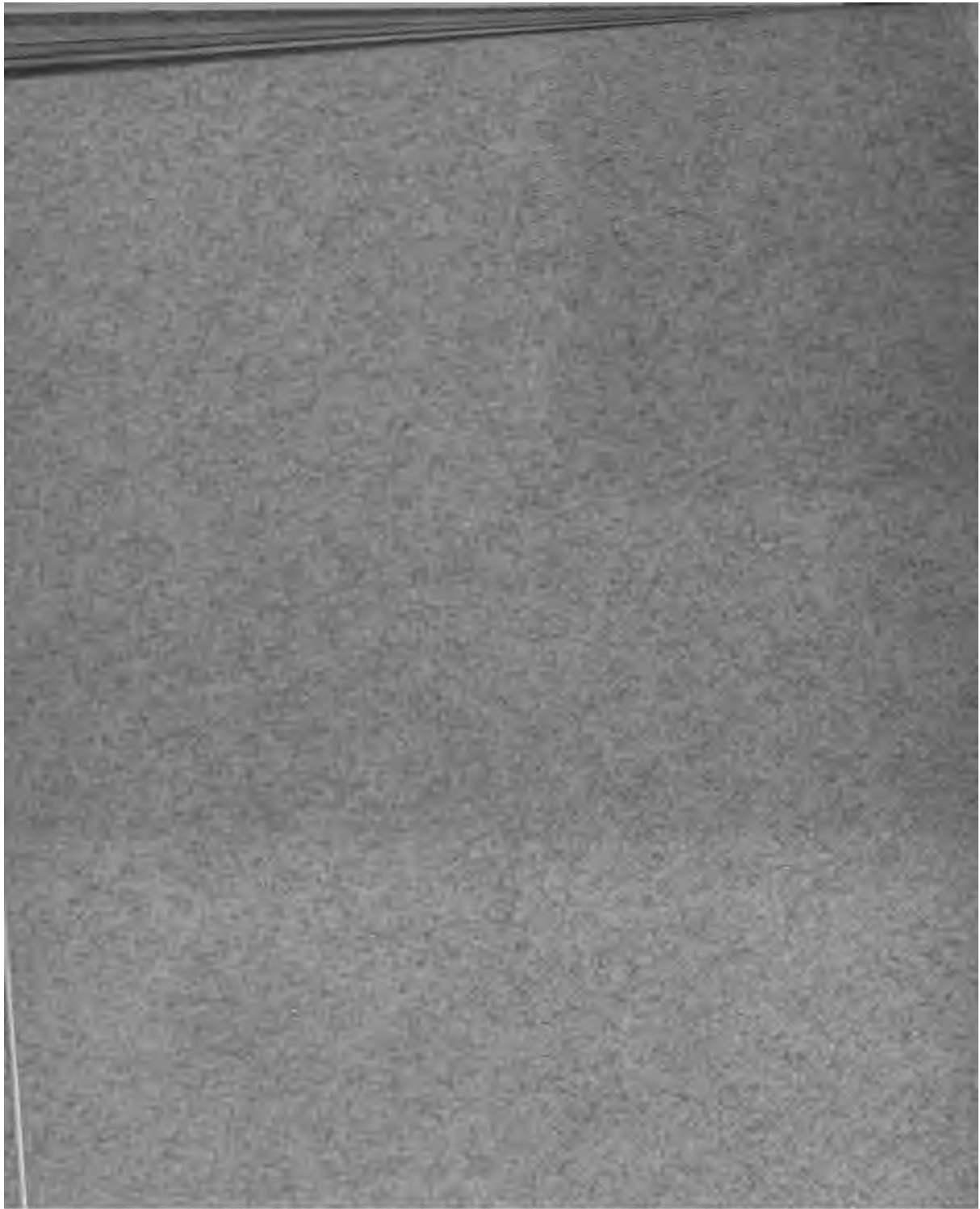
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GREEK AND LATIN GLYCONICS

BY

LEON JOSIAH RICHARDSON

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GREEK AND LATIN GLYCONICS

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---

The ancients held conflicting views, as is well known, concerning the meters of lyric poetry. The doctrine of *metra derivata*,<sup>1</sup> disseminated among the Romans by Varro, Diomedes, Bassus, Marius Victorinus and others, differed widely from the conceptions of Greek writers like Aristoxenus, Aristides Quintilianus, and Hephaestion. This lack of agreement results mainly from differences of method and aim. A Greek metrician, for example, when analyzing a lyric verse, usually sets forth a metrical plan consistent with the rhythm. His formulation is likely to serve as a practical aid for a reader or singer. A Roman metrician, on the other hand, dealing with a similar verse, is likely to be less concerned with the rhythm as felt by the poet than with the origin of the verse-form. This is implied in the name *metra derivata*.

For a modern student the evolutionary aspect of the verse (even if it were correctly set forth) is of small interest in comparison with the question of how poets actually read their odes. This brings up the problem with which we are here concerned. Is then Roman theory valid for Latin poetry as Greek theory is for Greek poetry? Did Catullus and Horace differ largely

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<sup>1</sup> See Gleditsch, *Metrik*, 1901 edition, pages 70, 73, and 248. Also Schroeder, *Horazens Versmaße*. Page 15 of the latter work contains the following statement: "Massgebend für ihn [Horaz] war eine ihm vornehmlich durch Varro vermittelte Theorie, die weder mit dem Leben noch mit echter Gelehrsamkeit irgendwelche Fühlung gehabt hatte. Aber diese Theorie, so musenverlassen sie war, beruhte doch auf richtiger Beobachtung des Tatsächlichen, und so verhält sich denn auch Horaz in seinen Neuerungen bei weitem nicht so willkürlich und stilwidrig zu den Lesbiern, als z. B. Euripides."

from Sappho and Alcaeus in the way they felt the swing and flow of a given verse? Perhaps these questions will never be fully answered. Much however is being learned from a careful and detailed comparison of the four primary elements involved in the problem, namely Greek theory, Roman theory, the text of Greek poetry and the text of Latin poetry. In the present study an attempt is made to throw further light on the subject by re-examining Greek and Latin Glyciphora. Examples of the verse are:

reddas incolumem precor (Od. i, 3, 7).  
splendidas quatiunt comas (Od. lxi, 78).

The method of investigation here followed consists largely in noting the distribution of diaereses and caesuras—always an important clue to verse structure. It does not seem necessary for our purpose to extend inquiry beyond the poets named in the following table.

TABLE I

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
		1st syl.	2nd syl.	3rd syl.	4th syl.	5th syl.	6th syl.	7th syl.	8th syl.	
1. Alcaeus } Sappho } Anacreon }	87	25.2	50.5	63.2	32.1	33.3	42.5	4.5	91.9	3.64
2. Sophocles	132	38.6	56	59.8	25.7	27.2	65.1	26.5	92.4	3.91
3. Euripides	182	40.1	53.2	57.6	19.7	39	59.3	19.7	72.5	3.60
4. Catullus	200	27.5	28	62	13	48.5	61.5	3	99.5	3.68
5. Horace	164	39.6	53	46.3	27.4	39	52.4	1.2	100	3.59

The foregoing table is to be read as follows. Column A shows the number of verses selected for investigation: 87 from the poems of Alcaeus, Sappho and Anacreon; 132 from Sophocles; and so on. Columns B-I show the relative frequency of breaks. (The term *break* is used to mean diaeresis or caesura without distinction.) For example, a little over 40% of the verses of Euripides begin with a monosyllable (see column B), in 28% of the verses of Catullus a word ends with the second syllable (see column C), 100% of the verses of Horace show diaeresis after the eighth syllable, and so on. Column J shows the average density of the verses. The index number in each group is the total number of words divided by the total number of verses.

By this test it appears that the five groups are strikingly similar to one another.

Breaks within the verse occur most frequently in three places. In the case of groups 1, 2, 3, and 5 these places are after the second, third, and sixth syllables. In the case of group 4 the places are after the third, fifth, and sixth syllables. It is noteworthy that Horace (group 5) conforms to the Greek poets.

TABLE II

GROUP 1 Alcaeus Sappho Anacreon	GROUP 2 Sophocles	GROUP 3 Euripides	GROUP 4 Catullus	GROUP 5 Horace
2 6 9	2 6 16	23 6 13	1 3 6 29	2 5 14
3 7	23 6 11	2 6 12	23 6 15	23 6 13
3 6 5	3 6 9	3 6 12	2 5 14	1 3 6 12
1 3 4	1 3 6 5	12 6 11	1 3 5 6 13	1 3 5 11
1 3 6 4	123 6 4	1 3 6 7	3 5 12	3 6 9
234 4	234 6 4	1 3 5 7	2 6 12	2 4 8
23 6 3	34 6 3	23 6	3 6 11	4 8
2 5 3	1 3 5 6 3	2 5 6 6	3 5 6 9	2 6 7
23 5 3	23 3	123 6 6	1 3 5 8	23 5 6
3 5 3	2 5 6 3	23 5 5	2 5 6 8	12 4 6 6
23 3	1 3 7 3	3 5 5	4 7	1 4 6 6
345 3	1 4 7 3	1 6 4	23 5 6 7	2 5 6 5
3 5 6 2	23 7 3	23 7 4	23 5 6	4 6 5
2 5 6 2	3 5 7 3		1 4 5	3 5 5
23 5 7 2	2 6 7 3			12 6 5
12 4 6 2				3 4

This table, which shows the dominant combinations of words in the verse, is to be read as follows: "2 6 9" in group 1 means that a Glyconic having breaks within it after the second and sixth syllables occurs 9 times in Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon; "2 5 14" in group 5 means that a verse having breaks within it after the second and fifth syllables occurs 14 times in Horace; and so on.

As a rule, the word-combinations of marked frequency in the Greek verses are likewise frequent in the Latin. Exceptions are "4," "23 56" and "1 4" of Catullus and "2 4," "4" and "4 6" of Horace. All these forms however actually occur in the Greek, though only rarely. On the whole the outstanding fact is the similarity of the Greek and Latin Glyconics.

Throughout the rest of this discussion the symbol G will be used to represent the Greek view concerning the structure of the Glyeonic:

oo--|----

And similarly the symbol R will represent the Roman view according to the derivation theory:

--|-----

Our problem then may be restated in the form: Were Latin Glyconics written under the influence of R, or of G, or of both?

#### FIRST AND SECOND SYLLABLES

A break after the first syllable of the verse is a caesura under either G or R. It is employed, as we should expect, with about the same degree of freedom by all the poets. (See table I.)

A break after the second syllable, under G, cuts the initial meter in the middle; under R it is a diaeresis after the first foot. This break has about equal representation in groups 1, 2, 3, and 5. (See table I.) Catullus alone shows a definite variation. With him about one verse in four shows the break. With Horace every other verse on the average shows it, which squares exactly with Greek practice.

Reference may here be made to the initial quantities of the verse, the two unregulated syllables. The Greek poets incline toward beginning the verse with two long syllables, though either of them may be replaced by a short syllable or both of them may be replaced (rarely) by short syllables. Catullus follows the Greek usage, except that he begins no verse with two short syllables. Horace begins all verses with two long syllables, except one (*Od.* i, 15, 36), which has at the outset the form of a trochee.

#### THIRD AND FOURTH SYLLABLES

A break after the third syllable is a caesura under either G or R. It gives an agreeable effect and is freely employed (See table I.)

A break after the fourth syllable, under G, is a diaeresis occurring between two meters; it is not objectionable, according to Greek usage, unless employed with some frequency. Under R it is a feminine caesura; such an effect is generally limited by

the relation of sound to sense. Apart from the rare break after the seventh syllable, this is the least numerous break in the verse. In Catullus the percentage is quite low. Horace however falls into line with the Greek poets.

If we turn to the poems of Catullus and look at the verses concerned, we find a strong pause after the third syllable in three cases, the fourth syllable being in effect a proclitic:

complexum. sed abit dies	(lxi, 105).
gaudeat. sed abit dies	(Ib. 112).
neglegit. sed abit dies	(Ib. 192).

The break in another is obscured by elision:

qualis unica ab optima	(Ib. 221).
------------------------	------------

In another the break is bridged by close grammatical agreement:

suave olentis amaraci	(Ib. 7).
-----------------------	----------

Similarly in Horace two of the verses concerned have a proclitic as the fourth syllable, e.g.,

nocturnis ab adulteris	(iii, 16, 4).
------------------------	---------------

In two others the break is followed by a word of enclitic nature, e.g.,

non sum qualis eram bonae	(ii, 9, 1).
---------------------------	-------------

In six cases the break is bridged by close grammatical agreement, e.g.,

me nunc Thressa Chloe regit	(iii, 9, 9).
velox mente nova <sup>f</sup> quibus	(iii, 25, 3).

In all the cases cited the break after the fourth syllable is hardly felt.

Compare in this connection the Phalaecean verse of Catullus (the first eight syllables of which, considered as a quantitative series, are identical with those of the Glyconic). A break after the fourth syllable is here also conspicuous for its rarity. It occurs in 8.9 per cent of the verses (forty-eight cases), but upon examining them we find that in eight cases elision minimizes the break, in five cases the break is followed by an enclitic and in one case the fourth syllable is proclitic. This leaves only thirty-one breaks unsoftened by purely formal devices, while in some of these a rhetorical device, e.g., a strong pause after the third

syllable, tends to make the break less obtrusive. The avoidance of a break at a certain point in a verse is highly significant. By way of illustration select a representative group of Greek or Latin verses like any of the following:

paene insularum, Sirmio, insularumque	(Cat. xxxi, 1).
novaeque pergunt interire lunae	(Hor. <i>Od.</i> ii, 18, 16).
paterna rura bobus exercet suis	(Id. <i>Ep.</i> ii, 3).
iacunda captat praemia	(Id. <i>ib.</i> ii, 36).
truditur dies die	(Id. <i>Od.</i> ii, 18, 15).

In such verses a break after the fourth syllable will be found to be comparatively rare. This is due primarily to a structural condition; that is to say, the break separates one metrical division from another. If it were often used, it would injure the flow of the verse. The same cause accounts for the infrequency of this break in the Phalaecean and the Glyconic. In the latter verse, accordingly, whether Greek or Latin, the true metrical divisions are as set forth in G. It is of course possible, as some assert, that Catullus and Horace were led by contemporary scholars to accept R as an explanation of the origin of the Glyconic. Even so, they composed their verses according to canons implied in G.

#### FIFTH SYLLABLE

A break after the fifth syllable, under G, is a caesura; under R, a diaeresis. Let us here bear in mind a principle of classical Greek metric similar to the one cited in the foregoing paragraph. Caesuras tend to outnumber diaereses in the initial and middle parts of dactylic verses of any compass and of trochaic and iambic verses of less than tetrameter compass. The flowing quality of the verse is in this way enhanced. Classical Latin poetry written in these meters shows the same usage. Why should the Latin Glyconic be an exception to the rule? Especially since under G it is similar to trochaic and iambic verse in character, or under R it is dactylic. A Roman poet then, writing Glyconics under the influence of R, would seemingly have avoided the frequent use of this break. Horace however employed it with much the same frequency as did the Greek poets; Catullus uses it somewhat more often.



Particularly significant are verses with breaks after both the second and fifth syllables. One would naturally suppose that if Roman poets wrote Glyconics of the R type, they would avoid this pair of breaks, inasmuch as they produce a diaeresis after each of the two opening feet and thus involve coincidence of thesis and word-accent in those feet. But what are the facts? Verses having this pair of breaks (either with or without other breaks) are common. Their relative frequency in the five successive groups is: 13.7%, 14.3%, 17.5%, 20%, and 21.9%. This arrangement, as is here seen, became progressively more in favor. The Roman poets outdid the Greeks in the usage. It is therefore hard to believe that Catullus and Horace felt the metrical divisions of the Glyconic as set forth under R.

#### SIXTH SYLLABLE

(a) A break after the sixth syllable is a natural one under either G or R. It is employed freely by all the poets. Verses ending with a dissyllabic word abound. Their relative frequency in the five groups is:

41.3%    56%    52.1%    61.5%    52.4%

(b) Verses having breaks after the third and sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) abound. Their relative frequency is:

22.9%    39.3%    30.2%    44.5%    25.6%

(c) Verses having breaks after the second and sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) abound. Their relative frequency is:

24.1%    58.6%    34%    22.5%    29.8%

(d) Verses having breaks after the second, fourth and sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) are rare. Their relative frequency is:

5.7%    6.8%    2.7%    .5%    6.7%

(e) Verses having breaks after the fifth and sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) are rare. Their relative frequency is:

8%    11.3%    12.6%    21.5%    9.1%

(f) Verses having breaks after either the fifth or the sixth or the fifth and the sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) abound. Their relative frequency is:

67.8%    81%    85.1%    89%    82.3%

This material enables us to draw the following inferences: (1) The Roman poets are similar to their Greek predecessors. (2) But in every line of figures Horace is nearer Greek standards than is Catullus. (3) By reference to *b* and *c*, it may be observed that verses broken after the second and sixth syllables are more

common than those broken after the third and sixth syllables in every group, except in the case of Catullus. (4) The low percentages in *d* seem to be due to G. For verses written on that plan and often divided in the manner indicated would over-emphasize diaeresis. (5) By reference to *e*, we see that Catullus alone is fond of closing a verse with the word-combination *monosyllable dissyllable*. (The next to the last word may be a dissyllable with its ultima elided.) For example,

lusimus satis. at boni (lxi, 232).

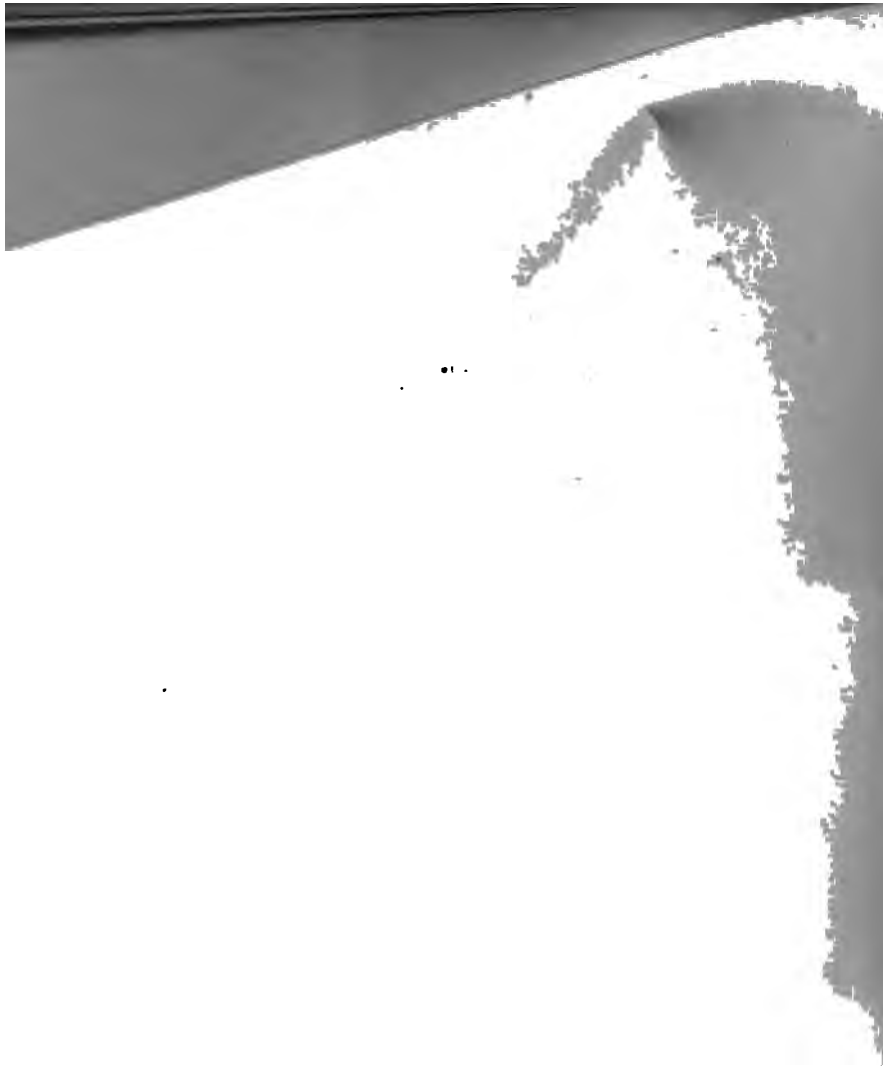
This peculiarity accounts for the large figure opposite the name of Catullus in column F of table I. See also the last paragraph before table II. (6) The derivation theory predisposes us to look for a main caesura in Latin verse. According to an ancient writer, omnis versus *κατὰ τὸ πλείστον* in duo cola dividitur. Latin Glyconics however do not emphasize a main caesura more than do Greek Glyconics, as may be seen by reference to *f*.

#### SEVENTH AND EIGHTH SYLLABLES

Breaks after the seventh and eighth syllables call for little comment. Sophocles and Euripides often allow a word to run from a Glyconic into the next metrical member. In these two poets therefore the disparities appearing in columns H and I of table I do not indicate any abnormality in the structure of the verse. Catullus and Horace are in close accord with Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon in the terminal portion of the verse.

## CONCLUSION

However widely the derivation theory was accepted among Roman scholars, we find no convincing evidence that Catullus and Horace were much under the sway of it in writing their Glyconics. Individual bent is sufficient to account either for the comparatively small number of breaks after the second syllable of the verse in the case of Catullus or for the fixed quantities of the first two syllables in the case of Horace. Possibly the misleading effects of the current theory were for them offset in part by some contact with orthodox teaching. During his residence at Athens Horace certainly did not miss altogether the older traditions of Greek learning. This may explain why his verse is in certain technical points closer to the Greek than is that of Catullus. At all events they had both read attentively their Greek models. Doubtless from this source primarily they acquired their feeling for the Glyconic and its component parts. Their work, as we have seen, is in remarkable accord with Greek standards. It follows that we are justified in reading the Latin Glyconic according to the metrical plan of the Greek prototype.



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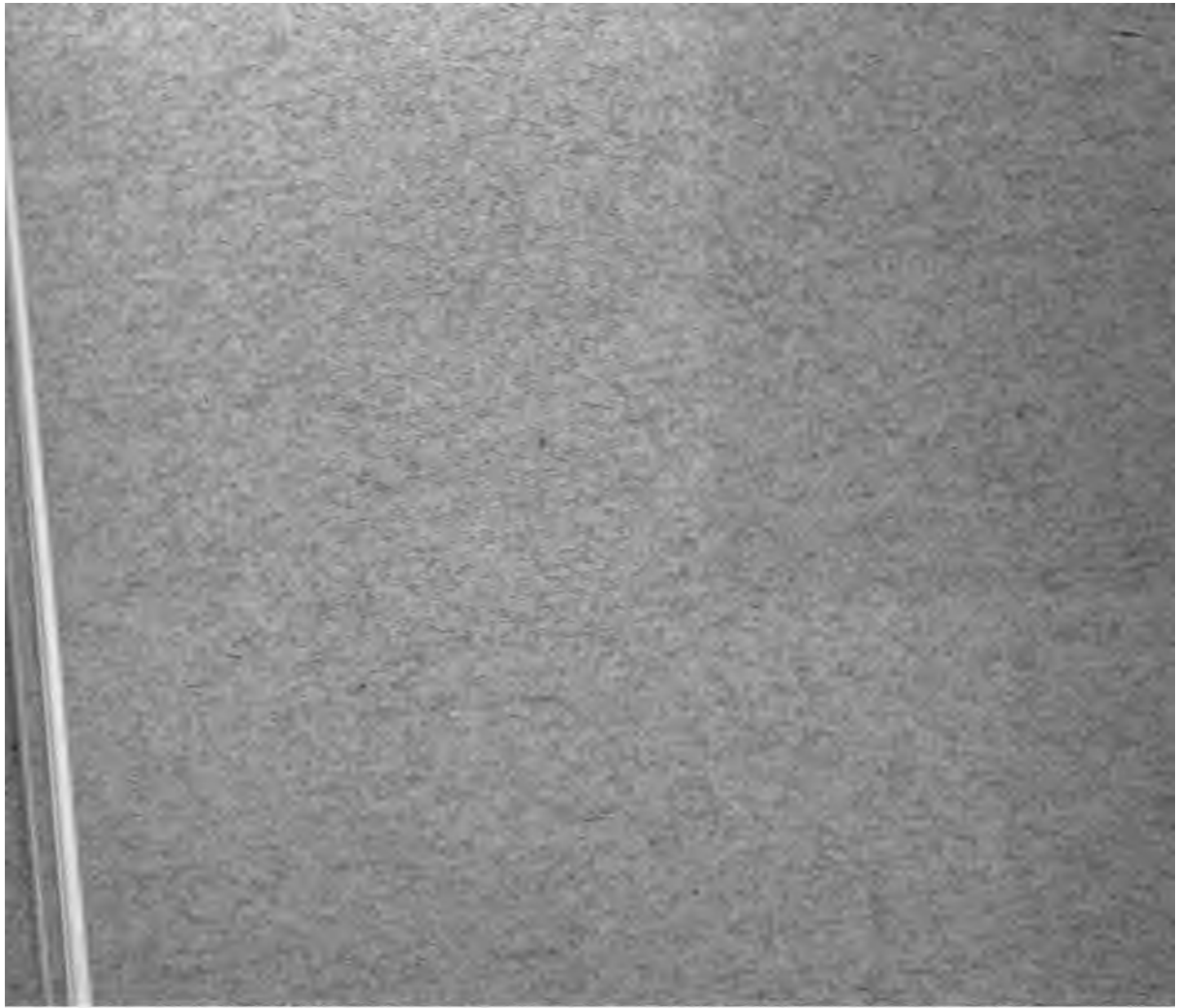
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January 28, 1916

THE PLOT TO MURDER CAESAR  
ON THE BRIDGE

BY

MONROE E. DEUTSCH

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THE PLOT TO MURDER CAESAR  
ON THE BRIDGE

BY

MONROE E. DEUTSCH

Suet. *Iul.* 80: qui primum cunctati utrumne<sup>1</sup> in Campo per comitia tribus<sup>2</sup> ad suffragia vocantem<sup>3</sup> partibus divisis e ponte deicerent atque exceptum trucidarent. . . .

Nic. Dam. XXIII: ἄλλοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς [εἰσέφερον ἐγχεῖ-  
ρεῖν], ἐν αἷς αὐτὸν ἔδει καθιστάντα ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ τὰς ἀρχὰς  
διέναι τινὰ γέφυραν, διακληρωσάμενοι τὸ ἔργον ὅπως οἱ μὲν ὤσειαν  
αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γέφυρας, οἱ δὲ ἐπιδραμόντες κτείλειαν. — (Carolus  
Müllerus, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, III, 443, and Lu-  
dovicus Dindorfius, *Historici Graeci Minores*, I, 117.)

Prior to the murder of Julius Caesar at the meeting of the senate on the Ides of March, the conspirators had considered other times and places at which to slay him. The only writers who enumerate the schemes which were discussed are Suetonius (*Iul.*, 80) and Nicolaus of Damascus ( *Βίος Καίσαρος*, 23). It is interesting to observe that both name the same three discarded plans: (1) an attack on Caesar as he proceeded along the Sacra Via, where he as Pontifex Maximus lived in the Domus Publica; (2) an assault at the entrance to the theatre at the time when games were being held there; and (3) the plot that is to be considered in this paper.

<sup>1</sup> *illum* added after *utrumne* T. (The MSS are designated as in Ihm's edition.)

<sup>2</sup> *tribuis* M.

<sup>3</sup> *vocante* MP'TS: *vocantes* G.

The editors of Suetonius have had a great deal of difficulty with the account of the third plot. J. C. Rolfe, following the traditional interpretation, thus translates it in the Loeb Classical Library: "At first they hesitated whether to form two divisions at the elections in the Campus Martius, so that while some hurled him from the bridge as he summoned the tribes to vote, the rest might wait below and slay him." *Pons* is explained as follows: "The *pons suffragiorum*, a temporary bridge of planks over which the voters passed one by one, to cast their ballots; Cic. *ad Att.* I, 14; Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 634."<sup>4</sup> It is indeed perfectly clear that over these *pontes* (there were as many of them as the compartments in the *saepta* or *ovile* which the voters left<sup>5</sup>) the individual Romans passed in order to cast their ballots. But the difficulty is this: What was Caesar, the presiding officer, doing on such a *pons*? For it is well known that the presiding magistrate at the *comitia centuriata* sat upon the tribunal.<sup>6</sup> It is for this reason that both Wolf and Baumgarten-Crusius have given the passage up. Mommsen, Drumann, and Madvig, however, accept Suetonius' statement with the interpretation just given. Mommsen says: "Dass der Vorsitzende *e ponte* die Bürger zum Stimmen aufruft, sagt Sueton *Caes.* 80."<sup>7</sup> Drumann<sup>8</sup> gives the following explanation:

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Cic. *de Leg.*, III, 17, 38, (Cic.) *ad Herenn.*, I, 12, 21; Fest. 334 M, and Varro in Nonius 523, 22.

<sup>5</sup> The number of compartments in the *saepta*, and accordingly the number of *pontes*, was at least eighty: Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 401, Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, II, 523, Daremberg and Saglio (s. v. *comitia*), I, 2, 1395, and Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, 469.

<sup>6</sup> Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 383, and note 3, and Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 399.—In the Delphin Classics an attempt is made to reconcile this fact with Suetonius' statement by maintaining that in this passage it is the *comitia tributa* of which mention is made, not the *comitia centuriata*. This is refuted, however, by Wolf in his edition of Suetonius. Other attempts at a reconciliation are to be found in Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 401, Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 471, and Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, 258. See also Herzog, *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung*, I, 1125. For these hypotheses there is apparently no evidence at all; they are simply attempts to suggest possible ways of harmonizing what appear to be conflicting statements.

<sup>7</sup> Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 401, note 3: cf. also Liebenam in Pauly-Wissowa (1901), IV, 691. Madvig (*Die Verfassung und Verwaltung des römischen Staates*, I, 259) also cites this passage "wo Cäsar während der Wahlversammlung, auf dem *pons* stehend, die *tribus ad suffragia* beruft."

<sup>8</sup> Drumann III<sup>2</sup>, 649.

Seit der Einführung der Stimmtafeln war eine Beaufsichtigung der Diribitoren wünschenswert, wie schon daraus erhellt, dass ein Volksbeschluss für um so ehrenvoller galt, je mehr sie sich des allgemeinen Vertrauens erfreuten (Cic. *post red. in sen.* 28, *Pis.* 36). Es liegt daher nichts befremdliches darin, wenn der Diktator diese Aufsicht selbst übernahm und zu dem Ende sich auf die sogenannte Brücke begab, welche zu den Schranken führte.

This argument is unconvincing, (1) because there is not a scrap of evidence elsewhere to imply that the presiding officer appeared on the *pons*, (2) as Drumann himself points out,<sup>9</sup> the people merely elected the candidates Caesar named, and (3) he could only have stood on one of the eighty or more *pontes*, and his oversight of the voting would hardly have been great.<sup>10</sup>

None of these scholars, however, apparently took cognizance of the fact that the same plot is described by Nicolaus;<sup>11</sup> in fact, most of them could not possibly have done so, for this passage is in the Escorial codex and was first published in 1848 by Feder at Darmstadt and in 1849 by Müller. Therefore, even if the argument that follows fails to be convincing, at any rate this paper will have performed the function of emphasizing the fact that the passage in Suetonius should not be interpreted without a careful consideration of the words of Nicolaus.

Let us therefore turn to that author and seek to gain what light we can from him with reference to this plot. We first of all observe that Nicolaus speaks, not of standing upon a bridge to watch voters pass or the like, but of crossing a bridge (*διέβαιναι*); furthermore it is not merely stated that Caesar was going to cross this bridge, but that he had to cross it (*ἔδει*).

<sup>9</sup> Drumann III<sup>2</sup>, 612, note 3: "Das Volk wählte aber natürlich nur die von ihm empfohlenen Kandidaten, z. B. im J. 44 nach dem Luperkalienfeste (Dio XLIV, 11, 4) die sämtlichen Beamten für das J. 43, sowie die Konsuln und Volkstribunen für das J. 42." And Heitland (*The Roman Republic*, III, 362) declares: "The Assembly dared not elect a candidate disapproved by Caesar."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Cic. *de Leg.*, III, 17, 38: *Pontes etiam, lex Maria fecit augustos.*

<sup>11</sup> Ferrero in his *Greatness and Decline of Rome* (translated by Alfred E. Zimmern, London, 1907), II, 311, cited the passage from Nicolaus along with that from Suetonius, but, of course, the scope of his work did not allow a detailed consideration of the two passages. In Drumann III<sup>2</sup>, 649, the reference to Nicolaus is made, but the discussion of the passage is exactly the same as that in the edition of 1837 (III, 721), where, of course, no citation of Nicolaus could be made.

These two statements in Nicolaus cause additional difficulty in the traditional interpretation of *pons* in the Suetonian passage. The fact that Nicolaus speaks of the appointment of the magistrates (*καθιστάναι*), while Suetonius mentions an election, is easily explained, inasmuch as at this period Caesar's nominees were as a matter of course elected at the comitia; therefore the magistrates were spoken of, with the same determination, as appointed by Caesar<sup>12</sup> or elected by the comitia. Nicolaus further informs us that Caesar had to cross a certain bridge *καθιστάντα . . . τὰς ἀρχάς*. Obviously he was not thought of as crossing the bridge while appointing the magistrates, but rather while on the way to the election. We have here a clear instance of the use of the present participle expressing purpose, a use found mainly with verbs of motion, to which class of verbs *διέναι* of course belongs. It is for this reason that Müller in the Latin version of Nicolaus translates *καθιστάντα* by *constiturus*. In other words, then, Caesar had to cross a certain bridge on his way to the choice of officers, *i.e.*, on his way to the comitia.

The word *ἀρχαιρεσίαι* at the beginning of the passage from Nicolaus is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *comitia*.<sup>13</sup> Yet manifestly it is impossible that the attempt to murder Caesar should have been set in the comitia, and at the same time have been planned as he was crossing a bridge on the way to the comitia. On looking at the three discarded plans as described by Nicolaus, one finds that he lays stress on the time set for the deed rather than on the place. As far as the Greek is concerned, it is as natural for *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις* to mean "at the time of the election" as "in the comitia," and the former meaning would be in harmony with the emphasis on the time of the projected murder. Indeed *comitiis*, the Latin equivalent, is frequently used in a purely temporal sense.<sup>14</sup> Here, however, the phrase must

<sup>12</sup> See note 9.—Indeed of this very comitia Nicolaus (XXII) says: *καὶ δὴ ἀποδεκνῶσι εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν ὑπάρους, κ.τ.λ.*

<sup>13</sup> See numerous examples in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* of G. Goetz, VI, 236, and in David Magie's *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis* (1905), 56-7.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. note on Cic. *de Leg.* III, 3, 9, in the edition of Adolph Du Mesnil (Leipzig, 1879), R. Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache* (1912), II, 1, 355, and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (s. v. *comitium*), III, 1810.

mean not precisely "while the comitia was being held" but rather, in a general way, "at the time of the comitia." Thus Varro *de Lingua Latina*, VI, 92, tells us how the *classicus* is to give the signal *eo die quo die comitia erunt*, but some time before the *contio* actually assembles (VI, 93). Yet the same author in the same work (V, 91) gives the derivation of *classicus* in the following words: "Classicos a classe, qui item cornuo canunt ut tum cum classes comitiis ad comitiatum vocant." It is apparent that *comitiis* = *eo die quo die comitia erunt*; in other words, *comitiis* means "on the day on which the comitia is later to meet." Another example is found in Val. Max., I, 1, 3: vitio tabernaculum captum comitiis consularibus.<sup>15</sup> As *tabernaculum capere* is the technical term for the setting up of the tent for the purpose of taking the auspices and these were taken by the officiating magistrate shortly after midnight, while the meeting was usually held at the following dawn,<sup>16</sup> clearly *comitiis consularibus* here can only mean "at the time of the comitia," and the words really refer to something that happened at least a number of hours before the comitia was actually held.<sup>17</sup>

According, therefore, to the argument which has been set forth, the passage under consideration in Nicolaus would be translated as follows: "But others proposed to attack him at the time of the comitia, when he had to cross a certain bridge on his way to the selection of magistrates in the plain before the city, so apportioning the work that some should thrust him from the bridge, and the rest rush upon him and slay him."

But what bridge would he have to cross? To attain certainty on this point is manifestly impossible; one can only balance probabilities. It must be a bridge the crossing of which was unavoidable (ἔδει); moreover were it not, a change of route on Caesar's part would frustrate the whole plan. The bridge was not likely to be one of the well-known bridges over the Tiber; were it the *Pons Sublicius*, for example, one would be inclined

<sup>15</sup> The word is taken as an ablative in the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *comitium* (III, 1810).

<sup>16</sup> Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I<sup>2</sup>, 101 and 102, and 102, note 1.

<sup>17</sup> Nicolaus' phraseology in the passage under consideration bears some resemblance to that in chapter V: ἐστάσης δέ τις ἐορτῆς Λατίνης, ὅποτε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους εἰς Ἄλβαν τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνειν ἔδει, πατρῶν θυσίας ἕνεκα . . .

to expect it to be called ἡ ξυλλήνη γέφυρα as in Appian (*B. C.*, I, 26) and Dio Cassius (XXXVII, 58). Besides, τὸς suggests a bridge over a smaller stream. On the other hand, in going from his residence on the Sacra Via, Caesar would have no reason in the world for crossing the Tiber on his way to the Campus Martius.

Cleopatra was to be sure at Rome from about the summer of 46 to April 44,<sup>18</sup> and was residing in the *horti Caesaris* across the Tiber. If Caesar had been spending his time with her there, he would of course have had to cross one of the Tiber bridges on his way to the Campus Martius. But plots must be made in advance; and how could the conspirators have been certain that at a definite future date, perhaps some weeks off, Caesar would be dwelling with his royal mistress and would actually go to the campus directly from her side? In fact, though she was still in Rome on the Ides of March, Caesar was then living with his wife, Calpurnia, and it was from her side that he went to the meeting of the senate.

If it was not a bridge over the Tiber, what bridge was it then? The answer lies, I think, in Festus, p. 250: "Petronia amnis est in Tiberim perfluens, quam magistratus auspicato transeunt, cum in campo quid agere volunt." The course of this stream is now generally believed to have been from the western slope of the Quirinal across the Campus Martius to the Tiber; it flowed, therefore, directly across Caesar's path. Besides he was obliged to take the *auspicia perennia*, or the election to be held would not be valid.<sup>19</sup> The conspirators knowing this were absolutely cer-

<sup>18</sup> Drumann III<sup>2</sup>, 564-5, Ferrero (*The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, translated by Alfred E. Zimmern, London, 1907, and H. J. Chayter, London, 1908), II, 279-80, 283 and 300, and III, 38, Heitland (*The Roman Republic*) III, 349, 377, and 377, note 3. The sources are Cic. *ad. Att.* XIV, 8, 1; XIV, 20, 2; XV, 4, 4, and XV, 15, 2; Suet. *Iul.* 52, 1, Dio 43, 27, 3, and Hier. *Chron. Ol.* 183, 4.

<sup>19</sup> See also Fest. p. 245 (s. v. *perennae*). Paul. Fest. 45 and 251, Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, II, 3, 9, and Cic. *de Div.*, II, 36, 77.

Kiepert-Hülsen, *Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae* (Berlin, 1912<sup>2</sup>), map I; Hülsen, *Rhein. Mus.* 49 (1894), 402; Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*<sup>2</sup>, 225; Valetton, *Mnem.* 18 (1890), 209-211; von Domaszewski, *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, XII (1909), 67 foll.; Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, I, 3, 403 and 472 foll., and I, 1, 267; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I, 97, note 1; Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 156, note 1; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, 108.

R. Lanciani (*Topografia di Roma antica; i comentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli aquedotti*, p. 15: see also *The Ruins and Excavations of An-*

tain that he would cross the stream. No bridge indeed is mentioned, but surely if it was the regular practice for magistrates to pass over it after taking the *auspicia peremnia*, there must have been a bridge there. Mommsen<sup>20</sup> as a matter of course assumes one, even though not at all necessary for the particular argument he is making.

The extremities of this bridge probably overhung the banks, which sloped more or less gently to the stream. And it was on the bank beneath the one or the other end of the bridge, as previously agreed upon, or even in the water, which of course was shallow near the banks, that the conspirators waiting below were to rush upon Caesar when their comrades had thrown him from the bridge.

This then is the account of the plot as given by Nicolaus, together with an attempt to determine where the bridge was. There is in his account nothing inherently improbable. It must be remembered, too, that Nicolaus was a contemporary of Augustus and was born over a century before Suetonius. Indeed the very similarity between the two accounts of these rejected plans for Caesar's murder makes one wonder if Suetonius may not have used Nicolaus as a source at this point.<sup>21</sup> Plutarch names Nicolaus, and clearly used him either directly as one of his authorities or at second hand.<sup>22</sup> Suetonius often indicates his sources vaguely,<sup>23</sup> and Nicolaus may have been one of these. If Nicolaus was not used at first hand, at any rate Suetonius may have employed an author who used the same source. For it is also note-

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*cient Rome*, p. 29) advances a somewhat different theory as to its location; that is, however, quite immaterial to the argument here set forth. It was at any rate a stream that had to be crossed by the presiding magistrate on his way to the comitia, whatever the situation of the stream may have been. The statement in the text, however, is sufficiently general to cover both views.

<sup>20</sup> *Röm. Staats.*, I, 97, note 1.

<sup>21</sup> In spite of the warning of A. Macé (*Essai sur Suetone*, 366), and of the undoubted fact that Suetonius mentions Nicolaus nowhere in the lives of Julius or Augustus, still one cannot help feeling that a connection, direct or indirect, must exist between these two authors. The case has been well presented by O. E. Schmidt, *Jahrb. f. class. Phil., Supplementband* 13 (1884), 686 foll.

<sup>22</sup> *Plut. Brut.* 53: cf. however Hermann Peter, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer* (Halle, 1865), 137, and on the other hand O. E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 672.

<sup>23</sup> *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus*: E. S. Shuckburgh, xxxii.



worthy that the rumors at Rome that Caesar planned to move the capital either to Ilium or Egypt appear only in Suetonius and Nicolaus,<sup>24</sup> though with greater fullness in the latter.

As, therefore, Nicolaus' narrative at this point is quite clear, and as he is earlier by more than a century, and even possibly served as a source for Suetonius, we should not hesitate to accept his version of what the plot really was as compared with Suetonius', if the latter does not in some points harmonize with it. But that discrepancies really exist by no means necessary to believe.

Turning now to the passage in Suetonius, let us first consider the meaning of *vocantem*. Scholars who have attempted to interpret the passage without consideration of Nicolaus' account, having taken *pons* as the voting bridge, naturally assumed that *vocare ad suffragia* dealt with that moment in the meeting, at which the *contio* became a *comitia* and the voting actually took place. This is the point in the meeting which is described as follows by Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 399):

Alsdann befiehlt der vorsitzende Magistrat selbst kraft seines Imperium den Männern ihr Bürgerrecht auszuüben und schickt sie zum Stimmen (*in suffragium mittit*); sie aber treten dazu an (*suffragium incunt*) oder, wie nach dem Aufkommen der schriftlichen Abstimmung gewöhnlich gesagt wird, geben die Stimme ab (*suffragium ferunt*).

The technical terms for describing the actual summons to vote are as follows:<sup>25</sup>

*in suffragium mittere*  
*in suffragium vocare*  
*ad suffragium vocare*  
*ad suffragium incundum citare*  
*ad suffragia vocare*

The last phrasing, however, is found only in the passage under consideration; nowhere else is the use with the plural of *suffragium* cited.

<sup>24</sup> Suet. *Iul.* 79, 3 and Nie. Dam. XX. See also O. E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 674 and 686.

<sup>25</sup> Mommsen, *Röm. Staats.*, III, 1, 400, note 1, and Liebenam in Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 689.

But on the other hand *vocare* is used many times not of the summons to vote in the comitia, but of the calling together of that body or similar ones. Thus in Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, VI, 86–95, it appears frequently in that sense; we find for example in VI, 93, “ad comitiatum vocatur populus,” and in VI, 94, “ut populus inlicitur ad magistratus conspectum, qui viros vocare potest.” It must be remembered, too, that these technical terms above cited, dealing with the actual summons to vote in the comitia, usually appear in the midst of accounts of the meetings and are not, as would be the case here, the very first allusion to the meeting that has been made.

If *vocare*, therefore, merely means “to summon,” *ad suffragia* would indicate the purpose for which the body is assembled. In other words, *vocare ad suffragia* means simply “to summon for electoral purposes.” A fairly close parallel appears in Suet. *Nero*, 44: tribus urbanas ad sacramentum citavit. There *ad sacramentum* denotes the purpose for which the tribes were summoned, as *ad suffragia* does here.

An even closer parallel is found in Ampelius’ definition of the word *comitia* (48):

de comitiis—comitia dicuntur a comitatu et frequentia, quod patres et classes *ad suffragia vocantur* creandorum magistratum vel sacerdotum causa. . . . si in summo discrimine est, tum miles *ad suffragia vocatur* et comitia centuriata dicuntur.

In short, *ad suffragia vocare* here means “to summon for electoral purposes.”

There may, to be sure, have been a special call for the gathering issued in crossing this particular bridge, but as there is apparently no mention of such a summons, we have no right to assume it.

However, *vocare* does not mean simply the first call for the meeting, but is a general expression that includes the whole operation of summoning the body. Indeed in Paul. Fest., p. 50, we find the following definition: cum populo agere, hoc est populum ad concilium aut comitia vocare.

In discussing the use of the present tense in Latin (including the participle), Kühner (*Ausführliche Grammatik der Latein-*

*ischen Sprache*, 1912, II, 1, 120) speaks of it as dealing with "eine solche Handlung, . . . welche zwar noch nicht zu Ende geführt, aber doch begonnen oder in der Ausführung begriffen ist." Among other citations is the following from Nep. *Hannibal*, 2, 3: imperator in Hispaniam proficiscens Iovi hostias immolavit, to which in the edition of 1878 (II, 566) the explanation is added: "d. h., geistig seiner Abreise beschäftigt." Examples of this use of the present participle are found in Suet. *Tit.*, 10, *sacrificanti* and *Iul.*, 59, *immolanti*. This is also the use found in *scribens* in Cic. *de Senectute*, 13, if one accepts the interpretation of J. S. Reid ("died while still engaged upon his works") and of Frank Gardner Moore ("i.e., still active with the pen; not literally 'with pen in hand'").

In the same way, then, when Caesar was at the Petronia amnis, while on the way to the place of meeting, he might also be spoken of as *vocans ad contionem*<sup>26</sup> or *vocans ad suffragia*. In other words, the comitia was in the state of being summoned from the time of the preliminary call until the body had come to order. Caesar, while crossing the Petronia amnis, was performing part of the technical requirements for the calling of the comitia; he was busied with the summons, he was engaged in the formalities that accompanied the summons, he was doing a part of that which the calling of the comitia necessitated.<sup>27</sup>

In accordance with the argument presented the passage in Suetonius would be translated thus: "First they hesitated whether, as he was busied with the summons of the tribes in the Campus under the form of the comitia for electoral purposes, they should separate into two groups and while one party hurled him from the bridge the rest should seize and slay him."

This then was the scheme according to Nicolaus and Suetonius. Two parties were to be stationed, the one on the bridge over the Petronia amnis, the other beneath it; while Caesar was crossing it, as he was required to do on his way to the meeting of the comitia in the Campus Martius, those on the bridge were to seize

<sup>26</sup> Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, VI, 94.

<sup>27</sup> Bremi (*C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vitae XII Imperatorum*, Zürich, 1820) declares: "Allein jene Worte (i.e., *tribus ad suffragia vocantem*) sollen nur allgemein den Tag und den Anlass bezeichnen, nicht eigentlich den Moment der Ausführung."

him and throw him down from it, those below to rush upon him and slay him.

In the same way, as Suetonius tells us (*Galba*, 10, 5), an attempt was made to murder Galba while he was on his way to the bath; *per angiportum in balneas transeuntem paene interemerunt*. And Caligula (Suet. *Cal.*, 58, 1) was actually killed in a passage-way that he had to pass through: *in crypta, per quam trans-eundum erat*.

The division of the party into two groups, the one of which was to throw the victim down, while the other waited below to slay him, reminds one of the passage in Suetonius *Tib.*, 62, 2: *carnificinae eius ostenditur locus Capreis, unde damnatos post longa et exquisita tormenta praecipitari coram se in mare iubebat, excipiente<sup>28</sup> classiariorum manu et contis atque remis elidente cadavera, ne cui residui spiritus quicquam inesset*.

The attempt was to be made, as we have seen, in all probability, late on the day before the meeting of the comitia, since the auspices for the meeting had to be taken by the presiding magistrate *noctu* (Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, VI, 86)<sup>29</sup> at the very place where the meeting was later to be held (*ibid.*, VI, 87), usually at dawn (*ibid.*, VI, 92: *ut in campo cum primo luci adsiet*).

The time of year at which the comitia was held on the way to which it was planned that the assault should be made may be ascertained with a considerable degree of probability. Suetonius, after describing in *Iul.*, 79, the conduct of the tribunes C. Epidius Marullus and L. Caesetius Flavus on the occasion of the *Feriae Latinae* (January 26, 44) and their removal from office, points out (ch. 80) that votes were cast for them at the next consular comitia: *post remotos Caesetium et Marullum tribunos reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia consules eos declarantium*. Now the annual comitia according to Nicolaus (22) was held after the Lupercalia. This comitia, at which Pansa and Hirtius were elected consuls for 43 B. C., and the very one at

<sup>28</sup> It is to be noted that *exceptum* is similarly used in the passage under discussion.

<sup>29</sup> Gellius III, 2, 10: *magistratus, quando uno die eis auspicandum est et id, super quo auspicaverunt, agendum, cum post mediam noctem auspicantur et post meridiam solem agunt, auspicatique esse et egisse eodem die dicuntur*. Cf. Lange I, 557-8, Wissowa (in Pauly-Wissowa) II, 2586, Botsford 110, and Valetton, *Mnem.* 18 (1890), 249-251.

which votes were cast for Flavus and Marullus, occurred therefore after February 15, 44.<sup>30</sup> Dio Cassius (XLIV, 11, 4) also places the comitia at which Marullus and Flavus were proposed for the consulship after the Lupercalia.<sup>31</sup> And it was on the way to this comitia that the conspirators planned to murder Caesar.

To recapitulate briefly, the plan proposed was at the time of the consular comitia, which fell between February 15 and March 15, 44 B. C., to station two parties at the bridge over the Petronia amnis, the one on it and the other beneath it, as it was certain that Caesar must cross this stream. The time of day was probably prior to midnight, as the following dawn was to witness the meeting. When Caesar was upon the bridge, the one party was to hurl him from it (the darkness would aid them), the other to rush upon him and murder him.

The plan was abandoned in favor of the scheme to slay him in the senate,<sup>32</sup> and when the precise date of that meeting was set four days before Caesar's projected departure for the Parthian campaign,<sup>33</sup> the conspirators felt that the blow must be struck then and there.

<sup>30</sup> Heitland (*The Roman Republic*) III, 363-5, also believes that the comitia at which Hirtius and Pansa were elected was the one at which votes were cast for Marullus and Caesetius; he apparently, however, places this election before the Lupercalia. Casaubon set it either in February or at the beginning of March.

<sup>31</sup> See note 9. Lange III, 477, and Ferrero II, 311, place the election of Hirtius and Pansa at the beginning of March.

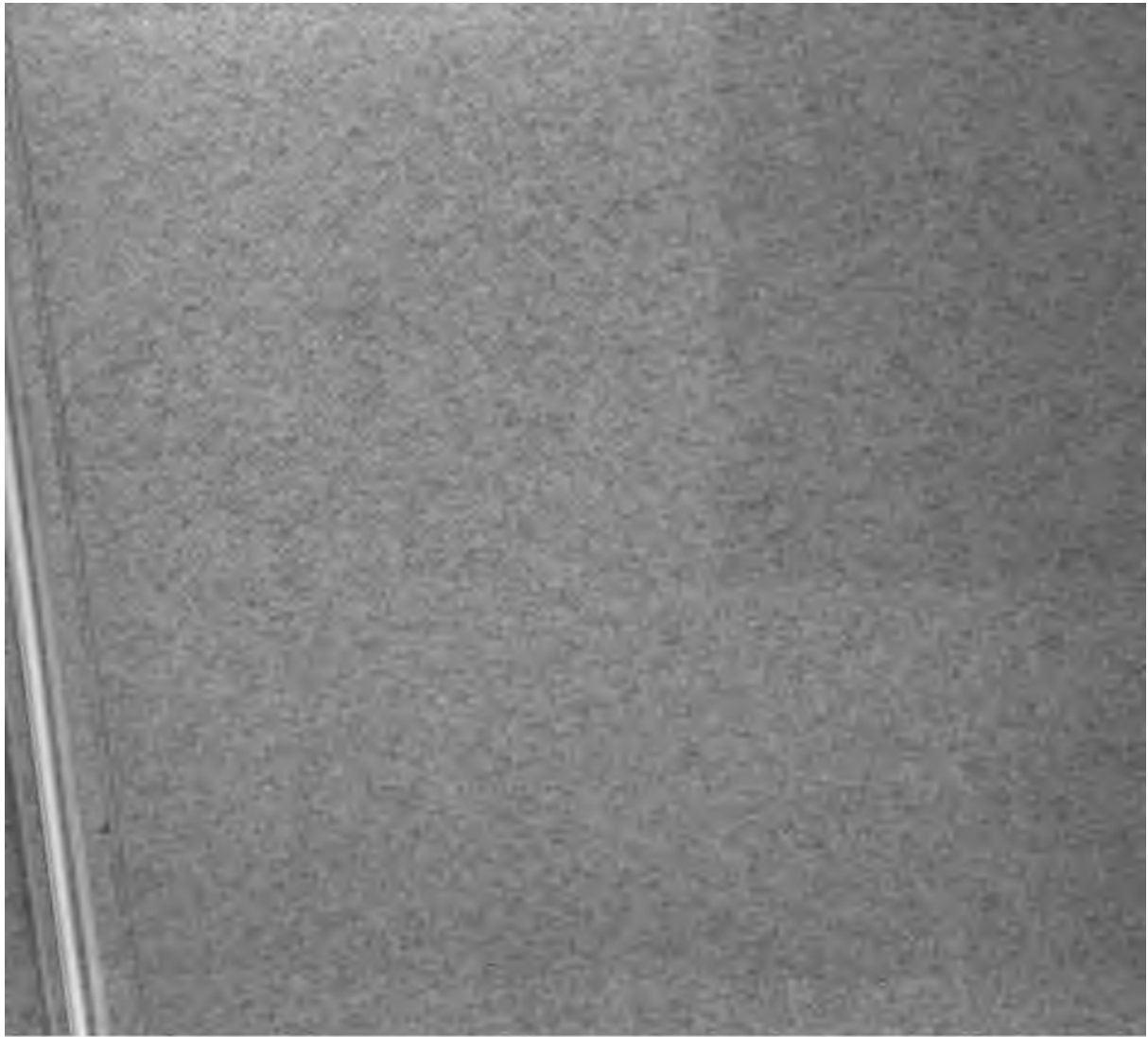
<sup>32</sup> Nic. Dam., XXIII.

<sup>33</sup> Appian, *B. C.* II, 111 and 114.

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May 5, 1916

ON TERENCE, ADELPHOE 511-516

BY

CLINTON C. CONRAD

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS  
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On v. 511 of the *Adelphoe* we find in the commentary ascribed to Donatus the words (W. II 107): *Hi sex uersus in quibusdam* [i.e., *exemplaribus*<sup>1</sup>] *non feruntur*, with evident reference to *Ad.* 511-516. Kauer in his edition of the *Adelphoe* (1903), departing from the practice of previous editors of this play, bracketed these lines, defending his course by the arguments summarized below (pp. 296 f.). He has considered them chiefly in relation to their immediate context. A study conducted on somewhat broader lines will show, I believe, that this scene is essential to the integrity of the play, and at the same time exhibit certain features of the dramatic technique of the Roman playwrights.

Kauer's deletion of these verses is in some degree based upon the passage in the commentary, cited above, which notes their omission in some of the manuscripts available to the scholiast and known to us only through him. Accordingly we must first of all inquire into the value of the scholiast's comment.

The so-called commentary of Donatus is admittedly the work of several hands, differing in their age and in the value of their work. While numerous attempts have been made to distinguish the actual work of Donatus,<sup>2</sup> no one of these has been generally accepted. We are immediately concerned with the passages in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ad And.* 978 (W. I 260); *ad And.* 601 (W. II 124).

<sup>2</sup> See Wessner's brief bibliographical notes (ed. *Donati Commentum* [1902], I praef. iii ff.); the more extended discussion of Sabbadini, *Stud. Ital.*, II (1894), 4 ff.; Karsten, *Commenti Donatiani ad Terenti fabulas scholia genuina et spuria probabiliter separare conatus est* [auctor], vol. I-II (1912-13).

the commentary which deal with textual criticism. These fall into several categories, acceptably defined by Smutny,<sup>3</sup> ranging from the suggestion of a variant reading without critical opinion<sup>4</sup> to the denial of the authenticity of the final scene of the *Andria*.<sup>5</sup> We have no objective evidence which can enable us to decide whether this portion of the commentary is the work of a single scholiast, Donatus or another, or compiled from marginal notes by various hands. The general character of these scholia points to the latter conclusion and leads to a certain distrust of this scholiastic comment.

In this connection it is interesting to note that various scholars in this field have concluded that certain of the passages which indicate the omission of one or more verses in manuscripts available to the scholiast<sup>6</sup> are not to be attributed to Donatus. Smutny (*loc. cit.*, p. 132) considers that "horum scholiorum color et stilus ita comparati sunt, ut temporibus Donati aetate recentioribus scripta esse videantur." Wessner<sup>7</sup> makes the following comment on the scholium *ad Ad.* 601 (W. II 124):

Dass das Scholion zu Vers 601 von Donat oder gar erst von dem Kompilator unseres Kommentars herrühre ist unwahrscheinlich, weil alle unsere Hss die Erweiterung haben, so dass sie schon in der gemeinsamen Quelle vorhanden gewesen sein muss; dahin führt auch der Umstand, dass sowohl Arusianus Messius wie Priscian zwei Stellen aus der betreffenden Partie zitieren. Wahrscheinlich geht die Notiz zu Probus zurück, der Hss mit und ohne Vers 602-609 zur Verfügung hatte; vielleicht war gerade in seinen 'exemplaria bona' der Einschub vorhanden, so dass er ihn nicht auszumerzen wagte, aber andererseits wollte er auch nicht unterlassen, auf das Fehlen in zahlreichen Hss hinzuweisen. Liess Probus die zweifelhafte Partie stehen, so ist es erklärlich, dass sie auch in der gesamten späteren Überlieferung erscheint, wenn anders unser Terentztext auf die Aufgabe des Probus zurückzuführen ist. (Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 34 f. [ed. 2, 36 f.] )

<sup>3</sup> *De scholiorum Terentianorum quae sub Donati nomine feruntur auctoribus et fontibus*, Diss. phil. Vind., VI (1898), 132. Those passages of Donatus in which textual variants are found are catalogued by Umpfenbach (ed. Terence [1870], praef. xl f.).

<sup>4</sup> E.g., *ad And.* 459 (W. I 157): 'Ut dixti, Lesbia' et 'dixti' et 'dixisti' legitur.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad And.* 978 (W. I 260): 'Tu Daue abi domum' hi uersus usque ad illum 'gnatam tibi meam Philumenam uxorem' negantur Terentii esse adeo, ut in plurimis exemplaribus bonis non inferantur.

<sup>6</sup> Such passages are: *ad And.* 978 (W. I 260); *ad Ad.* 511 (W. II 107); *ad Ad.* 601 (W. II 124); *ad Ad.* 706 (W. II 142).

<sup>7</sup> *Berl. phil. Woch.*, XXIII (1903), 222.

This raises the perplexing question: Why is it that our present manuscript tradition shows no trace of the omission of passages noted in the commentary as lacking in some manuscripts then available? This question naturally cannot be assigned a definite solution. Wessner's treatment of it can hardly be considered final, resting as it does upon Leo's disputed views concerning Probus' part in the formation of the text of Terence. The possibility of corruption through fairly simple paleographical error is ever present. On *Ad.* 601 Leo considered that the lines questioned by the scholiast (in his opinion vv. 601–603; better vv. 602–604, as Wessner suggests [*loc. cit.*]) dropped out because of the homoeoteleuton of vv. 601 and 604.<sup>8</sup> In the case of *Ad.* 511–516 this short scene may have been separated by a space from the preceding and following scenes, as in most extant manuscripts. In this event the eye of the scribe may well have passed to the second space instead of the first, upon reaching v. 510, with the resultant omission of these six verses. Such an error, multiplied by the production of several copies from the faulty manuscript, might be rectified in the course of time.

Finally, the attitude of the scholiast toward the omitted verses (*Ad.* 511–516) should be noted. It is distinctly non-committal, to say the least. With it we may contrast his denial of the authenticity of the *alter exitus* of the *Andria* (cited above, p. 292, n. 5), a passage now considered spurious by scholars, and also his comment on *Ad.* 601 (W. II 124): *Et sane hi uersus de<esse pos>sunt, quos multa exemplaria non habent 'nam . . . releuabis' et deinceps.* We should remark in passing that, save in the case of the *Andria*, modern scholars have not generally accepted the evidence of the scholiast's unknown manuscripts against the established tradition.<sup>9</sup>

It follows that we are freed from the necessity of considering the scholium on *Ad.* 511–516 as part of a textual commentary to which, as a whole, definite value may be assigned because of readings from manuscripts not now extant; that we may base

<sup>8</sup> *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, III (1882), 359.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly we should except *Ad.* 602 ff., in view of Wessner's article thereon (*loc. cit.*). Kauer's somewhat improbable interpretation of the scholium (ed. *Adelphoe*, 180 ff.) is apparently withdrawn (*ibid.*, 210) in consideration of Wessner's views.

this matter which so nearly concerns the latter's good name. Demea declares (v. 499, 505) that he will find Micio and do his best to maintain the family honor. Thereupon Hegio enters Sostrata's house, leaving Demea alone upon the stage (v. 506). The next four lines (vv. 507–510) are occupied by Demea's exit monologue as he goes to the forum in search of his brother. In v. 511 Hegio reappears from Sostrata's door, announces his intention of searching for Micio, and leaves the stage (v. 516). It is with this brief scene and the close of the preceding one that we are concerned.

- 499 DE. fratrem conueniam, Hegio.  
 500 HE. sed, Demea, hoc tu facito cum animo cogites:  
 quam uos facillume agitis, quam estis maxime  
 potentes dites fortunati nobiles,  
 tam maxime uos aequo animo aequa noscere  
 oportet, si uos uoltis perhiberi probos.  
 505 DE, redito: fient quae fieri aequomst omnia.  
 HE. decet te facere. Geta, duc me intro ad Sostratam.  
 DE. non me indicente haec fiunt: utinam hic sit modo  
 defunctum! uerum nimia illaec licentia  
 profecto euadet in aliquod magnum malum.  
 510 ibo ac requiram fratrem, ut in eum haec euomam.

HEGIO

- Bono animo fac sis, Sostrata, et istam quod potes  
 fac consolere. ego Micionem, si apud forumst,  
 conueniam atque ut res gestast narrabo ordine:  
 si est, is facturus ut sit officium suum,  
 515 faciat; sin aliter de hac re est eius sententia,  
 respondeat mi, ut quid agam quam primum sciam.

The scholiast's perplexity over this scene arose from a misconception of the treatment of time by the Roman playwrights. As Kauer concludes, there is no need for a pause after v. 510.<sup>10</sup> Verses 511–516 are clearly associated with the preceding scene (Demea's long conversation with Hegio [vv. 447–510]), forming with it a unit in the action which could not conceivably be interrupted by more than a momentary and insignificant pause. The exit monologue of Demea (vv. 507–510) is inserted partly to cover his walk to the forum exit, partly to preserve the continu-

<sup>10</sup> See Conrad, *The Technique of Continuous Action in Roman Comedy* (Collegiate Press, Menasha, Wis., 1915), 64.

ity of the action in allowing *dramatic* time for Hegio's stay within and his conversation with Sostrata. The brief time actually allotted to this is to be explained by Terence's disregard of realistic conditions in his treatment of time relations. Convention demanded merely the indication of off-stage action. Thus the duration of a person's absence from the stage depended not so much upon the character of the off-stage action in which he was concerned as upon the convenience of the playwright and the nature of the material with which the interval might be filled.<sup>11</sup> Here Demea's perfunctory lines (vv. 507-510) were evidently considered sufficient to cover Hegio's absence within. The latter in his speech at re-entrance is simply ending his off-stage conversation with Sostrata.

This technique, whereby an entering person carries on a one-sided dialogue with one who is still within the house, conveys the desired information to the audience while preserving the dramatic illusion as the soliloquy does not. So in vv. 635 f. of this same play Micio, stepping out from Sostrata's door, addresses her before turning to Aeschinus: *Ita ut dixi, Sostrata, facite; ego Aeschinum conueniam, ut quo modo acta haec sint sciat*; and, leaving her house a second time, tells her (v. 787): *Parata a nobis sunt, ita ut dixi, Sostrata*. Similar passages occur frequently in the plays of both Plautus and Terence. Mysis (*And.* 228 ff.) in quasi-dialogue with her fellow-slave imparts to the audience full knowledge of the errand upon which she is sent; in like fashion Clitipho (*Heaut.* 175 ff.) informs the spectators of Clinia's presence within his father's house.<sup>12</sup> The extended use of this technique surely renders our interpretation of Hegio's speech inevitable.

We may now consider the arguments upon which Kauer bases his rejection of the scene (*loc. cit.*, p. 175 f.). He thinks that the verses are the result of interpolation of a very early date, thus admitting that they need no defense in point of style or metre. In his opinion the passage was added to bring the later

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, chapter I.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Phorm.* 51; *Hec.* 623 ff.; *Merc.* 562; *Miles* 156 ff., 596 ff.; *Bac.* 178 ff., 526 ff., etc. In Menander's *Epitrepontes* (vv. 213 ff. K.) and *Samia* (vv. 86 ff. K.) we apparently may observe the same technique in modified form, used to lend animation to the scene rather than to give information to the spectators (cf. *Aul.* 250 f.).

scene (vv. 592 ff.), in which Hegio returns from the forum with Micio, into harmony with the one ending (v. 510) with Hegio's exit into Sostrata's house. The original scene-ending, he believes, resembled that of *Phorm.* 311 ff. (discussed below, pp. 301 f.). Deletion seems to him the only remedy; a pause at v. 510 would hardly improve matters.

The passage is obviously built up in somewhat hackneyed fashion about one bit of information, Hegio's intention to find Micio in the forum; and in this Kauer discovers a direct contradiction to the foregoing scene:

Denn während Hegio sieben Verse vorher noch damit einverstanden ist, dass Demea seinen Bruder aufsucht und sich damit zufrieden gibt (V. 506), kündigt er hier seine Absicht an, den Micio aufzusuchen, als ob die Unterredung mit Demea gar nicht vorhergegangen wäre.

Kauer also concludes that the hackneyed character of the verses is a mark of interpolation. Yet it is equally the sign of the padded scene which fills its place in the economy of the play while giving small opportunity, in many instances at least, for original treatment or the display of stylistic merit. Similar or analogous passages are numerous, in which the dramatist's chief concern is in the framework of the plot. For example, Parmeno's superfluous monologue on the situation (*Hec.* 327–335) separates Pamphilus' exit from Sostrata's entrance, prepares for the latter's entrance, and preserves the continuity of the action.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, in *Ad.* 587–591 Syrus' monologue separates the exit of Demea from the entrance of Micio, for whom Demea is searching. In a passage closely paralleling *Ad.* 511–516, Simo in *And.* 524–532 prefixes consideration of the situation to a declaration of intended action (cf. *Men.* 876–881). In *Rud.* 892–905 Plautus' technique is particularly crude: Daemones is hurried on and off the stage with the very obvious purpose of introducing Gripus; a few words on the situation link this scene to the foregoing action. In *Eun.* 997–1001 Parmeno's doleful comment allows time for the developments within described by Pythias (vv. 1002 ff.); in the absence of Phaedria from the scene (*Eun.* 664–667) the continuity of the action is preserved by the excla-

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Aul.* 803–807; *Pseud.* 1052–1062, 1238–1245.

mations of Pythias and Dorias. Similarly, in *Ad.* 783–786 Syrus covers Demea's absence from the stage with superfluous comment on the action.<sup>14</sup> The *choragus* scene (*Curc.* 462–486) bridges over the gap left by Curculio's stay within the house of Capadox with quite irrelevant matter.<sup>15</sup> So in a multitude of passages unessential or even irrelevant material is incorporated, that the framework of the plot may not be unduly exposed. Accordingly I can find in Kauer's objection no valid reason for casting suspicion upon Hegio's brief speech. The playwright, yielding to the requirements of the situation, is simply filling in an essential scene in somewhat perfunctory fashion. Kauer's arguments must accordingly fall to the ground if we can account for the direct contradiction which he finds with the foregoing verses and supply a purpose for this scene which will put it in accord with the usual technique of New Comedy.

I am unable to feel the force of this "direct contradiction." According to Kauer's interpretation of the action, Hegio's acceptance of Demea's offer to put the case before Micio is quite inconsistent with Hegio's words to Sostrata (vv. 512 f.). Yet it is Hegio who actually submits his grievance to Micio, after a consultation with Sostrata in which she may well have urged him to do so. His words as he enters with Micio (vv. 592 ff.) are sufficient proof that he has not considered his responsibility ended with the winning of Demea to his cause. Nothing said by him as he is waved aside by Demea conflicts with this tacit determination to carry the case through while availing himself of Demea's help. That he does not mention Demea in vv. 511–516 is due, in part at least, to Terence's desire to avoid wearying his audience by needless repetition,<sup>16</sup> especially as these verses merely sum up a longer off-stage conversation with Sostrata. In a like manner Terence does not see fit to give a detailed account of Micio's conversations with Sostrata, but prefers to trust

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Bac.* 795–798, 913–924; *Cas.* 424–436; *Curc.* 527–532; *And.* 716–720.

<sup>15</sup> So, in less degree, *Merc.* 678–680; *Aul.* 587–607; *Capt.* 461–497; *Pseud.* 767–789, on which note Prescott, *Harv. Stud.*, XXI (1910), 39–44.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Poen.* 920 ff.:

Ibo intro haec ut meo ero memorem: nam huc si ante aedis euocem,  
 quae audiuiſtis modo, nunc si eadem hic iterum iterem, inſcitiast.  
 ero uni potius intus ero odio quam hic ſim uobis omnibus.

See also *Pseud.* 387 f., 720 ff.; *Merc.* 1005 ff.



to the imagination of his audience (vv. 635 f., 787 f.). Thus the course of the action resolves Kauer's difficulty.

The dramatic purpose of Hegio's exit is revealed by the subsequent action. Demea, misled by a lying slave, is the blundering hero of a comic minor plot which holds him in unsuccessful search for Micio until v. 719. Meanwhile Hegio meets Micio and settles the whole affair (vv. 592 ff.). Clearly Demea's course diverges from that of Hegio: the one must not find Micio, the other must. The dramatist accordingly separates them at the end of their scene (vv. 447–506). So Hegio enters Sostrata's house to reassure her, while Demea departs for the forum.

This provides sufficient reason for Hegio's separate exit. His subsequent re-entrance from Sostrata's door complies with an established convention of New Comedy: a retiring actor must return from the place to which he has announced his intention of going (providing that he takes part in the subsequent action), or explain the change in his plans which has caused him to re-enter from an unexpected quarter. Kauer conceives that an interpolator, wiser than Terence in his knowledge of dramatic structure, introduced the scene in question to avoid breaking this rule. Spengel<sup>17</sup> and later editors, on the other hand, have considered that this convention affords sufficient reason for the introduction of the scene and consequently sufficient proof of its authenticity. The actual practice of the Roman playwrights in this regard may best be examined by considering in some detail the alleged violations of this convention.<sup>18</sup>

It should be borne in mind that the poet's chief concern is to present a smoothly progressing, well-outlined plot; the purpose of the convention stated above is to avoid bewildering the spectators. Several of the passages cited by Fielitz and Rambo are only apparent exceptions to this rule, for in these passages the poet cannot possibly mislead his audience. In *Curc.* 524

<sup>17</sup> Ed. *Adelphoe* (1875) *ad loc.*

<sup>18</sup> Such violations have been listed by Fielitz, *Fleck. Jahrbuch* (1868), 676, n. 4; Kauer, *Wien. Stud.*, XXIII (1901), 103 and n. 1; Rambo, *Class. Phil.*, X (1915), 414 ff. In the last-mentioned article the following comment is appended (415, n. 1): "The explanation of such passages probably lies in the fact that houses on the stage are sometimes thought of as having an entrance in the rear (cf. *Epid.* 660, *Most.* 1043 ff.), which persons in the play use as shortcuts; or the inconsistencies may be due to the carelessness of Plautus and Terence in not giving information."

be added the appearance of ARGYRIPPUS for DIABOLUS in the scene-headings of *BE*). If we accept Havet's view, Diabolus leaves *ad forum* in v. 248 and re-enters from the same quarter in v. 746. Thus the convention stated above is not violated.

Somewhat akin to these passages are the following. On *Trin.* 1120 Rambo (*loc. cit.*, p. 415, n. 1) notes: "Lysiteles, who had entered from a house on the stage, says that he has just met Stasimus, who had gone *ad portum*." In v. 716 Lysiteles left Lesbonicus, but we are not informed in what direction he went. That he re-entered from his house (apparently on the stage, cf. vv. 275 ff.) is questionable; the only ground for this opinion is in v. 1120, *modo me Stasimus Lesbonici seruos convenit <domi>*, where the missing end of the line is filled out by Ritschl. Accepting this emendation, we must again attribute the difficulty of Plautus' carelessness, induced perhaps by the desire to keep the action from lagging in the concluding scenes of the play. In *Poen.* 808 Agorastocles enters his house, reappearing from it in v. 961, although he is spoken of as *in foro* by his slave in v. 929. The passage last cited is somewhat inconsistent with v. 920, however, and the difficulty is best solved with Weise and later critics by bracketing vv. 923–929 as the work of a retractator.

It is to be noted that Terence overrides the re-entry convention in no single instance. Plautus may be guilty of carelessness in this regard, but never, I believe, to such an extent as to perplex the spectator. It follows that we have no right to assume that Terence deviates from this rule in the passage of the *Adelphoe* under consideration.

His strict adherence to the convention is excellently illustrated in *Phorm.* 311 ff., with which, in Kauer's opinion, the scene-ending at *Ad.* 510 may have originally corresponded.<sup>23</sup> Here Demipho closes his scene with Phaedria and Geta with the following monologue:

Ego deos penatis hinc salutatum domum  
deuortar; inde ibo ad forum atque aliquod mihi  
amicos aduocabo ad hanc rem qui adsient,  
ut ne inparatus sim si ueniat Phormio.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.*, 175: "Ursprünglich konnte es wohl hier ebenso sein, wie im *Phormio* [311–314]."

I know of no exact parallel to this scene in New Comedy; its curious abruptness suggests a condensation of the Greek original. Yet in point of dramatic structure it may be advantageously compared with our scene in the *Adelphoe*. The purpose of the verses is plain: Demipho after entering his house is to re-enter from the forum with his *aduocati*, and this must be made clear to the audience in accordance with the convention which we have discussed above. Narration is substituted for the usual dramatic representation of departure and the spectators assume that Demipho leaves his house by a convenient rear door. The question naturally arises: Why does not Demipho omit his greeting of the household gods and leave at once for the forum? This admits of no definite solution. It may be that this greeting of the gods is a realistic detail slipped in to conform to the social usage of the day, but the similar greeting of *Merc.* 678-680 is so obviously employed for purely dramatic purposes that it is reasonable to expect a similar use here. It seems probable, therefore, that the playwright wished to separate the exits of Geta and Demipho. Then, if Terence intended no essential pause at v. 314, Geta's re-entrance with Phormio (v. 315) would be separated from his exit (v. 310) by Demipho's brief monologue, and the continuity of the action would be preserved with greater plausibility than if Geta disappeared only to reappear immediately, with no intervening action on the stage.<sup>24</sup>

In *Ad.* 511-516 the same end is achieved through the dramatic representation of Hegio's departure, with a decided gain over the crudity of the *Phormio* passage. It is impossible to deny that Terence might have reverted to the technique of his earlier play in effecting Hegio's exit. Yet Kauer's supposition to this effect, if followed to its logical conclusion, would postulate a remodeling of the lines preceding v. 511 or following v. 592; for the definite announcement of Demipho's plans is the most striking thing about the *Phormio* scene-ending, and if we exclude vv. 511-516 from the present text of the *Adelphoe* this announcement is not paralleled by any statement of Hegio's intended departure for the forum. There is not the slightest evidence for such a remodeling of the play. Consequently one would be tak-

<sup>24</sup> Note *Technique of Continuous Action*, 55 f.

ing unwarrantable liberties with the text in bracketing vv. 511–516 on the mere suspicion that Terence actually modeled the scene-ending at v. 510 on that of *Phorm.* 311 ff.

Thus the lines in question (vv. 511–516) find a necessary place in the economy of the play, justified by a reasonable interpretation of the action and by their accordance with well established principles of technique, and the suspicion of interpolation rests upon no sound basis of internal evidence. It matters not whether Donatus or another recorded the absence of these verses from certain of his manuscripts. Our discussion has shown this scene to be essential in the structure of the play.

*Transmitted February 18, 1916.*







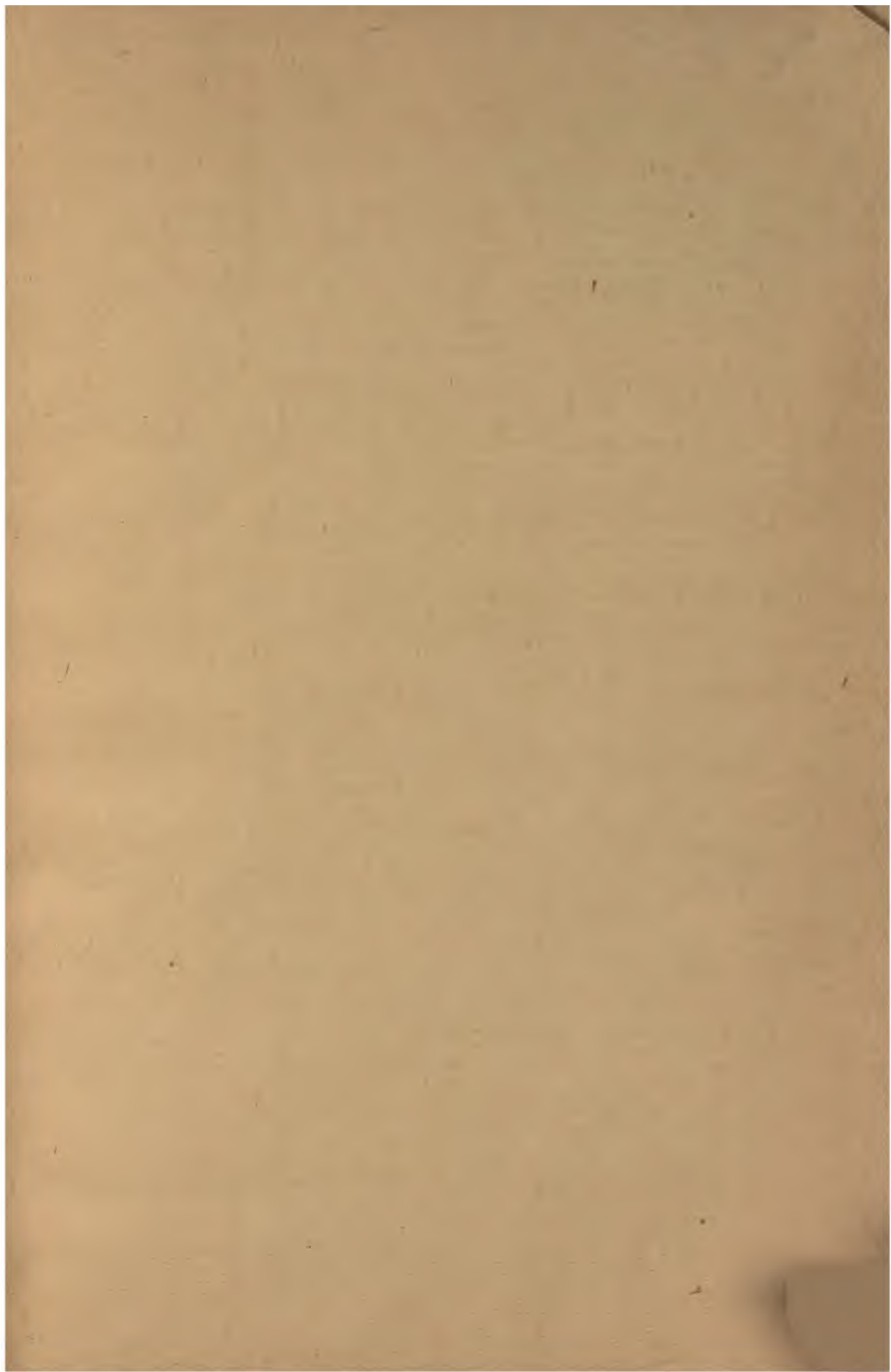
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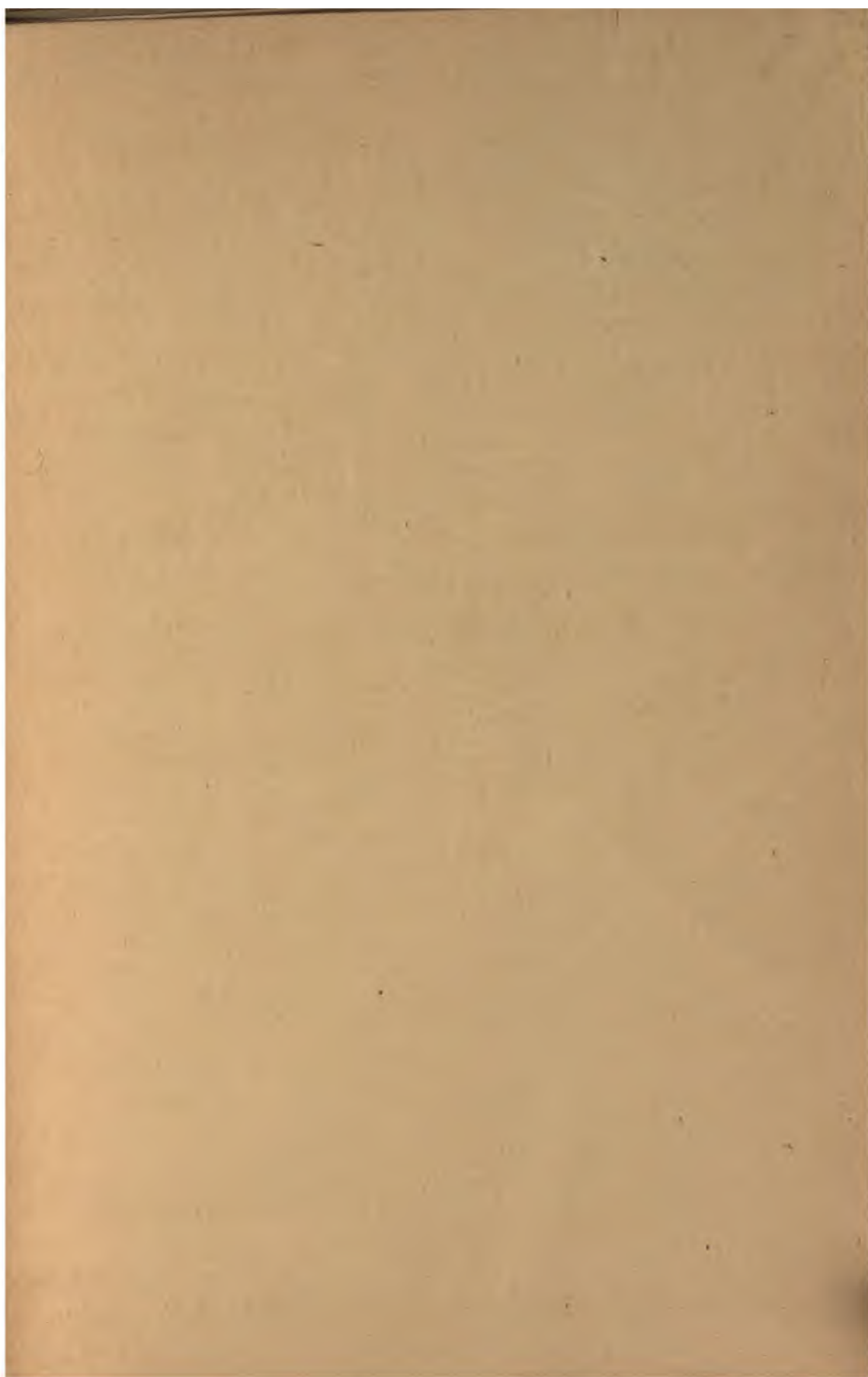
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